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Plate 5.

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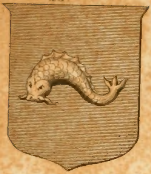

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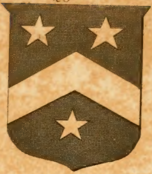

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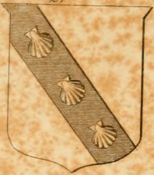

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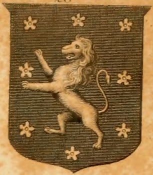

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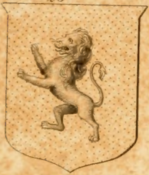

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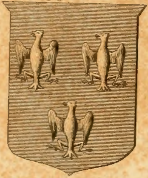

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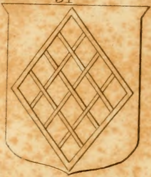

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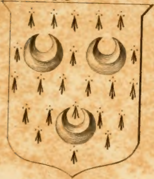

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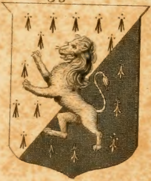

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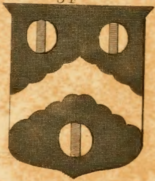

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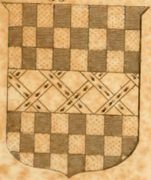

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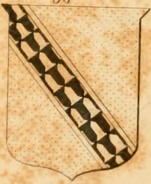

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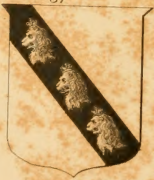

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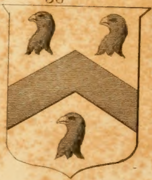

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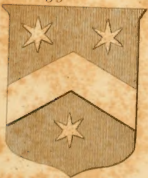

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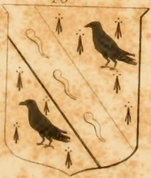

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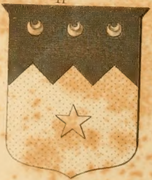

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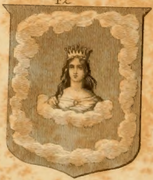

THE ARMS OF

THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

FROM

THE BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST

UNTIL

THE YEAR MDCXLVIII.

ENDEAVOURED

BY THOMAS FULLER, D.D.,

PREBENDARY OF SARUM, &c. &c.

AUTHOR OF "THE WORTHIES OF ENGLAND," "THE HOLY STATE," "THE
HISTORY OF THE HOLY WAR," "PISGAH SIGHT OF PALESTINE,"
"ABEL REDIVIVUS," &c. &c.

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WITH THE AUTHOR'S CORRECTIONS.

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THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK V.

CONTAINING THE REIGN OF KING HENRY VIII.

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL

TO THE

RIGHT HON. LIONEL CRANFIELD,

EARL OF MIDDLESEX,

BARON CRANFIELD OF CRANFIELD, &c.

St. Paul gave a great charge to Timothy to "bring the cloak which he left at Troas, but especially the parchments," 2 Tim. iv. 13. Here we have the inventory of a preacher's estate, consisting of a few clothes and books,—what he wore and what he had written. But the apostle's care was not so much concerned in his clothes, (which might be bought new,) as in his writings, where the damage could not be repaired.

I am sadly sensible (though far be it from me to compare scribbling with Scripture) what the loss of a library (especially of manuscripts) is to a minister, whose books have passed such hands, which made riddance of many, but havoc of more.

Was it not cruelty to torture a library, by maiming and mangling the authors therein,—neither leaving nor taking them entire? Would they had taken less, that so what they left might have been useful to me, or left less, that so what they took might have been useful to others! Whereas, now, mischievous ignorance did a prejudice to me, without a profit to itself, or any body else.

But would to God all my fellow-brethren, which with me bemoan the loss of their books, with me might also rejoice for the recovery thereof, though not the same numerical volumes! Thanks be to your Honour, who have bestowed on me (the treasure of a lord-treasurer) what remained of your father's library;—your father, who was the greatest honourer and disgracer of students bred in learning: HONOURER,—giving due respect to all men of merit: DISGRACER,—who, by his mere natural parts and experience, acquired that perfection of invention, expression, and judgment, to which those who make learning their sole study do never arrive.

It was a gift, I confess, better proportioned to your dignity than my deserts, too great, not for your Honour to bestow, but for me to receive. And thus hath God, by your bounty, equivalently restored unto me what "the locusts and the palmer-worm, &c. have devoured;" so that now I envy not the pope's Vatican for the numerousness of books, and variety of editions, therein; enough for use being as good as store for state, or superfluity for magnificence. However, hereafter I shall behold myself under no other notion than as your lordship's library-keeper, and conceive it my duty, not only to see your books dried and rubbed, to rout those moths which would quarter therein, but also to peruse, study, and digest them, so that I may present your Honour with some choice collections out of the same, as this ensuing History is for the main extracted thence, on which account I humbly request your acceptance thereof; whereby you shall engage my daily prayers for your happiness, and the happiness of your most noble consort.

I have read how a Roman orator, making a speech at the funeral of his deceased mother-in-law, affirmed, that he had never been reconciled unto her for many years. Now, whilst his ignorant auditors condemned their mutual vindictiveness, the wiser sort admired and commended their peaceable dispositions,—because there never happened the least difference between them needing an agreement; as that bone cannot be set which was never broken. On which account, that never any reconciliation may be between yourself and other self, is the desire of

Your Honour's most bounden beadsman,

THOMAS FULLER.

THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK V.

SECTION I.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1. *Poor Professors still preserved by God's Providence.* *A.D.* 1501. 17 Henry VII.

God hath always been ambitious to preserve and prefer little things. The Jews "the least" of all nations; David their king, "least" in his father's family; "little" Benjamin the ruler; "little" hill of Hermon; the virgin Mary, "the lowliness" of thy handmaiden. God's children, severally, are styled his "little ones," and collectively make up but a "little flock." And, surely, it renders the work of grace more visible and conspicuous, when the object can claim nothing as due to itself. A pregnant proof hereof we have in Divine Providence at this time preserving the inconsiderable pittance of faithful professors against most powerful opposition. This handful of men were tied to very hard duty, being constantly to stand sentinels against an army of enemies, till God sent Luther to relieve them; and the work was made lighter, with more hands to do it, as in the sequel of our story, God willing, will appear. Mean time we must remember that Henry Dean succeeded in the place of archbishop Morton, lately deceased, and enjoyed his honour but two years, then leaving it to William Warham, one well qualified with learning and discretion.

2. *Some burned, some branded, for the Profession of the Truth.* *A.D.* 1506.

Now, it is no small praise to Buckinghamshire, that, being one of the lesser counties of England, it had more martyrs and confessors in it, before the time of Luther, than all the kingdom besides; where William Tylsworth was burned at Amersham, (the rendezvous of God's children in those days,) and Joan his only daughter and a faithful woman was compelled with her own hands to set fire to her dear father.* At the same time sixty professors and above did bear faggots for their penance, and were enjoined to wear on their right sleeves, for some years after, a square piece of cloth, as a disgrace to themselves, and a difference from others. But, what is most remarkable, a new punishment was now found out of branding them in the cheek. The manner thus: Their necks were tied fast to a post with towels, and their hands holden that they might not stir; and so the hot iron was put to their cheeks.† It is not certain whether branded with L for Lollard, or H for Heretic, or whether it was only a formless print of iron, yet nevertheless painful: this is sure, that they "bare in their bodies the marks of the Lord Jesus," Gal. vi. 17. And, no doubt, they had so well learned our Saviour's precept, that, rather than they would have revenged themselves by unlawful means, to them that smit them on the one cheek they would have turned the other also, Matt. v. 39. Surely, ecclesiastical constitutions did not reach thus far, as to impose any corporal torture: and whether there be any statute of the land that enjoins (not to say permits) such punishments, let the learned in the laws decide. This I am sure, if this was the first time that they fell into this (supposed) heresy, by the law they were only to abjure their errors; and if it were the second time, upon relapse into the same again, their whole bodies were to be burned. Except any will say, that such as by these bloody laws deserved death were branded only by the favour of William Smith, bishop of Lincoln; and one may have charity enough to incline him to this belief, when, considering the same William (founder of Brazen-nose College in Oxford) was generally a lover of learning and goodness, and not cruelly disposed of himself. However, some of God's children, though burned, did not dread the fire. And Father Rever,‡ *aliàs* Reive, though branded at the time, did afterwards suffer at a stake; so that the brand at the first did but take livery and seisin in his cheek, in token that his whole body should afterwards be in the free and full possession of the fire.

3. *The cruel Killing of Thomas Chase.*

They who desire further information of the number and names of such as suffered about this time, may repair to "the Acts and Monuments" of Mr. Fox. Only Thomas Chase of Amersham must not be here omitted, being barbarously butchered by bloody hands in the prison of Woburn; who, to cover their cruelty, gave it out that he had hanged himself, and, in colour thereof, caused his body to be buried by the highway's side, where a stake knocked into the grave is the monument generally erected for felons *de se*. "Fear not those," saith our Saviour, "who kill the body, and afterwards have no more that they can do." But these men's malice endeavoured to do more; having killed his body, to murder his memory with slanderous reports, although all in vain. For the prison itself did plead for the innocence of the prisoner herein, being a place so low and little, that he could not stand upright. Besides, the woman that saw his dead body, (a most competent witness in this case,) declared, that he was so loaden with manacles and irons, that he could not well move either hand or foot. But we leave the full discussing and final deciding hereof to HIM who makes inquisition for blood, at that day when such things as have been done in secret shall be made manifest.

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* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," vol. i. p. 1010. † Ibid. p. 1011. ‡ Ibid.

4. *The Pope and King Henry VII. share the Money for Pardons betwixt them.*

By this time we may boldly say, that all the arrears of money due to the pope for pardons in the year of jubilee five years since were fully collected, and safely returned to Rome by the officers of his Holiness: the lagging money which was last sent thither came soon enough to be received there. We wish the sellers more honesty, and the buyers more wisdom. Yet we envy Rome this payment the less, because it was the last in this kind she did generally receive out of England. Mean time king Henry VII. did enter common with the pope,* having part allowed to connive at the rest. Thus whilst pope and prince shared the wool betwixt them, the people were finely fleeced. Indeed, king Henry was so thrifty, (I durst call him covetous, not to say sordid, had he been a private man,) who, knowing what ticklish terms he stood upon, loved a reserve of treasure, as being (besides his claims of conquest, match, and descent) at any time a good title *ad corroborandum*. And we may the less wonder that this money was so speedily spent by his successor; a great part thereof, being gotten by sin, was spent on sin. Was it then charity or remorse, giving or restoring, that hereupon king Henry VII. founded the rich hospital of the Savoy in the Strand, with the finishing whereof, A.D. 1508, he ended his own life? And it is questionable whether his body lies in more magnificence in that stately and costly tomb and chapel of his own erecting, or whether his memory lives more lastingly in that learned and curious History which the lord Bacon hath written of his reign.

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* *Antiq. Brit. in Henrico Deneo.*

5. *Henry VIII. succeedeth his Father.* 1. Henry VIII.

Henry VIII. his son, succeeded him, one of a beautiful person, and majestic presence, insomuch that his picture in all places is known at the first sight. As for the character of his mind, all the virtues and vices of all his predecessors from the Conquest may seem in him fully represented, both to their kind and degree,—learning, wisdom, valour, magnificence; cruelty, avarice, fury, and lust; following his pleasures whilst he was young, and making them come to him when he was old. Many memorable alterations in church and state happened in his age; as, God willing, hereafter shall appear.

6. *He marrieth the Relict of his Brother Arthur.* *A.D.* 1509.

On the third day of June he was solemnly married to the lady Catherine dowager, formerly wife to his brother prince Arthur deceased. Two popes took the matter in hand to discuss and decide the lawfulness thereof, Alexander VI. and Pius III. but both died before the business was fully effected.* At last comes pope Julius II. and, by the omnipotency of his dispensation, removed all impediments and obstructions against the laws of God or man hindering or opposing the said marriage. We leave them for the present wedded and bedded together, and twenty years hence shall hear more of this matter; only know, that this marriage was founded in covetous considerations, merely to save money, that the kingdom might not be impoverished by restoring her dowry back again into Spain, though hereupon a greater mass of coin was transported out of the land, though not into Spain, into Italy. Thus such who consult with covetousness in matters of conscience, embracing sinister courses to save charges, will find such thrift to prove expensive at the casting-up of their audit; however, Divine Providence, overruling all actions to his own glory, so ordered it, that the breaking-off the pope's power, with the banishing of superstition out of England, is at this day the only surviving issue of this marriage.

7. *Abjured Lollards wear Faggots.*

The beginning of this king's reign was but barren (as the latter part thereof, some will say, over-fruitful) with eminent church-passages. And therefore we will spare when we may and be brief in his first, that we may spend when we should in the larger description of his latter, years. Cruelty still continued and increased on the poor Lollards, (as they call them, after abjuration) forced to wear the fashion of a faggot wrought in thread, or painted on their left sleeves, all the days of their lives; it being death to put on their clothes without that cognizance. And, indeed, to poor people it was true, "put it off and be burned; keep it on and be starved;" seeing none generally would set them on work that carried that badge about them.

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* SANDERS *De Schismate Anglicano*, lib. i. page 2.

8. *Sweeting and Brewster burned.*

On this account William Sweeting and James Brewster were re-imprisoned. In vain did Brewster plead,* that he was commanded to leave off his badge by the comptroller of the earl of Oxford's house, who was not to control the orders of the bishops herein. And as little did Sweeting's plea prevail, that the parson of Mary Magdalene's in Colchester caused him to lay his faggot aside. These, like Isaac, first bare their faggots on their backs, which soon after bare them, being both burned together in Smithfield, Oct. 18th. The papists report, that they proffered, at their death, again to abjure their opinions, the truth whereof one day shall appear. Mean time, if true, let the unpartial but judge which were most faulty,—these poor men for want of constancy in tendering, or their judges for want of charity in not accepting, their abjuration?

9. *Richard Hunn murdered in Lollards' Tower. A.D.* 1514.

Richard Hunn, a wealthy citizen of London, imprisoned in Lollards' Tower for maintaining some of Wickliffe's opinions, had his neck therein secretly broken, December 3rd. To cover their cruelty, they gave it out, that he hanged himself; but the coroner's inquest sitting on him, December 6th, by necessary presumptions found the impossibility thereof, and gave in their verdict,—that the said Hunn was murdered. Insomuch that Parsons † hath nothing to reply, but that the coroner's inquest were simple men, and suspected to be infected with Wickliffian heresies. But we remit the reader to Mr. Fox for satisfaction in all these things, whose commendable care is such, that he will not leave an hoof of a martyr behind him, being very large in the reckoning-up of all sufferers in this kind.

10. *Cardinal Bainbrigg, why poisoned at Rome.*

Cardinal Bainbrigg, archbishop of York, being then at Rome, was so highly offended with Rivaldus de Modena, an Italian, his steward, (others say, his physician, and a priest,) that he fairly cudgelled him. This his passion was highly censured, as inconsistent with episcopal gravity, who should be "no striker," 1 Tim. iii. 3. But the Italian showed a cast of his country, and with poison ‡ sent the cardinal to answer for his fact in another world, whose body was buried in the English hospital at Rome.

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* Fox, vol. ii. page 12.

† Examination of Fox's "Martyrology" for the month of December, pages 279, 282.

‡ GODWIN in Catalogue of Bishops of York, page 72.

11. *The Founding of Corpus Christi College, in Oxford. A.D.* 1516.

Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, founded and endowed Corpus-Christi College in Oxford; bestowing thereon lands to the yearly value of four hundred and one pounds, eight shillings and two pence.[*] And, whereas this foundation is charactered by an Oxford-man,[†] to be *ex omnibus minimum, vel certè ex minimis unum*, at this day it acquitteth itself in more than a middle equipage amongst other foundations. Erasmus is very large in the praise thereof, highly affected with a library, and study of tongues, which, according to the founder's will, flourished therein; insomuch that for some time it was termed, "the college of the three learned languages;"

Est locus Oxonii, licet appellare trilingue
Musæum, a Christi corpore nomen habet.[‡]

Sure I am, that for all kind of learning, divine and human, this House is paramount for eminent persons bred therein.

PRESIDENTS.—John Claymond, Robert Nerwent, [Morwent,] William Cheadsey, William Butcher, Thomas Greeneway, William Cole, John Raynolds, John Spencer, Thomas Anian, John Holt, Thomas Jackson, Robert Newlen, Edmund Staunton.

BISHOPS.—Cardinal Pole, John Jewel.

BENEFACTORS.—Hugh Oldham, bishop of Exeter; John Claymond, first president; Mr. Mordent, William Frost, Mrs. Moore, Dr. John Raynolds, Sir George Paul, knight.

LEARNED WRITERS.—George Etheridge,[§] Richard Hooker, Brian Twine, the industrious antiquary of Oxford; Dr. Thomas Jackson.

So that a President, twenty Fellows, twenty Scholars, two Chaplains, two Clerks, and two Choristers, besides Officers and Servants of the foundation, are therein maintained, which, with other Students, *anno* 1634, made up threescore and ten.

12. *Hugh Oldham's Bounty.*

This Hugh Oldham, in the front of benefactors, because he was bishop of Exeter, for name's sake, intended his bounty to Exeter College. But suffering a repulse from that society, (refusing at his request to make one Atkin a Fellow,[||]) diverted his liberality to

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[*] GODWIN in the Bishops of Winchester, page 297.

[†] PITZÆUS *De Acad. Oxon.* page 36.

[‡] JOHN WHITE *in libro diacosio, &c.*

[§] See more of him, *anno* 1584, sect. vi. par. 21.

[||] GODWIN in the Bishops of Exeter, page 473.

Corpus-Christi college; so bountiful thereunto, that, as "founder" is too much, so "benefactor" is too little, for him. He was one of more piety than learning, courteous in his deeds, but very harsh and rugged in his speeches, making himself but bad orations, yet good orators, so many eloquent men were bred by his bounty. Nor let it be forgotten, that, as Fox, the founder of this house, was Fellow and Master of Pembroke-Hall; so Oldham also had his education in Queen's college in Cambridge;* so much hath Oxford been beholding to her nephews or sister's children. But as once Ephron said to Abraham, "What is that betwixt me and thee?" Gen. xxiii. 15; so, such their mutual affection, it matters not what favour one sister freely bestoweth on the other.

13—16. *The Death of Dean Colet, Founder of Paul's School. The Mercers made Overseers thereof, out of provident Prescience.* *A.D.* 1519.

John Colet, dean of Paul's, died this year, September 4th, in the fifty-third year of his age, of a pestilential sweating, at Sheen in Surrey. He was the eldest and sole surviving child of Sir Henry Colet, mercer, twice lord mayor of London, who, with his ten sons and as many daughters, are depicted in a glass window, on the north side of St. Anthony's, (corruptly St. Antholin's,) to which church he was a great benefactor.† His son John founded the free-school of St. Paul's; and it is hard to say, whether he left better laws for the government, or lands for maintenance, thereof.

A free school, indeed, to all natives or foreigners of what country whatsoever, here to have their education, (none being excluded by their nativity, which exclude not themselves by their unworthiness,) to the number of one hundred fifty and three, (so many fishes as were caught in the net by the apostles, John xxi. 11,) whereof every year some appearing most pregnant (by unpartial examination) have salaries allowed them for seven years, or until they get better preferment, in the church or university.

It may seem false Latin, that this Colet being dean of St. Paul's, the school dedicated to St. Paul, and distanced but the breadth of the street from St. Paul's church, should not be entrusted to the inspection of his successors, the dean and chapter of Paul's, but committed to the care of the Company of the Mercers, for the managing thereof. But Erasmus rendereth a good reason,‡ from the mouth and mind of Colet himself, who had found by experience many laymen as conscientious as clergymen in discharging this trust in this kind; conceiving also, that whole Company was not so easy to be bowed to corruption as any single person, how public and eminent soever.

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* See JOHN SCOT'S Tables.

† STOW'S "Survey," page 265.

‡ In his Epistle unto Jodocus Jonas.

For my own part, I behold Colet's act herein, not only prudential, but something prophetical, as foreseeing the ruin of church-lands, and fearing that this his school, if made an ecclesiastical appendant, might, in the fall of church-lands, get a bruise, if not lose a limb, thereby.

17—20. *William Lilly first Schoolmaster. His Grammar often printed, and privileged by Authority; since amended by many.*

William Lilly was the first schoolmaster thereof, by Colet's own appointment: an excellent scholar, born at Odiam in Hampshire, and afterward he went on pilgrimage as far as Jerusalem.* In his return through Italy he applied himself to his studies. And because some, perchance, would be pleased to know the lilies of Lilly, (I mean his teachers and instructers,) know that John Sulpitius and Pomponius Sabinus, two eminent critics, were his principal informers. Returning home into his native country well-accomplished with Latin, Greek, and all arts and sciences, he set forth a grammar, which still goes under his name, and is universally taught all over England.

Many were the editions of this grammar; the first set forth *anno* 1513, when Paul's school was founded, as appears by that instance, *meruit sub rege in Galliâ*, relating to Maximilian the German emperor, who then at the seige of Therovenne in Flanders, fought under the banner of king Henry VIII. taking an hundred crowns a-day for his pay.† Another edition, *anno* 1520, when *audito rege Doroberniam proficisci* refers to the king's speedy journey into Canterbury, there to give entertainment to Charles .V. emperor, lately landed at Dover.

Formerly there were in England almost as many grammars as schoolmasters, children being confounded, not only with their variety, but (sometimes) contrariety thereof; rules being true in the one which were false in the other. Yea, which was the worst, a boy when removed to a new school lost all he had learned before: whereupon king Henry endeavoured an uniformity of grammar all over his dominions; that so youths, though changing their schoolmasters, might keep their learning. This was performed, and William Lilly's grammar enjoined universally to be used. A stipend of four pounds a-year was allowed the king's printer for printing of it; and it was penal for any publicly to teach any other.

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* PITZÆUS *De Ang. Scriptor.* page 697.

† GODWIN'S "Annals," page 16.

I have been told how, lately, bishop Buckeridge examining a free school in his diocess of Rochester, the scholars were utterly ignorant of Lilly's rules, as used to others; whereat the bishop exclaimed, "What, are there Puritans also in grammar?"

I deny not but some since have discovered blasted leaves in our Lilly, observing defects and faults therein; and commendable many persons' pains in amending them. However, it were to be desired, that no needless variations be made, and as much left of Lilly as may be; the rather, because he submitted his *Syntaxis* to the judgment of Erasmus himself,* so that it was afterward printed amongst his works. Indeed *Quæ Genus* was done by Thomas Robinson, and the Accidence (as some will have it) by other authors, after Lilly was dead, and prince Edward born, of and for whom it was said, "EDVARDUS is my proper name." And thus we take our leave both of Lilly and Paul's school, flourishing at this day as much as ever, under the care of Mr. John Langley, the able and religious schoolmaster thereof.

21—23. *King Henry writes against Luther: styled by the Pope* DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. *His Jester's Reply. A.D.* 1521.

King Henry had lately set forth a book against Luther, endeavouring the confutation of his opinions as novel and unsound. None suspect this king's lack of learning, (though many his lack of leisure from his pleasures,) for such a design; however, it is probable some other GARDNER gathered the flowers, (made the collections,) though king Henry had the honour to wear the posy, carrying the credit in the title thereof.

To requite his pains, the pope honoured him and his successors with a specious title, "A Defender of the Faith." Indeed, it is the bounden duty of every Christian, "earnestly to contend for the faith which once was given to the saints," Jude 3; but it is the dignity of few men, and fewer princes, to be able effectually to appear in print in the vindication thereof.

There is a tradition, that king Henry's fool, (though more truly to be termed by another name,) coming into the court, and finding the king transported with an unusual joy, boldly asked of him the cause thereof; to whom the king answered, it was because that the pope had honoured him with a style more eminent than any of his ancestors. "O good Harry," quoth the fool, "let thou and I defend one another, and let the faith alone to defend itself." Most true it is that some of his successors more truly deserved the title, than he to whom it was given; who both learnedly then solidly engaged their pens in the asserting of true religion.

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* PITZÆUS, *ut prius*.

24—26. *Wolsey's unlimited Power and Pride. He was the first Confounder of Abbeys; a Precedent quickly followed. A.D.* 1524.

At this time, though king Henry wore the sword, cardinal Wolsey bore the stroke all over the land; being legate *de latere*, by virtue whereof he visited all churches and religious houses, even the Friars Observants themselves, notwithstanding their stoutness and stubbornness, that first opposed him.* Papal and royal power met in him, being the chancellor of the land, and keeping so many bishoprics in commendam, his yearly income is said to equal, if not exceed, the revenues of the crown.

The more the pity, that, having of his own such a flock of preferment, nothing but the poor man's ewe-lamb would please him, 2 Sam. xii. 3; so that, being to found two colleges, he seized on no fewer than forty small monasteries, turning their inhabitants out of house and home, and converting their means principally to a college in Oxford. This alienation was confirmed by the present pope Clement VII. so that in some sort his Holiness may thank himself for the demolishing of religious houses in England.

For, the first breach is the greatest in effect; and abbeys, having now lost their virginity, diverted by the pope to other, soon after lost their chastity, prostituted by the king to ordinary, uses. And now the cardinal was busied in building his college, consisting of several courts, whereof the principal is so fair and large, it would have equalled any prince's palace, if finished according to the design, all the chambers and other offices being intended suitable to the magnificent hall and kitchen therein.

27—31. *Wolsey a royal Harbinger. His vast Design, why unknown. An over-tart Sarcasm; a second somewhat milder. Three Names to one College.*

Indeed, nothing mean could enter into this man's mind; but, of all things, his structures were most stately. He was the best harbinger that ever king Henry had, not only taking up beforehand, but building up beautiful houses for his entertainments, which, when finished, (as Whitehall, Hampton-Court, &c.) he either freely gave them to the king, or exchanged them on very reasonable considerations.

Some say, he intended this his college to be an university in an university, so that it should have therein by itself professors of all arts and sciences. But we may believe, that all these go but by guess, as not knowing the cardinal's mind, (who knew not his own,) daily embracing new designs of magnificence, on the emergency of every occasion. Yet let not the greatness of his buildings swallow up in silence the memory and commendable devotion of Simon Islip, archbishop of Canterbury, who founded Canterbury College, taken in with this cardinal's unfinished foundation.

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* Fox's "Acts and Monuments."

However, too tart and bitter was the expression of Rodulphus Gualterus, a German; who, comparing the cardinal's *project* with his *performance*, said of him, *Instituit collegium et absolvit popinam*, "He began a college and built a kitchen." For had he not been civilly defunct, before naturally dead, not a pane of glass nor peg of wood, had been wanting in that edifice.

More wit than truth was in another's return, who, being demanded what he thought concerning the ampleness of this foundation, made this homonymous answer, *Fundatione nihil amplius*, "There is nothing more (or more stately) than this foundation;" whereas, indeed, had not he himself been unexpectedly stripped of his estate, he had left more and better lands to this House than king Henry conferred upon them, who, conceiving church-means fittest for Christ-church, exchanged many of their best manors for impropriations.

This college did thrice change its name in seven years, accounting it no small credit thereunto, that it always ascended, and was advanced in every alteration: First, called "Cardinal's College:" Then, "King's College:" And, at last, "Christ's Church," which it retaineth at this day.

32. *The Pride of the Cardinal humbled by others.*

King Henry took just offence that the cardinal set his own arms above the king's,* on the gatehouse, at the entrance into the college. This was no verbal but a real *ego et rex meus*, excusable by no plea in manners or grammar; except only by that, (which is rather fault than figure,) a harsh down-right hysterosis. But, to humble the cardinal's pride, some afterwards set up, on a window, a painted mastiff-dog,† gnawing the spadebone of a shoulder of mutton, to mind the cardinal of his extraction, being the son of a butcher; it being utterly improbable, (that some have fancied,) that that picture was placed there by the cardinal's own appointment, to be to him a monitor of humility.

Deans.—1. John Higdon; 2. Dr. Moore; 3. John Oliver; 4. Richard Cox; 5. Richard Marshall; 6. George Carow; 7. Thomas Samson; 8. Thomas Goodwin; 9. Thomas Cooper; 10. John Piers; 11. Tobias Matthew; 12. William James; 13. Thomas Ravis; 14. John King; 15. William Goodwin; 16.

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* *Rex Platonicus*, page 44.

† *Idem*, page 45.

Richard Corbet; 17. Brian Duppa; 18. John Fell; 19. Edward Reynolds; 20. John Owen.

BISHOPS.—Richard Cox, bishop of Ely; Thomas Goodwin, bishop of Bath and Wells; Thomas Cooper, bishop of Winchester; John Piers, archbishop of York; Herbert Westphaling, bishop of Hereford; William James, bishop of Durham; Thomas Ravis, bishop of London; John King, bishop of London; Richard Corbet, bishop of Norwich; William Piers, bishop of Bath and Wells; Brian Duppa, bishop of Salisbury.

BENEFACTORS.—Otho Nicholson, one of the examiners of the chancery, bestowed eight hundred pounds in building and furnishing a fair library.

LEARNED WRITERS.—Sir Philip Sydney, Sir Walter Raleigh, William Camden, Robert Gomersall, John Gregory, William Cartwright.

Here I omit the many eminent writers still surviving: Dr. Meric Casaubon, and Dr. George Morley, both no less eminent for their sound judgments, than patient sufferings; Dr. Barton Holiday, and Dr. Jasper Main, who have refreshed their severer studies with poetry, and sallies into pleasant learning; with many more in this numerous foundation. Beholding, as for his wealth, to king Henry VIII. so for a great part of the wit and learning thereof to his daughter queen Elizabeth, whose schoolboys at Westminster become as good schoolmen here, sent hither, as to Trinity college in Cambridge, by her appointment; so that lately there were maintained therein, one Dean, eight Canons, three public Professors of Divinity, Hebrew, and Greek, one hundred Students, eight Chaplains, eight Singing-men, an Organist, eight Choristers, twenty-four Almsmen; at this present Students of all sorts, with Officers and Servants of the foundation, to the number of two hundred twenty-three.

33—35. *Persecution in the Cardinal's College. Christ Church a Colony of Cambridgemen. Wolsey's Pride in his Servants.*

Know, that John Higdon, first dean of this college, was a great persecutor of poor Protestants, as by the ensuing catalogue will appear:—John Clark, John Frith, Henry Sumner, —— Baley, John Fryer, —— Goodman, + Nicholas Harmar, + Michael Drumme, + William Betts, —— Lawney, Richard Cox, Richard Taverner.* All these were questioned for their religion,† being cast into a prison, in a deep cave under ground, where the salt fish of the college was kept; the stench whereof made some of them to die soon after, and others escaped with great difficulty. Taverner was excellently skilled in music; on which account he escaped, though vehemently accused, the cardinal pleading for him, that he was but a musician, though afterward he repented to have set tunes to so many popish ditties.

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* Such whose names are noted with a cross [after them] did afterwards turn zealous papists. † FOX'S "Acts and Monuments," page 1032.

We must not forget that all in the foresaid catalogue, whose Christian names are expressed, were originally Cambridge-men,* and invited by the cardinal, on promise of preferment, to plant his new foundation; besides Florence, a Dominican, John Akers, and many more famous for their learning, which at this time removed to Oxford, seasoned both with good learning and true religion.

Know also this, John Higdon, first dean, was he, of whom cardinal Wolsey, when fallen into distress, did borrow two hundred pounds, therewith to pay and reward some of his poorest servants, giving them money on this condition,—that hereafter they should serve no subject, but only the king himself;† as if this had been *suscipere gradum Simeonis*, for those who so long had attended on a lord cardinal. But this happened many years after; we return to this proud prelate, while he flourished in the height of his prosperity.

36—38. *Wolsey turns his Waiting into Revenge. The Scruple of the King's Marriage. The King willingly embraceth the Motion.*

Their heads will catch cold which wait bare for a dead pope's triple crown. Wolsey may be an instance hereof, who, on every avoidance of St. Peter's chair, was sitting down therein, when suddenly some one or other clapt in before him! Weary with waiting, he now resolved to revenge himself on Charles the emperor, for not doing him right, and not improving his power in preferring him to the papacy, according to his promises and pretences. He intends to smite Charles through the sides of his aunt, Catherine queen of England, endeavouring to alienate the king's affections from her. And this is affirmed by the generality of our historians, though some of late have endeavoured to acquit Wolsey, as not the first persuader of the king's divorce.

Indeed, he was beholding for the first hint thereof to the Spaniards themselves. For, when the lady Mary was tendered in marriage to Philip, prince of Spain, the Spanish ambassadors seemed to make some difficulty thereof, and to doubt her extraction, as begotten on a mother formerly married to her husband's elder brother. Wolsey now put this scruple into the head of bishop Longland, the king's confessor, and he insinuated the same into the king's conscience:

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* CAIUS *De Antiq. Cant. Acad.*

† *Rex Platonicus*, page 43.

advising him hereafter to abstain from the company of his queen, to whom he was unlawfully married; adding moreover, that, after a divorce procured, which the pope in justice could not deny, the king might dispose his affections where he pleased. And here Wolsey had provided him a second wife: namely, Margaret duchess of Alençon, sister to Francis king of France; though heavens reserved that place, not for the mistress, but her maid, I mean Anna Bullen, [Boleyn,] who (after the return of Mary the French queen for England) attended in France for some time on this lady Margaret.

Tinder needs no torch to light it; the least spark will presently set it on flame. No wonder if king Henry greedily resented the motion. Male issue he *much* wanted, and a young female *more* on whom to beget it. As for queen Catherine, he rather respected than affected, rather honoured than loved her. She had got a habit of miscarrying, scarce curable in one of her age, intimated in one of the king's private papers, as *morbus incurabilis*. Yet publicly he never laid either fault or defect to her charge; that, not dislike of her person or conditions, but only principles of pure conscience, might seem to put him upon endeavours of a divorce.

39, 40. *The Pope a Captive. The Character of Campegius. A.D.* 1528.

The business is brought into the court of Rome, there to be decided by pope Clement VII. But the pope at this time was not *sui juris*, being a prisoner to the emperor, who constantly kept a guard about him. So that one wittily said, it was now most true, *Papa non potest errare*, "The pope could not wander," as cooped up and confined. Yet, after some delays, the pope at last, to satisfy the king, and clear his own credit, dispatched a commission to two cardinals, Wolsey, and Campegius an Italian, at London, to hear and determine the matter.

Campegius was the junior cardinal, and therefore the rather procured by Wolsey to be his colleague in this business,—whose pride would scarce admit an equal, but abhorred a superior,—than any foreign prelate should take place of him in England. As Wolsey's junior, so was he none of the most mercurial amongst the conclave of cardinals, but a good heavy man, having *ingenium par negotio*, "neither too much, nor too little, but just wit enough for the purpose the pope employed him in." Wolsey might spur Campegius, and Campegius would bridle Wolsey, keeping them both strictly to the letter of their instructions. Wolsey, hearing Campegius was come to Calais with an equipage not so court-like as he could have desired, and, loath that his own pomp should be shamed by the other's poverty, caused him to stay there till he sent him more splendid accommodations, at least in outward show, and then over he came into England. But see the spite of it! As the cardinal's mules passed Cheapside, out of unruliness they chanced to break the trunks they carried, which were found full of nothing but emptiness, which exposed his mock state to the more scorn and contempt. Empty trunks, the lively emblem of this cardinal's legacy, coming hither with intent and instruction to do little, and going hence having done nothing at all! However, a court is solemnly called, and the cardinals, having first read their commission, set themselves to examine the matter.

41—43. *A matchless Sight. Queen Catherine's Speech. The Sting in her Speech. A.D.* 1529.

It was fashionable amongst the Heathen, at the celebration of their centenary solemnities, which returned but once in a hundred years, to have a herald publicly to proclaim, "Come hither to behold what you never saw before, and never are likely to see again." But here, May 31st, happened such a spectacle, in a great room called the parliament-chamber in Blackfriars, as never before or after was seen in England; namely, king Henry, summoned in his own land to appear before two judges,—the one Wolsey, directly his subject by birth,—the other his subject occasionally by his preferment, Campegius being lately made bishop of Salisbury. Summoned, he appeared personally, and the queen did the like the first day, but afterwards both by their doctors. FOR THE KING.—Richard Samson, John Bell, Peter and John Tregonwell. FOR THE QUEEN.—Nicholas West, bishop of Ely; John Fisher, bishop of Rochester; Henry Standish, bishop of St. Asaph. Here the queen arose, and, after her respects dealt to the cardinals, in such manner as seemed neither uncivil to them, nor unsuiting to herself, uttered the following speech, at the king's feet, in the English tongue, but with her Spanish tone, a clip whereof was so far from rendering it the less intelligible, that it soundeth the more pretty and pleasant to the hearers thereof. Yea, her very pronunciation pleaded for her with all ingenuous auditors, providing her some pity, as due to a foreigner far from her own country. But hear her words:—

"Sir,—I desire you take some pity upon me, and do me justice and right: I am a poor woman, a stranger, born out of your dominions, having here no indifferent counsel, and less assurance of friendship. Alas! wherein have I offended, or what cause of displeasure have I given, that you intend thus to put me away? I take God to my judge, I have been to you a true and humble wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure, never gainsaying any thing wherein you took delight, without all grudge or discontented countenance; I have loved all them that loved you, howsoever their affections have been to me-ward; I have borne you children, and been your wife now this twenty years. Of my virginity and marriage-bed I make God and your own conscience the judge; and if it otherwise be proved, I am content to be put from you with shame. The king your father in his time for wisdom was known to be a second Solomon; and Ferdinando of Spain my father, accounted the wisest among their kings. Could they in this match be so far overseen? or are there now wiser and more learned men than at that time were? Surely, it seemeth wonderful to me, that my marriage, after twenty years, should be thus called in question, with new invention against me who never intended but honesty. Alas, sir, I see I am wronged, having no counsel to speak for me, but such as are your subjects, and cannot be indifferent upon my part. Therefore, I most humbly beseech you, even in charity, to stay this course, until I have advice and counsel from Spain; if not, your Grace's pleasure be done."*

This her speech ended, she departed the court, and, though often recalled, would not return; whereupon, June 18th, she was pronounced contumacious; many commending the greatness of her spirit, and more condemning the stoutness of her stomach, as every one stood affected.

The most pungent passage in this her speech was her appeal to the king's conscience, that he found her a virgin, when first coming to her bed. Her words gained the more credit, because coming from one generally known to be spare of speech, and such may be rationally presumed to take best aim at the truth, who so seldom discharge in discourse; the rather because she saying it, and the king not gainsaying it, many interpreted his silence herein consent; whilst others imputed the king's silence to his discretion, because both of them were parties, who, though they knew the most, were to speak the least, in their own cause, remitting it to the trial by the testimony of others.

44. *Fisher's short Plea.*

As for the queen's counsel,—which though assigned to her, appear not dearly accepted by her, as chosen rather by others for her than by her for herself,—I find at this present little of moment pleaded or performed by them. Only bishop Fisher affirmed, that no more needed to be said for the validity of the marriage, than "whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder:" A most true position in itself, if he could have cleared the application thereof to his royal client: but *hoc restat probandum;* the contrary—"-that God never joined them together"—being vehemently urged by her adversaries.

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* SPEED, page 766.

45—47. *The Pleas of the King's Counsel. Secrets sub Sigillo Thalami. A shrewd Retortion.*

Notwithstanding the queen's absence, the court proceeded: and first the king's proctors put in their exceptions against both bull and brief of pope Julius II. dispensing with the king's marriage with his brother's wife; namely, 1. That they were not to be found amongst the original records of Rome. 2. That they were not extant in *Chartaphylacio*, amongst the king of England's papers, (most concerned therein,) but found only in Spain, amongst the writings of a state-officer there. 3. That in them it was falsely suggested, as if the same were procured at the instance of Henry prince of Wales, who then, not being above thirteen years old, was not capable of such intentions. 4. That the date thereof was somewhat discrepant from the form used in the court of Rome.

After this, many witnesses on the king's side were deposed; and though this favour is by custom indulged to the English nobility, to speak on their honours; yet the canon law, taking no notice of this their municipal privilege, and for the more legal validity of their testimonies, required the same on oath, though two dukes, one duchess, one marquess, many lords and ladies, gave in their depositions. These attested,—1. That both were of sufficient age, prince Arthur of fifteen years, the lady Catherine somewhat elder. 2. That constant their cohabitation, at board and in bed. 3. That competent the time of the same, as full five months. 4. That entire their mutual affection, no difference being ever observed betwixt them. 5. That Henry, after his brother's death, by an instrument produced in court, and attested by many witnesses, refused to marry her, though afterwards altered by the importunity of others. 6. That, by several expressions of prince Arthur's, it appeared, he had carnal knowledge of the lady Catherine.

The beds of private persons are compassed with curtains, of princes veiled also with canopies, to conceal the passages therein, to which modesty admitteth no witnesses. Pity it is, that any, with Pharaoh, should discover what is exchanged betwixt Isaac and Rebekah; all which are best stifled in secrecy and silence. However, such the nature of the present cause, that many privacies were therein discovered.

Observe, by the way, that whereas it was generally alleged in favour of the queen, that prince Arthur had not carnal knowledge of her, because, soon after his marriage, his consumptionish body seemed unfit for such performances; this was retorted by testimonies on the king's side, his witnesses deposing, that generally it was reported and believed, the prince impaired his health by his over liberal payment of "due benevolence."

48. *An End in vain expected.*

It was expected, that the cardinals should now proceed to a definitive sentence, according as matters were alleged and proved unto them; the rather because it was generally reported, that Campegius brought over with him a Bull Decretal, to pronounce a nullity of the match, if he saw just cause for the same. Which rumour, like the silken fly wherewith anglers cheat the fishes, was only given out to tempt king Henry to a longer patience, and quiet expectation of the event. But by this time, October 22nd, queen Catherine had privately prevailed with the pope to advoke the cause to Rome, as a place of more indifferency for a plea of so high concernment. Whereupon Campegius took his leave of the king, and returned into Italy.

49. *Love-Letters of King Henry kept in the Vatican.*

The papists tell us, that cardinal Campegius sent over before him some amatorious letters, which passed, written with the king's own hand, betwixt him and his dear Nan, as he termed her. These are said to import more familiarity than chastity betwixt them; and are carefully kept, and solemnly shown, in the Vatican to strangers, especially of the English nation, though some suspect them to be but forged. For, though the king had wantonness enough to write such letters, yet Anna Bullen had wit and wariness too much to part with them. It would more advance the popish project, could they show any return from her to the king accepting his offers, which they pretend not to produce. Our authors generally agree, her denials more inflamed the king's desires. For though, perchance, nothing more than a woman was wished by his wild fancy, yet nothing less than a husband would content her conscience. In a word, so cunning she was in her chastity, that the farther she put him from her, the nearer she fastened his affections unto her.

50. *No Haste to end the King's Cause at Rome.*

Still was the king's cause more delayed in the court of Rome. If a melancholic schoolman can spin out a speculative controversy, with his *pros* and *cons*, to some quires of paper, where the profit is little to others, and none to himself, except satisfying his curiosity and some popular applause; no wonder if the casuists at Rome, those cunning masters of defence, could lengthen out a cause of so high concernment and so greatly beneficial unto them. For, English silver now was current, and our gold volant, in the pope's courts; whither such masses of money daily were transported, England knew not certainly what was expended, nor Rome what received, herein. Yea, for seven years was this suit depending in the pope's court; after which apprenticeship, the indentures were not intended to be cancelled, but the cause still to be kept on foot, it being for the interest to have it always in doing, and never done. For, whilst it depended, the pope was sure of two great friends; but, when it was once decided, he was sure of one great foe, either the emperor, or our king of England.

51. *King and Queen both offended with Wolsey.*

It was a maxim true of all men, but most of king Henry, *omnis mora properanti nimia*. He, who would have not only *what* but *when* he would himself, was vexed with so many delayings, deferrings, retardings, prorogations, prolongations, procrastinations, betwixt two popes, as one may say,—Clement that was, and Wolsey that would be. So that all this while, after so much ado, there was nothing done in his business, which now was no nearer to a final conclusion than at the first beginning thereof. Yea, now began cardinal Wolsey to decline in the king's favour, suspecting him for not cordial in his cause, and ascribing much of the delay to his backwardness herein. More hot did the displeasure of queen Catherine burn against him, beholding him as the chief engine, who set the matter of her divorce first in motion.

52. *Wolsey looks two Ways in this Design.*

Be it here remembered, that, in persuading the king's divorce, Wolsey drave on a double design: by the recess of the king's love from queen Catherine, to revenge himself of the emperor; by the access of his love to Margaret of Alençon, to oblige the king of France. Thus he hoped to gain with both hands; and presumed, that the sharpness of his two-edged policy should cut on both sides: when God, to prevent him, did both blunt the edges and break the point thereof. For, instead of gaining the love of two kings, he got the implacable anger of two queens; of Catherine decaying, and Anna Bullen increasing, in the king's affection. Let him hereafter look but for few fair days, when both the sun rising and setting frowned upon him.

SECTION II.

TO MR. THOMAS JAMES, OF BUNTINGFORD, IN HERTFORDSHIRE.

CORNER stones (two walls meeting in them) are polished with the more curiosity, and placed with more carefulness. So also corner bones (as I may say) which do double duty, and attend the service of two joints, (in the elbow and knee,) are rarely fixed by the providence of nature.

This Section being in the turning of religions, (the going out of the old, and coming in of the new,*) ought to have been done with most industry, difficulty meeting therein with dark instructions. However, I have endeavoured my utmost, (though falling short of the merits of the matter,) and doubt not but you will be as candid in the perusing, as I have desired to be careful in the writing, thereof.

1—5. *Wolsey accused in Parliament, and well defended by Mr. Cromwell his Servant; prosecuted by his Enemies, and removed to York. Large Means allowed him. He states it at York. Arrested of Treason, and dieth. A D.* 1530.

KNOW now in the next year, the lords in parliament put in a bill of forty-four particulars against Wolsey. The most material was his exercising of power-legative, without leave, to the prejudice of the king's crown and dignity. The bill is brought down into the house of commons, where Mr. Cromwell, then servant to the cardinal, chanced to be a burgess. Here he defended his master with such wit and eloquence, that even those who hated the client, yet praised the advocate who pleaded in his behalf. This was the first time that public notice was taken of Cromwell's eminent parts; and advantageous starting is more than half the way in the race to preferment, as afterwards in him it came to pass. As for Wolsey, though at this time he escaped with life and liberty, yet were all his goods, of inestimable value, confiscated to the king, and he outed of most of his ecclesiastical promotions.

Court-favourites, when it is once past noon, it is presently night with them; as here it fared with Wolsey. His enemies, of whom no want, follow the blow given unto him. For they beheld him rather in a swoon, than as yet dead in the king's favour; and feared if his submission should meet with the king's remembrance of his former services, they might produce his full restitution to power and dignity; the rather because the cardinal was cunning to improve all to his own advantage, and the king (as yet) not cruel, though too perfect in that lesson afterwards. His enemies would not trust the cardinal to live at London, nor at Winchester within fifty miles thereof; but got the king to command him away to York, sending him thither whither his conscience long since should have sent him; namely, to visit his diocess, so large in extent, and reside therein.

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* So vulgarly miscalled for "renewed."

Indifferent men thought that he had enough, his foes that too much, only himself that too little was left unto him. Pride accounts the greatest plenty, if without pomp, no better than penury. Yet he had the whole revenues of York archbishopric, (worth then little less than four thousand pounds yearly,) besides a large pension paid him out of the bishopric of Winchester. Was not here fuel enough, had there not been too much fire within, such his covetousness and ambition?

Earthly kings may make men humbled, God alone [can] humble. Wolsey began to state it at York as high as ever before, in proportion to his contracted revenues. Preparation is made in a princely equipage for his installation, attracting envy from such as beheld it. All is told unto the king, and all made worse by telling it, complaining Wolsey would never leave his pride, till life first left him. His old faults are revived and aggravated, and the king incensed afresh against him.

The earl of Northumberland, by the commission from the king, arrested him of high treason, in his own chamber at Cawood. By slow and short journeys he setteth forward to London, November 27th, meeting by the way with contrary messages from the king. Sometimes he was tickled with hopes of pardon and preferment, sometimes pinched with fears of a disgraceful death; so that he knew not how to dispose his mind, to mirth or mourning. Age and anguish brought his disease of the dysentery, the pain lying much in his guts, more in his heart; especially after Sir William Kingston was sent unto him, who, being lieutenant of the Tower, seemed to carry a restraint in his looks. Coming to Leicester, he died, November 30th; being buried almost as obscurely as he was born.

6. *Wolsey's Credulity befooled with a dubious Prophecy.*

I know not whether or no it be worth the mentioning here, (however we will put it on the adventure,) that cardinal Wolsey in his life-time was informed by some fortune-tellers, that he should have his end at Kingston. This his credulity interpreted of Kingston-on-Thames, which made him always to avoid the riding through that town, though the nearest way from his house to the court. Afterwards understanding that he was to be committed by the king's express order to the charge of Sir Anthony Kingston, it struck to his heart, too late perceiving himself deluded by that father of lies in his homonymous prediction.*

7. *The King deluded with Delays at Rome.*

Anna Bullen did every day look fairer and fairer in the king's eyes, whilst the hopes of his marriage with her seemed every day farther and farther from him. For, the court at Rome meddled not with the merits of the cause, but fell upon by-points therein of lesser concernment. Yea, they divided his case into three and twenty particulars ;† whereof the first was, "whether prince Arthur had carnal knowledge with the lady Catherine?" This bare about a year's debate ; so that, according to this proportion, king Henry would be, not only past marrying, but past living, before his cause should be decided. This news put him into a passionate pensiveness ; the rather, because meeting with sadness here, many populous places in England, and Cambridge particularly, being at the present visited with the sickness.

8, 9. *Doctor Cranmer comes to Waltham ; is employed by the King to the Pope.*

But it is an evil plague which brings nobody profit. On this occasion Dr. Cranmer retired to Waltham, with two of his pupils, the sons of Mr. Cressy, (a name utterly extinct in that town where God hath fixed my present habitation,) long before the memory of any alive. But, consulting WEAVER's "Funeral Monuments" of Waltham church,‡ (more truly than neatly by him composed,) I find therein this epitaph :—

> "Here lieth Jon and Jone Cressy,
> On whose soulys Jesu hav mercy! Amen."

It seems, paper sometimes is more lasting than brass ; all the ancient epitaphs in that church being defaced by some barbarous hands, who, perchance, one day may want a grave for themselves.

The king coming to Waltham, Dr. Fox, his chaplain and almoner, (afterwards bishop of Hereford,) is lodged in Mr. Cressy's house. Discoursing about the king's divorce, Cranmer conceived that the speediest course was to prove the unlawfulness of his match by Scripture ; whence it would follow, that the pope at first had no power to dispense therewith, and that the universities of Christendom would sooner and truer decide the case than the court of Rome. This passage Fox reports to the king; who, well pleased thereat, professes that this man had the sow by the right ear;* an ear which the king never left worrying till he had got it off, and effected his will therein. Cranmer, being sent for, comes to the king, who very lovingly entertains him. Indeed, he was a most comely person, having an amiable eye, (and as the soul sees much by the eye, so is it much seen in them,) and pleasing countenance, as by his lively picture doth appear.† Glad was the king to see, more to hear, him enlarge himself on the former subject, that it was above the pope's power to dispense with God's work in the king's case. And now what fitter nurse for the child, than the own mother? What person more proper to manage this matter than Cranmer himself, who first moved it? The king resolves, and Cranmer consents, he should be sent to the pope, there to make good his position. Leave we Cranmer for a time, preparing himself for his long journey; and come briefly to state the king's controversy out of God's word, and several authors who have written thereof.

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* Henry Lord Howard in his book against prophecies, chap. xxviii. fol. 130.

† "History of the Council of Trent," page 69.

‡ In Essex, page 645. But see the former part of CRANMER's Life until this time, in our "History of Cambridge."

10. *Marriage with Brothers' Wives twice forbidden in Scripture.*

It plainly appears that a marriage with a brother's wife is unlawful, because expressly forbidden: "Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife: it is thy brother's nakedness," Lev. xviii. 16. Wherein we have, 1. A PROHIBITION.—"Thou shalt not uncover the nakedness of thy brother's wife." See, all these laws are made to men; it being presumed, that the weaker sex (whose part it is to take not tender, accept not offer, love) would be so modest, as not to adventure of themselves on any incestuous act, except first solicited by men thereunto. 2. THE REASON THEREOF.—"It is thy brother's nakedness." God could, according to his dominion, peremptorily have forbidden the same, without rendering a reason of his prohibition; but, that men might pay the more willing obedience to his law, he maketh those who were to keep it, in some sort, judges of the justness thereof, endeavouring to convince their consciences, and make their souls sensible of the natural uncleanness of such an act: "It is thy brother's nakedness."

Such marriages are again forbidden in another text. Nor can I render other reason of this duplicate, whereas others are but once, that this should be twice prohibited, save that God, foreseeing in his providence men's corrupt inclinations, prone here to climb over, did therefore think fit to make a double fence. "And if a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing: he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness: they shall be childless," Lev. xx. 21. Here we have the prohibition backed with a commination of being childless; which is variously interpreted;—either that they shall never have children; or, if having them, they shall not survive their parents; or, if surviving, they shall not be counted children, but bastards, illegitimate in the court of heaven. This commination of being childless, as applied *ad hominem*, fell heavy on king Henry VIII. who, sensible that his queen, though happy often to conceive, was unhappy almost as often to miscarry. Henry, his only Christian son by her, died before a full year old; a second was nameless, as never living to the honour of baptism; and of many blasted in the bud, Mary only survived to woman's estate.

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* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," page 1861.

† Which I have seen at Cheshunt, in the house of Sir Thomas Dacres, done, as I take it, by Hans Holbein.

11. *This proved to be a Law of Nature.*

Such as inquire into the nature of this law find it founded in nature itself, being only declaratory of what true reason doth dictate to man. God in making this law did not imprint a new writing in men's hearts, but only rub off some old rust from the same; wherefore it is added: "For all these abominations have the men of the land done, which were before you, and the land is defiled; that the land spue not you out also, when ye defile it, as it spued out the nations that were before you," Lev. xviii. 27, 28. Surely the land would never have vomited out the Heathen for not observing a positive precept never immediately delivered unto them; which plainly shows it was imprinted in nature, though partly obliterated by their corrupt customs to the contrary, and their consciences in their lucid intervals were apprehensive thereof. This would make one the more to admire, that any should maintain, that this law, the breach whereof made the country to avoid her Pagan inhabitants, should be only *lex impositia et ecclesiastica*,* "an imposed and church-law." To hear of a church-law amongst the Canaanites, is a strange paradox!

12, 13. *The Objection to the Contrary answered.*

It is objected, "This could not be a law of nature, because, almost at the beginning of nature, men brake them by the consent and permission of the God of heaven. For Cain and Seth, with the elder sons of Adam, must be allowed to have married their own sisters, far nearer in nature than their brother's wife."

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* SANDERS *De Schismate Anglic.* page 3.

It is answered, When God first created mankind, it was his pleasure all men should derive their original from Eve, as she from Adam. For had he made (as one may say) two distinct houses of mankind, what falling-out and fighting, what bickering and battling, would have been betwixt them! If men now a-days, descended from the loins of one general father and womb of one mother, are full of so fierce hatred, how many and keen may their differences be presumed, had they sprung from several fountains, and then all their hatred would have been charged, not on their corruption, but on their creation! God, therefore, as the apostle saith, "hath made of one blood all nations," Acts xvii. 26. Now, in the beginning of mankind, absolute necessity gave brethren liberty to marry their own sisters. Yea, God himself, interpretatively, signed and sealed the same with his own consent, because his wisdom had appointed no other means, without miracle, for the propagation of mankind. But when men began to be multiplied on the earth, that necessity being removed, the light of nature dictated unto them the unlawfulness of such marriages, and of some others more remote, as coming within the compass of incest; though the corrupt practices of Pagans sometimes trespassed in that kind. God, therefore, being to give his law to the Jews, cleared and declared that light of nature, by his positive law unto his people, to whom his goodness gave a garden and forbad a tree; so inconsiderable were those few prohibited, to the many persons permitted them, in marriage. For whereas there came out of Egypt about six hundred thousand men, besides children, Exod. xii. 37, fifty persons at the most (counting those forbidden as well by consequence as expressly) were interdicted unto them; amongst whom, one was the marriage with a brother's wife. For although God permitted this by a judicial law to his own people in case of raising up seed to a brother deceased childless, Deut. xxv. 5, the will of God being the law of laws; yet otherwise it was utterly unlawful, as whereon God had stamped (as is afore said) a double note of natural uncleanness.

14. *God's Laws indispensable with by the Pope.*

The law, then, of forbidding marriage with a brother's wife being founded in nature, it was pride and presumption in the pope to pretend to dispense therewith. Indeed, we read that the "dispensation of the Gospel," to see it dealt and distributed to several persons, was committed to St. Paul, 1 Cor. ix. 17; whose joint successor, with St. Peter, the pope pretends to be; but a dispensation from the law of God, to free men from the same, neither Paul nor Peter ever pretended unto. Let the pope make relaxations of such church-canons, which merely ecclesiastical authority hath made, there he may have the specious power to remit the rigour thereof at some times, places, and persons, as he apprehendeth just occasion. But let him not meddle to grant liberty for the breach of God's law. The first dispensation in this kind is what satan in the serpent gave our first parents in paradise: "You shall not surely die," Gen. iii. 4; and whether the granter had less power therein, or the receivers less profit thereby, we their woful posterity have little comfort to decide.

15. *Carnal Knowledge not material in this Controversy.*

Nor doth it any thing alter the case, (what was so much controverted in the court of Rome) whether or no prince Arthur had carnal knowledge of his wife, seeing we may observe, that in the court of heaven marriages bear date, not from their copulation, but solemn contract; and they thenceforward are esteemed man and wife before God. For it is provided, that if a damsel be betrothed to a husband still remaining a virgin, and shall be lain with by another man, both of them shall be stoned to death, and she punished for an adulteress, he for humbling his neighbour's wife. Deut. xxii. 24. Be then the lady Catherine known or unknown by prince Arthur, "due benevolence" is the effect, not the cause, of marriage; which was completed before God, and they two made one flesh when solemnly joined together in the face of the congregation.

16. *No Christian Utility inconsistent with Honesty.*

Such a marriage with a brother's wife, thus appearing against the law of God, it is strange that any should maintain that *publica honestas* "public honesty," was the only obstacle of this marriage: which obstruction, say they, by the pope's dispensation was removed, because *publica utilitas*, "the public profit," was greater, that redounded by permitting this match. Now, suppose this all the obstacle, the position is dangerous and unsound. For, first, Christians are not sensible of utility, as falsely so called, which stands at distance with public honesty. Secondly. The publicness of the profit was not adequate to the publicness of the scandal. The profit or state-benefit thereby only extended to the crowns of England and Spain as concerned therein; whilst the scandal dilated itself to the people of all Christian provinces, justly offended thereat. And although we confess, that in this respect the world is narrower to princes than to private persons, as not affording so fit matches unto them; yet kings have no commission to enlarge themselves herein by the actual breach of God's commandment.

17. *Armies of Writers pro and con in this Point.*

Thus far the sum of the sense of Protestants and others; no fewer than a hundred authors writing at this time against this marriage:

all which were produced by the king in the next parliament. Yet very many Papists professed their judgments in print on the contrary side, both English and outlandish divines; and, to give them their due, brought very plausible arguments. Of all these,—John Fisher bishop of Rochester led the front, whom some catholics call St. John, because beheaded like the baptist, though on contrary accounts;—John Baptist for saying, "It is not lawful," Mark vi. 18; John Fisher for saying, "It is lawful FOR THEE TO HAVE THY BROTHER'S WIFE." John Holiman,[*] bishop of Bristol; John Clerke, bishop of Bath and Wells; Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London; and Nicholas West, bishop of Ely. Thomas Abel, Edward Powel, Richard Featherstone, and —— Ridley, Englishmen and canonists. Francis Royas, Alphonse de Veruez, Alphonse de Castro, and Sepulveda, Spaniards. Cardinal Cajetan, and Lewes Nugarola, Italians. Alvarus Gometius, Portuguese. John Cochlæus, High-German. Egwinarus Baro, Franciscus Duarenus, and Convanus, Celtæ.[†] And Ludovicus a Schora, a Low-Countryman. Erasmus, a greater scholar than divine, was very doubtful in his judgment herein. He is made, by some modern apocalyptical commentaries, to be the angel flying ἐν μεσουρανήματι, that is, as they will have it, "in a middle distance betwixt heaven and earth;" which how it agrees to the text, I know not. It alludeth well to his dubious posture betwixt different opinions in religion; and particularly in this controversy, sometimes being for king Henry, and sometimes against him herein.

18. *Cranmer accompanies others in an Embassy to Rome.*

Return we to Cranmer employed now in his embassy to Rome: The state whereof lay on Thomas Bullen, [Boleyn,] earl of Wiltshire; but the strength of it, as to the disputing part, on Dr. Cranmer, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Carne, Dr. Bennet, &c. so that a little university of learned men went along thither. These were well armed with arguments, being to carry a challenge to all the canonists at Rome. Coming thither, they found the pope in his grandezza proffering his toe to them; which none offered to kiss, save the unmannerly spaniel (to say no worse of him) to the earl of Wiltshire, whom the Jesuit calls "a protestant dog,"[‡] for biting the pope's toe. But let him tell us what religion those dogs were of which ate up Jezebel the harlot, 2 Kings ix. 36. The earl presented the pope a book of Cranmer's penning, proving God's law indispensable with by the pope; a book as welcome to his Holiness as a prison, beholding his own power therein limited and confined. Promise was made of a public disputation, but never performed: only the pope (who is excellent at the making of nothing something by the solemn giving thereof) made Cranmer SUPREME PENITENTIARY (an empty title!) throughout all his dominions. This was only to stay his stomach for that time, in hope of a more plentiful feast hereafter, if Cranmer had been pleased to take his repast on any popish preferment.

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[*] We order them by the seniority of their writing.

[†] Properly people of France, living betwixt the rivers of Garumna and Sequana.

[‡] Father Floud. See Mason *De Minist. Ang.* page 157.

19. *Foreign Universities determine for the King.*

Meantime king Henry employed his agents to the universities in several parts of Christendom, to sound their judgments in the matter of his marriage. Some report that Reginald Pole, then living at Paris, was practised upon, by promise of preferment, to act the university there in favour of the king; but he, being a perfect Catharinist declined the employment. Sir Richard Morisin, a learned knight, was used by the king in Germany; Edmund Bonner,* afterwards bishop of London, employed in Italy; and William Langée, a native Frenchman, made use of his own country. So that ten of the universities subscribed the case,—that it was above the pope's power to dispense with the positive law of God. 1. Cambridge, 2. Oxford, in England; 3. Paris, (May 2nd,) 4. The Faculty of Paris, (May 7th,) 5. Orleans, (April 7th,) 6. Tholouse, (Oct. 1st,) 7. Anjou, (July 1st,) 8. Bituriges, [Bourges,] (June 10th,) in France; 9. Bononia, [Bologna,] (June 10th,) 10. Padua, (July 2nd,) in Italy.

Wonder not herein at the silence of many Dutch universities, Wirtemburg, Heidelberg, Tubingen, Basil, that they interposed not their opinions herein; for these, having formerly utterly exploded the pope's power, were conceived partial, and therefore incompetent, judges in this point. Wherefore the king only solicited such universities, in this his case, which as yet remained in fast and firm obedience to the see of Rome.

20. *The bold Declaration of the University of Bononia.*

Of all the universities declaring for the pope's inability to dispense with God's positive command, most bold and daring (because largest, fullest, clearest) was that of Bononia, [Bologna,] the chief city in Romaniola, a province of Peter's patrimony, and that city the pope's retiring-place. Nor can I omit the conclusion of their declaration:—"We confidently do hold and witness, that such marriage is horrible, accursed, and to be cried out upon, and utterly abominable, not only for a Christian man, but for an infidel, unfaithful, or Heathen; and that it is prohibited under grievous pains and punishments, by the law of God, of nature, and of man; and that the pope, though he may do much, unto whom Christ gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven, hath no power to give a dispensation to any man to contract such marriage. In witness whereof we confirm this our judgment, both under the seal of our university, as also with the seal of our college of Doctors of Divinity, and have subscribed it in the cathedral church of Bonony, this tenth of June, in the year of our Lord, 1530."*

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* HOLINSHED in Henry VIII. page 923.

21. *The Recusancy of other Universities.*

Sanders † hath little to say against so many and clear decisions of the universities; only he tells us, that all the king's agents had not equal success in their negotiations; and particularly that one Hutton, the king's instrument herein, could not bow those of Hamburgh and Lubeck to express themselves against the marriage. But, surely, these two places were only *Gymnasia*, for I find them not mentioned amongst the Dutch universities. Also he saith, that Richard Crook, another of the king's emissaries, prevailed nothing on many German Professors; and particularly he praiseth the university of Cologne for their recusancy therein. As for such who subscribed on the king's side, he pretends that bribes bought their judgments; as if our king Henry had learned from king Solomon, that "money recompenseth [answereth] all things," Eccles. x. 19. The best is, the cleanly hands of the court of Rome had never (no doubt!) any bribes sticking to their fair fingers! But though that English *angels* flew over to foreign universities, yet there lieth a real distinction betwixt a bribe and a boon freely bestowed, not to bow and bias their opinions, but to gratify their pains, and remunerate their industry, in studying of the point.

22. *Cranmer travelleth into Germany.*

As for our English ambassadors at Rome, finding themselves only fed with delays, no wonder if they were sharp-set to return home. All came back again save Dr. Cranmer, who took a journey to the emperor's court in Vienna. Here he grew acquainted with Cornelius Agrippa, who had written a book of "the Vanity of Sciences," having much of the *sciences*, but more of the *vanity*, in himself. Here also he conversed with many great divines, and satisfied some of them out of Scripture and reason, which formerly were unresolved in the unlawfulness of the king's marriage.

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* SPEED's Chronicle in Henry VIII. page 766.

† *De Schismate Anglic.* pages 60, 61.

23—25. *The Clergy, caught in a Premunire, acknowledge the King supreme Head of the Church; confirmed by Act of Parlianent. A. D.* 1531.

A parliament was now called, wherein the clergy were found guilty of a premunire, because they had too much promoted the papal interest, and acted by virtue of his power, to the damage and detriment of the crown of England; whereupon, being willing to redeem their whole estates forfeited by law, they were glad to commute it into a sum of money. The clergy of the province of Canterbury alone bestowed on the king one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid by equal portions, in the same year, say some; in four years, say others, and that in my opinion with more probability.

But the king would not be so satisfied with the payment of the money, except also they would acknowledge him to be supreme head of the church. This was hard meat, and would not easily down amongst them: however, being thoroughly debated in a synodical way, both in the upper and lower houses of Convocation, they did in fine agree on this expression: *Cujus (ecclesiæ Anglicanæ) singularem protectorem, unicum et supremum dominum, et (quantum per Christi leges licet) supremum caput ipsius majestatem recognoscimus.*

This, thus consented unto, and subscribed by the hands of the clergy, (as appears at large in the Records and Acts of the Convocation,) and so presented to the king in the name of his clergy, was afterwards confirmed by parliament, and incorporated into a solemn Act for the ratification thereof.

26. *The Death of Archbishop Warham. A.D.* 1532.

During these transactions, William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, ended his life, August 23rd: a politic person, well learned in the laws, generally reputed a moderate man, though, specially towards his latter end, a still and silent persecutor of poor Christians. He was first parson of Barley in Hertfordshire, as appears by an inscription in that church;* thence rising by degrees to great preferment. In his will he requested his successor not to sue his executors for dilapidations,† as having expended some thousands of pounds in repairing his several palaces. We verily believe, his request was granted, seeing Cranmer was free from all exacting in that kind. *Sede vacante,* John Stokesly, bishop of London, was president in the Convocation.

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* WEAVER's "Funeral Monuments."

† *Antiq. Brit.*

27. *Cranmer, sent for, and, unwilling, accepteth the Archbishopric.*

Messengers are sent into Germany for Thomas Cranmer, to find him out, and fetch him home with all possible speed, the archbishopric of Canterbury waiting his acceptance thereof. The post easily doth the first, but Cranmer prolonged his journey by seven weeks, at the least, hoping that in the mean time the king might forget him, and confer the place on another, being really unwilling to embrace the preferment, having *aliquid intus*, "something within him," which reluctated against those superstitions through which he must wade in the way thereunto.* But there lieth no *Nolo episcopari* against king Henry's *Volo te episcopum esse ;* it being as mortal to refuse favours from him, as to offer injuries to him. Cranmer, therefore, now come home, must in his own defence be archbishop, who, to serve the king and salve his own conscience, used the expedient of a protestation ; whereof hereafter.

28. *A Preparative to Cranmer's just Defence.*

The philosopher gives us this note of direction, whereby to find out a virtue ; namely, that it is accused by both extremes. Thus liberality is charged by prodigals to be covetousness, by covetous men to be prodigality. By the same proportion Cranmer appears a worthy prelate taxed by papists to be a heretic, by others (no papists) as guilty of superstition. We will endeavour his just defence, conceiving the protestants' cause much concerned therein ; the legality of his consecration having an influence on all the bishops made by him, that of the bishops making an impression on the priests and deacons by them ordained, and their rightful ordination deriving validity to the sacraments by them administered to all the members of the church of England.

29. *Cranmer lawfully consecrated. A.D.* 1533.

A papist objects,† *Non fuit consecratus ab ullo episcopo, sed a solo rege intrusus ;* that "he was consecrated by no bishop, but thrust in by the king alone." The falseness whereof doth appear on public record, still to be seen in the register, being solemnly consecrated, March 30th, by John Lincoln,‡ John Exeter, Henry St. Asaph ; and none that pretendeth to skill in canon law can deny the number sufficient for such a performance.

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* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," page 1703.

† Becanus *Contro. Angl.* c. iv. q. 9, n. 6.

‡ *Regist. Cranm.* fol. 5.

30, 31. *His double Marriage no Bar unto him. Bishops married in the primitive Times.*

Another urgeth him uncapable of a bishopric as debarred by bigamy, even by the censure of the apostle, "Let a bishop be the husband of one wife," 1 Tim. iii. 2: Cranmer being successively twice married. It is answered, Such successive marriage is no bigamy; the apostle only forbidding the having many wives at once,—a fault fashionable amongst the Jews, then and many years after, by the testimony of Justin Martyr;[*] and the same is so expounded also by St. Jerome:[†] *Præcipit ut sacerdotes singulas uno tempore habeant uxores.*

But grant Cranmer guilty but of one wife at once, even that made him (as his adversaries rejoin) uncapable of the archbishopric, because prohibited by the canons; to which we answer, that Spiridion,[‡] St. Hilary,[§] Gregory Nazianzen,[||] and many other bishops, eminent for learning and sanctity in the primitive times, are confessed married men by authentic authors, in the best times accounted no bar to their episcopal function. Yea, the Romanists are concerned to allow Cranmer a lawful archbishop, because allowing such as were consecrated by him, as Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Ely, Anthony Kitchin, bishop of Landaff, for lawful bishops; to whom he could not derive any orders, if not legally invested therein himself.

32, 33. *Cranmer took not the like Oath with his Predecessors. The Copy of his Protestation.*

Pass we now to such exceptions which a modern writer[¶] (zealous against popery) taketh against him, being no fewer than nine, as if he intended what they want in weight to make up in number: 1. "That he took the like oath to the pope which his predecessors have done, and therefore was deeply charged of perjury by Martin a papist."

I answer, He took not the like oath. His predecessors took it absolutely and simply. Not so Cranmer. Not that he was guilty of any clandestine equivocation or mental reservation therein, but publicly entered a solemn protestation, remaining on record in his office[**] in manner and form following:—

In Dei nomine, Amen. Coram nobis, etc. Non est, nec erit meæ voluntatis aut intentionis per hujusmodi juramentum vel juramenta, qualiterque verba in ipsis posita sonare videbuntur me obligare ad aliquid, ratione eorundem, posthac dicendum, facien-

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[*] *In Dialogo cum Tryphone.*

[†] Ep. 83.

[‡] SOZOMENUS lib. i. cap. 11.

[§] BAPTISTA MANTUANUS.

[||] *In carmine De Vitâ suâ.*

[¶] WILLIAM PRYNNE in his "Antipathy of Prelacy to Monarchy," page 131.

[**] *Ex Regist. Cranmer.* fol. 4.

dum, aut attentandum, quid erit, aut esse videbitur contra legem Dei, vel contra illustrissimum Regem nostrum Angliæ, aut Rempublicam hujus sui regni Angliæ, legesve, aut prærogativa ejusdem; et quòd non intendo per hujusmodi juramentum vel juramenta quovis modo me obligare, quo minùs liberè loqui, consulere, et consentire valeam, in omnibus et singulis reformationem religionis Christianæ, gubernationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac prærogativam coronæ ejusdem, reipublicæ vel commoditatem quoquo modo concernentibus, et ea ubique exequi et reformare, quæ mihi in ecclesiâ Anglicanâ reformanda videbuntur. Et secundum hanc interpretationem, et intellectum hunc, et non aliter, neque alio modo dictum juramentum me præstiturum protestor, et profiteor, etc.

This protestation he did not privately smother in a corner, but publicly interposed it three several times; namely, once in the Chapter-house before authentic witnesses; again, on his bended knees at the high altar, many people and bishops beholding him when he was to be consecrated; and the third time, when he received his pall in the same place.

34. *No Cavil, but a just Charge.*

Secondly. He accuseth him for having a hand in the condemnation and execution of Lambert, Fryth, and other godly martyrs. This, indeed, cannot be denied. For though I am loath that Cranmer's head should, by the weight and violence of his causeless detractors, be plucked under water where he was innocent, I will leave him to sink or swim by himself where he was guilty; only adding, "In many things we offend all."

35. *A happy Match in the Event.*

His third accusation. "He was a chief man in accomplishing king Henry's divorce, which occasioned much trouble, dissension, and war."* But he might have remembered, which also produced the peerless princess queen Elizabeth, who perfected the Reformation, and by her long, peaceable, and victorious reign, brought much honour, wealth, and renown to our nation. Besides, that divorce is generally defended by protestant writers, whose judgments this accuser will rely on when it makes for his purpose.

36, 37. *A Rebels' Weapon, ill-used against a loyal Subject.*

Fourth accusation. "The Lincolnshire rebels, in their six articles of their grievances presented to king Henry VIII. complain, that this archbishop, and other prelates of his Grace's late promotion, had subverted the faith of Christ,"* &c.

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* Mr. Prynne, page 132.

I answer, They were the Lincolnshire rebels that said it; and this their pretended subverting of the faith was the reforming and confirming thereof; Cranmer serving the God of his fathers in that way which they termed "heresy." Well therefore might this cavil have been waved, good only to swell the volume.

38, 39. *The grand Cavil answered.*

Fifth cavil. Though Matthew Parker reports (as this delator † confesses,) "that Cranmer opposed this Act of the six articles at first, then caused it to be moderated, and at last to be repealed in king Edward's days; but others seem to imply that he gave consent thereunto at first."

To this I answer three things: First. *To imply* is far less than *to express;* and such implications are often the bare surmises of a biassed apprehension. Secondly. *To seem to imply,* is less than "to imply," *nulla videntur quæ non sunt.* Thirdly. The "others" by him mentioned ought to have been nominated, this author generally giving no scant measure in such wares; so that his margin (commonly overthronged) is here quite empty of quotations. *Inopem nunc copia fecit.* We may assure ourselves he would have alleged such other authors but for several substantial reasons, whereof this was one,—because he had none to allege. And shall an uncertain un-named *nobody* be believed against Cranmer, before Mr. Fox and Dr. Parker's clear testimonies in his behalf?

40. *Violent no just depriving.*

Seventh cavil. "He suffered martyrdom, not while he was a bishop, but when degraded and deprived." What of this? Does this tend any thing to the disgrace of him or his order, seeing such an injurious and violent degradation deprived him not of his episcopal indelible character, so that still in right he remained a bishop?

41. *God send Valour at last.*

Eighth cavil. "He failed more in his martyrdom, by reason of his cowardly recantation, through hopes of life, and restitution to his former dignity, than any of his fellow-martyrs." Answer. It is confessed: but his final constancy may well cover his intermediate failings. Better it is faintly and fearfully to bear in our body the marks of our Lord Jesus, than stoutly and stubbornly to endure the brands of our own indiscretion.

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* MR. PRYNNE, page 132.

† Ibid. page 133.

42. *Remember not what God had forgotten.*

Last cavil. "He was condemned for high treason, for an act done by him as an archbishop, and counsellor of state, for which he professed both his sorrow and repentance."* Did he so indeed, by the confession of this his adversary? The more unworthy man his accuser, after this his sorrow and repentance, to upbraid him therewith! Mr. Prynne might also remember that the two Lord Chief Justices were in the same treason, whose education made them more knowing in the laws of the land; and our Cranmer was last and least in the fault, it being long before he could be persuaded to subscribe to the disinheriting of queen Mary.

43. *An Appeal to any indifferent.*

We appeal to the unpartial reader, upon the perusal of the premisses, whether an ordinary charity might not, yea, ought not to, have passed by these accusations? and whether the memory of archbishop Cranmer may not justly say of Mr. Prynne, as once the king of Israel of the king of Syria, "Wherefore, consider, I pray you, and see how he seeketh a quarrel against me?" Indeed, so great is his antipathy against episcopacy, that if a seraphim himself should be a bishop, he would either find or make some sick feathers in his wings.

44, 45. *Cranmer divorceth King Henry, who marrieth a Lady, and A Bullen.*

Cranmer was now settled in his archbishopric, and the first eminent act of his office was exercised in the king's divorce. A court is called in the priory of Dunstable in Bedfordshire, as a favourable place, indifferently distanced, but five miles from Ampthill, where queen Catherine resided. With Cranmer were the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, and Lincoln, with many other great prelates. These summoned queen Catherine to appear before them, full fifteen days together, on whose refusal they not only adjudged her contumacious, but also pronounced her match with the king as null and unlawful by Scripture; and soon after it was proclaimed, that henceforward none should call her "queen," but "the dowager of prince Arthur." And thus a few days had dispatched that divorce, which had depended many years in the court of Rome.

And now I cannot call king Henry "a bachelor," because once married; nor "a married man," because as yet publicly owning no wife; nor properly "a widower," because his wife was not dead. Be he therefore a single, or rather "a separated person," remaining so (if at all) but a very short time, as soon after solemnly married to the lady Anna Bullen, of whom largely hereafter.

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* Mr. Prynne, page 134.

46, 47. *The Imposture of Elizabeth Barton. Fisher and More befooled by her Forgery.*

Now began Elizabeth Barton to play her tricks, commonly called "the holy maid of Kent;" though at this day OF KENT alone is left unto her, as whose ***maidenship*** is vehemently suspected, and ***holiness*** utterly denied. She was famous on a double account: First. For knowing secrets past, and indeed she could tell any thing which was told her; conversing with friars her familiars, and other folks' confessors, who revealed many privacies unto her. Secondly. She was eminent for foretelling things to come; and some of her predictions, hit in the mark, procured to the rest the reputation of prophecy with credulous people. She foretold, that king Henry should not be king a full twelve-month, except he re-assumed queen Catherine to be his wife.

I am heartily sorry, that the gravity of John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, should be so light, and the sharp sight of Sir Thomas More so blind, as to give credit to so notorious an impostrix, which plunged them both into the king's deep displeasure. As for Elizabeth Barton, soon after, she was executed, with many of her accomplices and complotters. The papists at this day, unable to defend her forgery, and unwilling to confess her cheating, seek to salve all by pleading her to be distracted. Thus, if succeeding, she had been praised, and perchance canonized, for her devotion; now, failing, she must be pardoned and pitied for her distraction.

48. *Bishop Fisher imprisoned for refusing the Oath of Supremacy.*

We may remember, how, not long since, the clergy did own and recognise king Henry VIII. for supreme head of the church, which was clearly carried by a plurality of voices in the Convocation. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was the only eminent clergyman who openly opposed it: one obnoxious to the king's displeasure, on a threefold account. First. For engaging so zealously, above the earnestness of an advocate, against the king's divorce. Secondly. For tampering with that notable impostrix, the holy maid of Kent. Thirdly. For refusing the oath of supremacy, for which he was now imprisoned. Indeed, this bishop lost himself, both with his friends and his foes, by his inconstancy at the first: seeing he who should have been as staid as the Tower was as wavering as the weathercock, neither complying with the king, nor agreeing with himself; but would, and would not, acknowledge the king's supremacy. But at last he fixed himself on the negative, and resolutely continued therein till the day of his death; of whom more largely hereafter.

49—51. *The Convocation of York denies the King's Supremacy. Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, a furious Papist. King Henry's Answer to York Convocation.*

The clergy in the province of York did also for a long time deny the king's supremacy. Indeed, the Convocation of York hath ever since struck tallies with that of Canterbury, (though not implicitly,) unanimously post-concurring therewith. But here they dissented, not because more knowing in their judgments, or tender in their consciences, but generally more superstitious and addicted to popery: insomuch that they sent two letters to the king, (I conceive them written, one from the Upper, the other from the Lower House of Convocation,) wherein they acquainted his Highness with their judgments, (interlacing many expressions of general submission,) and their reasons, in a large discourse, why they could not acknowledge him to be supreme head of the church.

Give me leave to suspect Edward Lee, archbishop of York, for a secret fomenter of this difference. He was a virulent Papist, much conceited of his own learning, (which made him to write against Erasmus,) and a persecutor of Protestants: Witness John Bale, convented before him for suspicion of heresy; who in vain earnestly pleaded Scripture in his own defence, till at last he casually made use of a distinction out of Scotus, which the archbishop more valued than all which he had before more pertinently alleged out of the Old and New Testament.*

King Henry wrote a fair and large letter to the Convocation of York, too long here to be inserted, (though otherwise I have a good copy thereof,†) wherein the king began mildly to make the passage for his supremacy into their consciences, by a rational and argumentative way. He disclaimed all design by fraud to surprise, or by force to captivate, their judgments, but only to convince them of the truth and equity of what he desired. He declared‡ the sense of "supreme head of the church," though offensive in the sound to ignorant ears; claiming nothing more thereby than what Christian princes in the primitive times assumed to themselves, in their own dominions; so that, it seems, he wrought so far on their affections that at last they consented thereunto.

52, 53. *A causeless Cavil. The Cavil retorted.*

Here I wonder at the cavil of the papists, which, being so causeless, should be so clamorous, accusing us to have a Parliament religion, a Parliament faith, a Parliament Gospel;* and another addeth Parliament bishops, and a Parliament clergy.† Whereas upon serious examination it will appear, that there was nothing done in the Reformation of religion, save what was acted by the clergy in their Convocations, or grounded on some acts of theirs, precedent to it, with the advice, counsel, and consent of the bishops and most eminent churchmen; confirmed upon the post-fact, and not otherwise, by the civil sanction, according to the usage of the best and happiest times of Christianity.

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* *De Scriptoribus Brit. in Edwardo VI.*

† Communicated unto me by my good friend Dr. Littleton.

‡ It is printed in the second part of "the Cabala."

By the same proportion in the days of queen Mary, the popish religion might have been styled "a Parliament religion;" because, after the same had been debated on, and concluded of, in the Convocation, it was confirmed by the queen, lords, and commons, by the Act of Parliament.

SECTION III.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR RICHARD SHUGBOROUGH, OF SHUGBOROUGH IN WARWICKSHIRE.

Master Haward returned this answer to queen Mary, (demanding the causes of his coming to court,) that it was partly to see her Highness, and partly that her Highness should see him; an answer, which, though more witty than court-like, yea, more blunt than witty, she took in good part.

You will not be offended at this my Dedication, partly that I may know you, partly that I may be known unto you. Besides, being informed that you love to have your hospitable table handsomely attended with ancient servitors, I presumed that this Section, containing much of memorable antiquity, would not be unwelcome unto you.

1. *The Clergy bind themselves to the King.*

Now, though nothing was done in matters of religion, but what was fairly and largely discussed, first, by the most learned of the clergy; yet this year the clergy in the Convocation so submitted themselves to the king, that each one severally promised in *verbo sacerdotis*,

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* Harding against Jewel.

† Scultingus.

"never henceforth to presume to allege, claim, or put in ure, any new canons, unless the king's most royal assent might be had unto them;" and this soon after the same was ratified by Act of Parliament.

2, 3. *A fourfold Sort of Convocations. Kings acted in Church Matters before the Conquest.*

And here it will be worth my pains, and the reader's perusal, to observe the differences between English Synods or Convocations, which may eminently be distinguished into four ranks, such as were, 1. Called before the Conquest, 2. Called since the Conquest, but before the Statute of Præmunire was made. 3. Called after the aforesaid Statute, but before another made in the reign of king Henry VIII. wherein the clergy were bound up, for doing aught without the royal assent. 4. Called after the twenty-fifth year of the reign of king Henry VIII. These did plainly differ in the several manners of their meeting, and degrees of power, of their acting in spiritual matters.

As for councils, called before the Conquest, whilst the pope's power had not as yet lorded it over the kings of England, the kings ever were (if not in person) in power present thereat; as by perusing SIR HENRY SPELMAN's "Councils" plainly doth appear. Yea, matters both of church and commonwealth were often dictated and concluded in the same meeting, *communi consensu tam cleri quam populi, episcoporum, procerum, comitum, nec non omnium sapientum, seniorum populorumque totius regni.*[*]

4. *Of the second Sort of Convocations.*

For the second sort, (called after the Conquest, but before the Statute of Præmunire,) the archbishops of Canterbury or York used upon all extraordinary and immergent cases, *toties quoties*, as their own discretions adjudging necessary or convenient, to assemble the clergy of their respective Provinces, at what place they pleased, continuing Convocations in them so long, or dissolving them as soon, as they pleased. And this they did, either as Metropolitans, or Primates, or as *Legati Nati* to the pope of Rome, without any leave from the king afore obtained; and such canons and constitutions then and there concluded on were, in that age, without any further ratification, obligatory to all subjected to their jurisdiction. Such were all the synods from Lankfrank to Thomas Arundel, in whose time the Statute of Præmunire was enacted.

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[*] SIR HENRY SPELMAN, *anno* 605, page 118.

5—7. *Of the third Sort of Convocations. The Form of ancient Writs of Convocations. Observations thereon.*

A third sort of Convocation succeeds. For after the Statute of Præmunire was made, (which did much restrain the papal power, and subject it to the laws of the land,) archbishops called no more Convocations by their sole and absolute command, but at the pleasure of the king, as oft as his necessities and occasions with the distresses of the church did require it. Yea, now their meetings were by virtue of a writ of precept from the king, and it will not be amiss here to exemplify the form thereof.

Rex, &c. Reverendissimo in Christo patri, A. Canturiensi archiepiscopo totius Angliæ primati, et apostolicæ sedis legato, salutem.—Quibusdam arduis et urgentibus negotiis, defensionem et securitatem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem, tranquillitatem, et bonum publicum, et defensionem regni nostri, et subditorum nostrorum ejusdem concernentibus, vobis in fide et dilectione, quibus nobis tenemini rogando mandamus, quatenus præmissis debito intuitu attentis et ponderatis universos et singulos episcopos nostræ provinciæ, ac decanes, et præcones ecclesiarum cathedralium, abbates, priores et alios electivos exemptos et non exemptos. Nec non archidiaconos, conventus, capitula, et collegia, totumque clerum, cujuslibet diœcescos ejusdem provinciæ, ad conveniendum eorum vobis in ecclesiâ sancti Pauli London, vel alibi prout meliùs expedire videritis, cum omni celeritate accommodâ modo debito convocari faciatis; ad tractandum, consentiendum, et concludendum, super præmissis et aliis, quæ sibi clarius proponentur, tunc et ibidem ex parte nostrâ. Et hoc, sicut nos et statum regni nostri, et honorem et utilitatem ecclesiæ prædictæ diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teste me ipso, &c.

In this writ we may observe: 1. That from the word *Convocari faciatis*, the word "Convocation" took its denomination, being formerly called "Synods," as lately (since our Scotizing) termed "Assemblies." Secondly. That clause, *in ecclesiâ sancti Pauli London, vel alibi prout meliùs expedire videritis*, pointeth at a power placed [in], or rather a liberty left to, the archbishops, to call their synods elsewhere, in case they adjudged it more convenient. But, because the archbishops and bishops might the better attend their business in Parliaments, henceforward commonly kept at the same time with Convocations, St. Paul's in London was generally preferred for the place of their convention. Thirdly. This writ was used even after the Reformation, *mutatis mutandis;* namely, the title of apostolical legate to the archbishop being left out, as also the names of priors and abbots are extinguished. Lastly. Of this third sort of Convocations, were all those kept by Thomas

Arundel and the archbishops of Canterbury his successors, unto Thomas Cranmer; or if you will, from the sixteenth of Richard II. unto the twenty-fifth of King Henry VIII. These Convocations did also make canons, as in LINWOOD's "Constitutions" do appear, which were binding, although none other than synodical authority did confirm them.

8. *The last Sort of Convocations.*

The last sort of Convocations remains, called since the statute, the twenty-fifth of king Henry VIII. "that none of the clergy should presume to attempt, allege, claim, or put in ure, any constitutions or ordinances provincial, or synodals, or any other canons, constitutions, or ordinances provincial, (by whatsoever name or names they may be called,) in their Convocation in time coming; which always shall be assembled by the king's writ; unless the same clergy may have the king's most royal assent and licence to make, promise, and execute such canons, constitutions, and ordinances provincial or synodical, upon pain of every one of the said clergy doing the contrary to this act, and, thereof convicted, to suffer imprisonment, and making fine at the king's will." Since this year, from archbishop Cranmer to archbishop Laud, all Convocations (so long as they lasted) are born tongue-tied, till the king did cut the string thereof with his letters patent, allowing them leave to debate on matters of religion. Otherwise, what they conclude are arrows without piles, daggers without points; too blunt to pierce into the practice of others, but sharp enough to wound themselves, and bring them within the compass of a premunire. Yea, even such Convocations with the royal assent, subject not any (for recusancy to obey their canons) to a civil penalty in person or property, until confirmed by Act of Parliament.

9, 10. *The Author's Submission. A vulgar Error.*

This I humbly conceive to be the difference betwixt the three kinds of Convocations, submitting what I have written to the censure and correction of the learned in the law, conscious of my own ignorance therein; as, indeed, such skill neither is to be expected nor required in one of my profession, who am ready with willingness, yea, with cheerfulness, yea, with thankfulness to God and man, publicly to recall and retract what any such convince me to have mistaken herein; hoping that my stumbling in so dark a subject may prevent the failing of others.

There goeth a tradition, taken up by many without examination,—that anciently the clergy sat as one body with the parliament, and were not divided till in the reign of king Henry VIII. as a modern author * hath written in a tract. But when I asked of him where he had read the same, he cited a French letter of cardinal Sadolet's. Strange that a foreigner should be more seeing herein than any of our native authors and records that I ever could behold! But, it may be, the error had its original hence,—because anciently bishops sitting in the parliament did not always appear personally, or by the proxy of men of their own order, but sometimes sent one or more of the inferior clergy to represent them, if it be true what I have read in a small English book, bearing the name of Mr. Selden, (but I question whether avowed by him,) of the proceedings in parliament.

11. *The Martyrdom of John Fryth.*

John Fryth sealed the truth with his blood: one who justly may be said aged sixty at six-and-twenty, (so young was he martyred,) such his learning, gravity, and constancy! It was chiefly charged on him, that he denied the believing of the real presence in the sacrament (understand him *de modo* thereof) to be an article of the faith, though confessing Christ really present in the bread, so he might not be compelled to the worshipping thereof. But these things are set down largely in Mr. Fox. Only I will add, that persons out of groundless [reports] suggest two scandals on this good man and his wife's memory: One—that he was guilty of some practice against the state, merely because he was committed to the Tower. The other, that his wife, being beyond the seas with Mr. Tyndal, expressing himself "content with the will of God, that for her sake she would not have the glory of God hindered," desired to be rid of her husband's life, that Mr. Tyndal might the more freely enjoy her company. Thus this Jesuit, being himself a bastard, measureth others by the chastity of his own parents. Indeed, the aforesaid Tyndal much exhorted Fryth to patient suffering, but not as those cowardly captains which encourage others to fight, and themselves forsake the field; because afterwards he valiantly brought up the rear, and suffered for the same cause two years after.

12. *Bishop Fisher's Letter for new Clothes and a Counsellor.* *A.D.* 1534.

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was now prisoner in the Tower, where he was but coarsely used; as appears by a letter to Mr. Secretary Cromwell:—

"Furthermore I beseche yow to be gode master unto me in my necessitie; for I have neither shirt, nor sute, nor yet other clothes, that ar necessary to me to weare; but that be ragged and torn to shamefully. And now in mine age, my stomake may not away but with a few kind of meats; which if I want, I decay forthwith, and fall into coffs, and diseases of my body, and cannot keep my selfe in health. And, as our Lord knoweth, I have nothing left unto me for to provide any better, but as my brother* of his own purse laieth out for me, to his great hinderance.

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* Calebut Downing.

"Wherefore, gode master secretary, eftsones I beseche yow to have som pittie pon me, and let me have such things as bar necessary for me in mine age, and especially for my health; and also that it may please yow by yowr high wysdome, to move the king's highnesse to take me unto his gracious favour againe, and to restore me unto my liberty, out of this cold and painful imprisonment; whereby ye shall bind me to be yowr pore beadsman for ever unto Almighty God, who ever have yow in his protection and custody.

"Other twain things I must also desyer upon yow; first oon is, that it may please yow, that I may take some preest within the Tower, by th' assignment of Master Livetenant, to have my confession against my hooly tym.

"That other is, that I may borrow some bookes to stir my devotion mor effectually theis hooly dayes, for the comfortte of my sowl. This I beseche yow to grant me of yowr charitie. And thus our Lord send yow a mery Christenmas, and a comfortable, to yowr heart desyer. Att the Tower this xxij. day of December.

"Your poor Beadsman,
"JOHN ROFFE."†

His first petition for clothes was granted him, (having exchange thereof at his execution,) and it is probable the other two petitions, being so reasonable, were not denied him.

13, 14. *His often Examinations of four principal Particulars. Taketh Offence at the Preface of the Statute. A. D.* 1535.

During his durance in the Tower, he was often and strictly examined, before Sir Edmund Walsingham lieutenant thereof, by Thomas Bedyll and Richard Layton, clerks of the council, and was sworn, *in verbo sacerdotii*, to answer to many interrogatories, but chiefly concerning four subjects.

First. About the king's divorce; wherein he was always constant to what he had printed of the unlawfulness thereof. Secondly. About his supremacy, which at last he peremptorily denied. Thirdly. About his concealing the imposture of Elizabeth Barton, the Maid of Kent; wherein he confessed his weakness, and over-easy belief; but utterly denied any ill intentions to the king's person. Fourthly.

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* ROBERT FISHER.

† *Ex literis in Bibliothecâ Cottonianâ.*

About the statute of succession, wherein, as appears by his letter to secretary Cromwell,* he was content to subscribe, and swear to the body, but not to the preamble thereof.

Which words therein, so offensive to Fisher, (except there be any other unprinted preface to this statute,) were these: "The bishop of Rome and see apostolic, contrary to the great and inviolable grants of jurisdiction by God immediately to emperors, kings, and princes, in succession to their heirs, hath presumed in times past to invest who should please them to inherit in other men's kingdoms and dominions; which thing we your most humble subjects, both spiritual and temporal, do most abhor and detest."†

15. *Archbishop Cranmer's politic Charity.*

Here I know not whether more to commend the policy or charity of archbishop Cranmer, desiring, in a letter to secretary Cromwell,‡ that this partial subscription which bishop Fisher proffered to the statute of succession might be accepted; adding, that good use might be made thereof to the king's advantage, such general reputation the world had of this bishop's learning, and of Sir Thomas More's; both which, it seems, went the same path and pace, and in this point started, ran, and stopped together. Indeed, it was not good to strain such fine strings too high, which, possibly, moistened with mild usage, might, in process of time, have been stretched to a further compliance. But, it seems, nothing at present would satisfy except both of them came up to the full measure of the king's demands.

16, 17. *Fisher's concealing Barton's Forgeries, waved; yet how indicted, why condemned.*

As for bishop Fisher's concealing the pretended prophecies of Elizabeth Barton, it was so far waved, that he was never indicted for the same. And, indeed, he made an ingenious plea for himself; namely, that the said Elizabeth had told him, she had acquainted the king therewith; yea, he had assurance thereof from the archbishop.§ And therefore, knowing the king knew of it before, he was loath to hazard his displeasure in that which was not revealing what was unknown, but repeating what would be unwelcome, to his Grace.

But not long after he was arraigned of high treason; and it will not be amiss to insert the sting of the indictment out of the original.

Diversis domini regis veris subditis, falsè, malitiosè, et pro-

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* Extant in Sir Thomas Cotton's library.

† See the printed statutes, 25 Henry VIII. cap. xxii. page 558.

‡ *Ex Litt. MSS. in Bib. Cotton.*

§ In his Letter to the King, *in Bib. Cotton.*

ditoriè, loquebatur et propalabat, videlicet: "The king owre soveraigne lord is not supreme hed yn erthe of the cherche of England." *In dicti domini regis immund. despect. et vilipendium manifest.*

Of this he was found guilty,* had judgment, and was remanded to the Tower, where, for a time, we leave him, and proceed.

18. *Papists unjustly charge us for Schismatics.*

Thus was the power of the pope totally abolished out of England, whereof the Romanists at this day do bitterly complain, but can revenge themselves no other way, save by aspersing us as guilty of schism and separation for rending ourselves from the mother-church. Blame us not, if loath that the church of England (in whose doctrine and discipline we were born, and bred, and desire to die) should lie under so foul and false an imputation, which by the following narrative may fully be confuted.

19. *Three Essentials in Reformation.*

Three things are essential to justify the English Reformation from the scandal of schism;—to show, that they had, 1. Just cause for which they deceded from Rome. 2. True authority by which they deceded from Rome. 3. Due moderation in what they deceded from Rome.

20. *The gross Errors in Popery.*

The first will plainly appear, if we consider the abominable errors which, contrary to Scripture and primitive practice, were then crept into the church of Rome; as the denying the cup to the laity; worshipping of images; locking up the Scriptures in Latin, and performing prayers in an unknown tongue, with the monstrosity of transubstantiation,—unexcusable practices; beside the Behemoth of the pope's infallibility, and the Leviathan of his universal jurisdiction, so exclaimed against by Gregory the Great as a note of antichrist.

21. *The Impossibility of a free General Council.*

Just cause of Reformation being thus proved, proceed we to the authority by which it is to be made. Here we confess, the most regular way was by order from a free and general council; but here, alas! no hope thereof. GENERAL it could not be, the Greeks not being in a capacity of repairing thither; nor FREE, such the papal usurpation. For before men could try the truth, hand to hand, by dint of Scripture, (the sword and buckler thereof, by God's appointment,) the pope took off all his adversaries, at distance, with those guns of hellish invention, his infallibility and universal jurisdiction. So that no approaching his presence to oppose him but with certainty of being pre-condemned.

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* His words were spoken May 7th, in the Tower of London, but he arraigned afterwards.

22. *The Power of a national Church well improved.*

Now, seeing the complaints of the conscientious, in all ages, against the errors in the Romish church, met with no other entertainment than frowns and frets, and afterwards fire and faggot, it came seasonably into the minds of those who steered the English nation to make use of that power which God had bestowed upon them. And seeing they were a national church under the civil command of one king, he, by the advice and consent of his clergy in Convocation, and great council in Parliament, resolved to reform the church under his inspection from gross abuses crept into it, leaving it free to other churches either to follow his example, or continue in their former condition; and on these terms was the English Reformation first advanced.

23. *Objection to the Contrary, and three Answers.*

But the Romanists object, that "England being first converted to Christianity by the zeal and care of the church of Rome, when pope Gregory the Great sent Augustine over to preach here, cannot, not only without great ingratitude, but flat undutifulness, depart from the church which first taught it true religion."

It is answered: First. This argument reacheth not west of Severn into Wales, where the ancient Britons, by general confession, were converted before the time of Augustine.

Secondly. This first favour received from Rome puts not on England so strict and servile an obligation of perpetual continuance, that she may and must not serve God without asking her leave. It ties England only to a fair and grateful respect, which she always tendered, till the insolency of the church of Rome made us unwilling to pay, and her unworthy to receive it.

Thirdly. Some strength may be allowed to this objection, if Rome could be proved the same in doctrine and discipline, when, under the reign of king Henry VIII. England divided itself from it, with Rome, when, in the time of Gregory the Great, it was converted by God's blessings on his endeavours. But since that time the church of Rome hath been much corrupted in opinions and practice, easy to prove, but that it is not the set work of our History.

24—27. *Second Objection of the Romanists; the Answer. Third Objection; the Answer. The Moderation of Reformers. The Conclusion of the Contest.*

But again the papists object, that "the most judicious Protestants do ingenuously confess, that the church of Rome maintaineth all the fundamentals of religion. England, therefore, cannot be excused from schism, for dividing from that church which, by their own confession, still retaineth the true foundation of Christianity."

It is answered: If some Protestants be so civil in their censures on Papists, it appears thereby, though they have left Rome, they have not lost their courtesy, nor their charity. But grant (which is disputable) the errors of the church of Rome not fundamental, they are circa-fundamental, grating on the very foundation. Besides, we are bound to avoid, not only what is deadly, but what is hurtful; not only what may destroy the life, but what may prejudice the health, of our souls.

But our adversaries persist to object, that our "Reformation took its rise from king Henry's pride, to pluck down a power which crossed his designs; from his covetousness, to compass the revenues of abbeys; and from his wantonness, to exchange his old embracings for new ones. Well, therefore, may the English blush at the babe, when they behold its parents, and be ashamed of their Reformation, considering the vicious extraction thereof."

ANSWER.—Malice may load the memory of king Henry about his demerit; yet grant the charge true,—that bad inclinations first moved him to the Reformation,—yet he acted therein nothing but conformable to the law divine and human. It is usual with God's wisdom and goodness to suffer vice to sound the first alarm to that fight wherein virtue is to have the victory. Besides, king Henry's Reformation hath since been reformed by successive princes of England, who cannot justly be taxed with any vicious reflection therein.

It remaineth that we take notice of the moderation of the Reformers, who being acted not with an opposition to all which the papists practised, but with an affection to truth, disclaimed only the ulcers and sores, not what was sound, of the Romish church, retaining still what was consonant to antiquity, in the four first general councils.

Matters thus ordered, had the Romanists been pleased to join with us, there had been no complaining of schism either in their streets or ours. But, such their pride and peevishness to persist obstinate, to this day, [to] incense many people (who listen more to the loudness, than weigh the justness, of complaints,) accusing us of wilful separation. But, the premisses well considered, England may say to Rome, "Pharez, The breach be upon thee;" Gen. xxxviii. 29; who (with Athaliah, crying, "Treason, treason!" 2 Kings xi. 14, being herself the prime traitor) taxeth us with schism, when she the only schismatic.

28, 29. *The Pope's Revenues out of England, greatest under King Henry III.*

We enter now on a subject which we must not omit, such is the concernment thereof in our History; yet which we cannot complete, so intricate the nature thereof, and so short and doubtful our intelligence therein; namely, to give a general estimate (particulars being impossible) of the papal revenues of England.

Here be it premised, that I humbly conceive, the pope's income ran the highest in England under king Henry III. and king Edward I. before the statute of mortmain (and, after it, that of premunire) was made; for these much abated his *entrata.* And although I deny not but under king Henry VIII. he might receive more money, as then more plentiful in England, yet his profit formerly was greater, if the standard of gold and silver be but stated proportionably.

30—43. *Pope's Profit by Sale of Trinkets, by his Annates, by Appeals, by King Athelwulph's Pension, by his Dispensations, by Indulgencies, by Legatine Levies, by Mortuaries, by Pardons, by Peter-Pence, to what they amounted, by Pilgrimages, by Tenths.*

However, the vast sums Rome received hence at the time of Reformation, will appear by the ensuing commodities. For. First. *Agnus Deis.* This is here set by Synecdoche, to signify all popish trinkets, medals, consecrated beads, &c. which I as little know what they be, as papists why they use them. Of these were yearly brought over from Rome, into England, as many as would fill the shop of a haberdasher of holy wares. Now, though their prices were not immediately paid into the pope's purse, but to such his subordinate officers who traded therein; yet they may be accounted part of the papal revenues; (the king hath what the courtiers have by his consent;) and if such trading was not permitted unto them, the pope must either abate of his train, or find his officers other ways of subsistence.

Secondly. For Annates, so called because they were the entire revenues of one year, in the nature of first-fruits, which the bishops and inferior clergy paid to the pope; we have no light concerning the latter, but can present the reader with an exact account what every bishop in England, new-elected or translated to a see, paid at his entrance to his Holiness.

The archbishop of Canterbury paid 10,000 F—besides for his pall, 5000 F.—The bishop of London paid 3000 F—the bishop of Winchester, 12,000 D—the bishop of Ely paid 7000 D—the bishop of Lincoln —— the bishop of Coventry and

Lichfield paid 1733 D—the bishop of Salisbury paid 4500 Cr.*—the bishop of Bath and Wells paid 430 D—the bishop of Exeter paid 6000 D—the bishop of Norwich paid 5000 D—the bishop of Worcester paid 2000 F—the bishop of Hereford paid 18,000 F—the bishop of Chichester paid 333 F—the bishop of Rochester——the bishop of St. David's paid 1500 F—the bishop of Landaff paid 700 F—the bishop of Bangor paid 126 F—the bishop of St. Asaph paid 126 F.—The archbishop of York paid 10,000 D—besides for his pall, 5000 D.—The bishop of Durham paid 9000 F—the bishop of Carlisle paid 1000 F.†

In this account F stands for florins, being worth 4s. 6d. in our English money. D for single ducats, sufficiently known for four shillings. Lincoln's not being valued, I behold as a mere casual omission in this catalogue; but can render a reason why Rochester not rated, who, being accounted as chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, and anciently in his donation, may be supposed valued in the high valuation of his patron. That Bath and Wells, then so high in wealth, should be so low in first-fruits, (whereat my author‡ wonders,) plainly shows that favour was fashionable, as in all other courts, so in the court of Rome. The rest of the English bishoprics were not in being before the Reformation.

Thirdly. By appeals. The pope—having learned this policy from the counsel of Jethro to Moses, "Every great thing they shall bring unto thee; but every small matter they" (namely, the seventy elders) "shall judge," Exod. xviii. 22;—reserved to himself the definitive sentence in all high controversies, which brought no small profit unto him.

Fourthly. By king Ethelwulph's pension given by him to the pope, *anno* 856, whereof largely before; a distinct payment from Peter-pence, (with which some confound it,) as stinted to three hundred marks;§ whereas the other were casual, and increased according to the number of houses.

Fifthly. For dispensations. O the charity of the pope! to lay heavy burdens on men's consciences, (without command from God's Word,) too heavy for them to bear! But then so merciful he was, for money to take them off again; thus licences to marry within degrees forbidden; for priests' base sons to succeed their fathers in a benefice, and a hundred other particulars, brought yearly a *nemo scit* into the papal treasury.

Sixthly. Indulgences are next, though I know not how essentially distinguished from dispensations; nor dare warrant the distinction, that the former was *against*, the other *above*, canon law; as when abbeys, and other places, were freed from episcopal jurisdiction, and many other privileges and exemptions both personal and conventual.

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* This standeth for "crown." † This Catalogue was extracted out of bishop Godwin. ‡ *Quod miror;* GODWIN in his "Catalogue of Bishops," page 447. § See SIR HENRY SPELMAN'S "Councils," page 353.

Seventhly. By legatine levies. These though not annual, yet came almost as often as the pope's needs or covetousness would require them.

Eighthly. Mortuaries, due at the death of great prelates; though, I find not in what manner and proportion they were paid.

Ninthly. Pardons. He saveth his credit the best who makes no conjecture at the certainty of this revenue. And though the pope (as then too politic openly to confess his profit by granting, so since) be too proud publicly to bemoan his loss, by stopping of these pardons, yet is he secretly and sadly sensible of a great emptiness in his treasure thereby.

Tenthly. Peter-pence succeeded; granted by Ina, king of the West Saxons, to pope Gregory II. *anno* 626. It was a penny paid for every chimney that smoked in England, which in that hospitable age had few smokeless ones; the device of cypher-tunnels, or mock chimneys merely for uniformity of building, being unknown in those days. Indeed, before the Conquest, such only paid Peter-pence who were worth thirty-pence* in yearly revenue, or half a mark in goods; but afterwards it was collected generally of all solvable housekeepers, and that on most heavy penalties.

Now, though none can tell what these amounted to, yet conjecture may be made, by descending to such proportions, which no rational man will deny. Allowing nine thousand parishes (abating the odd hundreds) in England and Wales, a hundred houses in every parish, two chimneys in every house, one with another, it ariseth unto a yearly sum of seven thousand five hundred pounds. Here I say nothing of the intrinsical value of their penny, worth two-pence in our age.

Eleventhly. Pilgrimages follow; many persons of quality going yearly to Rome, sometimes perchance with bare feet, but never with empty hands. But the pope's principal harvest was in the jubilee, which of late recurred every five-and-twenty years, when no fewer than two hundred thousand strangers have been counted at Rome at once. Of these, more than the tenth part may be justly allowed English, it being always observed, that distance increaseth devotion; and the farthest off, the forwardest in will-worship of this nature.

Twelfthly. We conclude with tenths; and on what title they were paid to the pope, largely hereafter.

44. *All cannot be truly counted.*

Here we speak not of the accidentals;—as legacies bequeathed by the deaths of princes and great persons, and other casualties, and obventions; Sixtus IV. being wont to say, that "a pope could never want money, while he could hold a pen in his hand;" (understand him to grant general indulgences;) though Luther's holding a pen in his hand hath since much marred his mart herein. Now, certainly Demetrius could tell better what was gotten by making silver shrines for Diana, Acts xix. 27, than St. Paul himself: and while some Protestants compute the papal profit to be a hundered and fifty thousand pounds *per annum*, some more, some less, (but all making it above the king's revenues,) they do but state his income at random.

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* See SPELMAN'S "Councils," page 625.

45—48. *Polydore Virgil, Collector of the English Peter-pence, be-laurelleth the Choir of Wells: a Malefactor to Posterity for burning MSS. Two-edged Verses.*

Only Polydore Virgil, if alive and willing, were able to give a certain account of the Peter-pence, (a good guess at the rest of papal revenues,) knowing them, as well as the beggar knows his dish, as holding the basin into which they were put, being Collector-general of Peter-pence all over England. But this Italian was too proud to accept them as gratuities, (in which nature they were first given,) but exacted them in the notion of a rent and tribute due to the pope his master.

This is that Polydore Virgil, who was dignitary of the cathedral of Wells, (and, as I take it, archdeacon of Taunton,) on the choir whereof he bestowed hangings flourished with the laurel tree, and, as I remember, wrote upon them, SUNT POLIDORI MUNERA VIRGILII. But would he had spared his benefaction to the church of Wells, on condition he had been no malefactor to the church of England; yea, to religion and learning in general, if it be true what commonly is reported!

For he wrote a Latin History of Britain, from the original of the nation, until *anno Domini* 153, the year of king Henry VIII. out of many rare manuscripts, which he had collected together. Now, partly to raise the reputation of his own writings, that he might seem no lazy transcriber; partly to render himself out of the reach of confutation, (being suspected not over-faithful in his relation,) he is said to have burned all those rare authors, which he could compass into his possession. Thus, tyrant-like, he cut down those stairs whereby he ascended the throne of his own knowledge. If this be true, the world may thank Polydore Virgil for his work, *De Inventione Rerum;* but have cause to chide (not to say, curse) his memory for his act *De Perditione Librorum.*

I have met with a paper of verses, which, like a two-edged sword, cut on both sides, plainly at Polydore Virgil, but obscurely at a later plagiary, and, in my opinion, not unworthy to be inserted.

LEYLAND'S SUPPOSED GHOST.

Am I deceived ? or doth not Leyland's ghost
Complain of wrong sustained after death ;
As Virgil's Polydore accused his host,
The Thracian king, for cruel breach of faith,
And treasures gain'd by stopping of his breath ?
Ah greedy guardian ! t' enjoy his goods,
Didst plunge his princely ward into the floods !

Am I deceived ? or doth not Leyland's spirit
Complain with th' ghosts of English notaries
Whom Polydorus Virgil robb'd of merit,
Bereft of name, and sack'd of histories,
While (wretch !) he ravish'd English libraries ?
Ah wicked book-thief ! whosoever did it,
Should one burn all, to get one single credit ?

Am I deceived ? or doth not Leyland's spirit
Make hue and cry for some book-treasure stealth,
Rifling his works, and razing name and merit,
Whereby are smother'd a prince-given wealth,
A learned writer's travel, wits, and health ?
All these he spent to do his country pleasure,
O save his name, the world may know his treasure !

I am deceived : for Leyland's ghost doth rest,
From plaints and cries, with souls of blessed men ;
But heaven and human laws cannot digest,
That such rare fruits of a laborious pen
CAME to be drown'd in such a thankless DEN.
Thus heaven and all humanity doth sue,
That Leyland dead may have his titles due.

Who this second plagiary was, complained of for plundering Leland, if the reader cannot conjecture, I will not tell ;—such the honour I bear to his admirable performances, though herein not to be excused.

49—52. *How papal Power in England was cantoned. God first had his Share ; Christ, his Due ; the Holy Spirit, his Portion.*

Papal power thus extinguished in England, it is worth our inquiry where the same for the future was fixed ; which we find not entirely settled in any one, but, according to justice and equity, divided amongst many sharers therein.

And, first, " give unto God the things which are God's." What the Pharisees said was true in the doctrine, though false in the use thereof, as applied to our Saviour, whom they mistook for a mere man, Mark ii. 7, " Who can forgive sins but God alone ?" This paramount power, no less blasphemously than arrogantly usurped by the pope, claiming an absolute and authoritative pardoning of sins, was humbly and justly restored to the high God of heaven.

Restitution was made to the Second Person in the Trinity, of that universal jurisdiction over the whole church as belonging to Christ alone, who is the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, 1 Peter ii. 25; and a badge of antichrist for the pope proudly to assume the same.

To the Holy Ghost was restored that infallibility which to him doth properly pertain, as being "the Spirit of truth," which neither will deceive, nor can be deceived, and which hath promised to lead his church in general "into all truth," John xv. 26; xvi. 13; but never fixed any inerrability on any particular person, or succession of single persons whatsoever.

53—57. *The King assumes his Share.*

And, now, "give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." The king comes to claim his own right, what the kings of Judah, his predecessors in sovereignty, had by the word of God, and Christian emperors, by the practice of the primitive times, did possess. In order whereunto, the parliament did notify and declare, that ecclesiastical power to be in the king which the pope had formerly unjustly invaded. Yet so, that they reserved to themselves, beside other privileges which we leave to the learned in the law, the confirming power of all canons ecclesiastical; so that the person or property of refusers should not be subjected to temporal penalty without consent of parliament.

Of this power thus declared in the king, part thereof he kept in himself;—as to call and dissolve convocations at his pleasure, to grant or deny them commission to debate of religion, to command archbishops and bishops to be chosen in vacant sees, to take order for the due administration of the word and sacraments.

The other part of power ecclesiastical the king passed over to the archbishop of Canterbury, as his substitute: First. To grant faculties in cases not repugnant to the law of God, necessary for honour and security of the king, formerly wont to be remedied in the see of Rome. Secondly. To determine causes ecclesiastical in his court, whence lay an appeal to the court of delegates, &c.

The representative clergy had power, by the king's leave, to make canons and constitutions; whilst each bishop in his respective diocess, priest in his parish, were freer than formerly in execution of their office, acquitted from papal dependence.

Lastly. Every English layman was restored to his Christian birthright; namely, to his judgment of practical discretion, (in perusing the Scriptures in his own language,) formerly swallowed up in the ocean of the pope's infallibility. Thus, on the depluming of the pope, every bird had his own feather: in the partage whereof, what he had gotten by sacrilege was restored to God; what by usurpation, was given back to the king, church, and state; what by oppression, was remitted to particular Christians.

SECTION IV.

TO MASTER HENRY BARNARD, LATE OF LONDON, MERCHANT.

Though lately you have removed your habitation into Shropshire, my pen is resolved to follow after and find you out. Seeing the hand of your bounty hath had so long a reach, let the legs of my gratitude take as large a stride. When you shall be disposed to be solitary, and desirous to have society, at the same time peruse this book, whereby you shall attain your desired condition.

1, 2. *Fisher made Cardinal. The King enraged thereat.*

For twelve months had bishop Fisher (formerly condemned) now lived in durance, and so was likely to continue, until (in all probability) his soul at the same time should be freed from two prisons, I mean, that of his body, and that of the Tower. For, his life could do the king no hurt, whose death might procure him hatred, as of one generally pitied for his age, honoured for his learning, admired for his holy conversation. Besides, it was not worth the while to take away his life, who was not only *mortalis*, as all men; and *mortificatus*, as all good men; but also *moriturus*, as all old men, being past seventy-six years of age. But now an unseasonable act of the pope accelerated his execution, in making him cardinal of St. Vitalis; a title which Fisher so little affected, that he professed, if the hat lay at his feet, he would not stoop to take it up.

His Holiness could not have studied a more destructive way against Fisher's life, than to fasten this injurious favour upon him. This heightened the king's anger into fury against him. He expounded the pope's act, or rather the act expounded itself, (as capable of no other comment,) as done in his defiance; and, therefore, a warrant is sent to the lieutenant for his execution. Let not the reader grudge his pains, if we describe this bishop, from his cradle to (I cannot say his coffin or winding-sheet, being made to believe he had neither, but) his grave; the rather, because I collected the same out of his manuscript Life, compiled by Richard Hall of Christ-college in Cambridge,* and communicated unto me by a worthy friend.† Only be it premised, that the same Hall was a stiff Roman catholic, and therefore accordingly must abatement be made in his relations.

3, 4. *Bishop Fisher's Birth and Breeding. Different Characters of Fisher.*

This John Fisher, born at Beverley in Yorkshire, of Robert his father, a wealthy man, and a kind of merchant, *anno* 1459, was by his parents sent to Cambridge to have his education in Michael-house, under Mr. William Melton, his tutor; admitted, 1484; commenced bachelor of arts, 1488; master of arts, 1491; made proctor, 1495; doctor, 1502; master of the house, thereabouts; bishop of Rochester, 1504; chosen chancellor of Cambridge, 1505; confirmed, 1514. He was chaplain and confessor to the lady Margaret, countess of Richmond; at whose instance and by whose advice she founded and endowed Christ's and St. John's college, in Cambridge. Employed in building of the latter, (her posthume college of St. John's,) and effectually advancing that work, he wanted the accommodation of a convenient lodging, when Dr. Thomas Wilkinson, President of Queen's College, opportunely departed this life: and that Society requested bishop Fisher to succeed in his place, which he gratefully accepted, faithfully discharged, and thereby had the advantage to finish his new college in the less time, to his greater contentment.

Here I meet with two descriptions of Fisher, as contrary each to other as the religions of the two describers, whereof the one was a rigid Papist, the other a zealous Protestant:—

HALL, in his aforesaid manuscript.—Fisher is made by him a very wealthy man, having much plate and furniture, of a great value; and, as for his library, no bishop in Europe had the like unto him, insomuch as he intended (as appeareth somewhere in his letter to Erasmus) to found a college of his own; but afterwards, reversing his resolution, in his life-time he bestowed all his rich plate, furniture, and books, on St. John's, in Cambridge, and borrowed the same of it again by indenture under his hand and seal, for his use during life. But it happened that at his attainture the king's officers seized on all he had.

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* PITZÆUS *De Script. Angliæ*, page 803.

† MR. HUIS, ESQ. Beadle of Cambridge.

ASCHAM. *Commendatitiarum Epistolarum, Lib. I.—Joannes Fisherus, episcopus Roffensis, dum falsam doctrinam nimis perversè defendit, optimas literas in hoc collegio, suis ornamentis, et suis divitiis denudavit. Hic vir nutu suo rexit hoc collegium; et propterea in manu ejus posita sunt clarissima ornamenta, quæ Domina Margareta huic collegio elargita est.——Ejus perversa doctrina, et illum vitâ, et nos summis divitiis nostris privavit.*[*]

For mine own part, I conceive no covetousness (much less such sacrilege) can be charged on Fisher's account; it being notoriously known, that king Henry VIII. who formerly favoured him, proffered to remove him from Rochester to Lincoln or Ely, (treble the other in revenue,) which Fisher refused, both in word and print. *Habeant alii*, saith he,[†] *proventus pinguiores, etc.* being used to say, he would not change his little old wife, to whom he had been so long wedded, for a wealthier.

5. *Variance betwixt Papists about Fisher's Wealth.*

It is no wonder if a Papist and a Protestant cannot agree about Fisher's character, when we find two stiff papists at a vast distance about his estate. Hall, as is aforesaid, makes him very wealthy, which is not improbable, considering he had a paternal bottom whereon—competency of revenue wherewith—long continuance of time wherein—and commendable frugality whereby—to build an estate; not to speak that he served a good mistress, the lady Margaret, known to have rich coffers, and her confessor could command the keys thereof. But, on the contrary, Sanders makes him as poor as Job;[‡] insomuch, that soldiers, coming to seize on his supposed wealth, found (what was quickly told) nothing at all belonging to him, save a great barred chest. These, from the facing of iron, concluded the lining thereof silver at least; and having broken it open, found nothing therein but sackcloth and a whip; which put them all to penance, and soundly lashed their covetous expectation. But, leaving his life, come we now to the manner of his death.

6—8. *He welcomes the News of his Death; yet labours to preserve his Life; prepareth himself for his Death.*

After the lieutenant of the Tower had received the writ for his execution, because it was then very late, and the prisoner asleep, he was loath to dis-ease him from his rest. But in the morning, before five of the clock, he came to him in his chamber, in the Bell-tower, finding him yet asleep in his bed, and waking him, told him, he was come to him on a message from the king, to signify unto him, that his pleasure was he should suffer death that forenoon. "Well," quoth the bishop, "if this be your errand, you bring me no great news; for I have looked a long time for this message, and I must humbly thank his majesty, that it pleaseth him to rid me from all this worldly business. Yet, let me by your patience sleep an hour or two; for I have slept very ill this night, not for any fear of death, I thank God, but by reason of my great infirmity and weakness."

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[*] In favour of Fisher I have left the words untranslated.

[†] In his Dedication Epistolary to the Bishop of Winton, in his place against Œcolampadius.

[‡] *De Schismate Anglicano*, lib. i. page 123.

"The king's pleasure is farther," said the lieutenant, "that you shall use as little speech as may be, especially of any thing touching his majesty, whereby the people should have any cause to think of him, or his proceedings, otherwise than well." "For that," said he, "you shall see me order myself, as, by God's grace, neither the king, nor any man else, shall have occasion to mislike of my words." With which answer the lieutenant departed from him, and so the prisoner, falling again to rest, slept soundly two hours and more; and, after he was awaked, called to his man to help him up; but first commanded him to take away his shirt-of-hair, which customably he wore, and to convey it privily out of the house; and, instead thereof, to lay him forth a clean white shirt, and all the best apparel he had, as cleanly brushed as might be. And, as he was arraying himself, his man, seeing in him more curiosity and care for the fine and cleanly wearing of his apparel that day, than was wont, demanded of him, what this sudden change meant, saying, that his lordship knew well enough, that he must put off all again within two hours, and lose it. "What of that?" said he: "Dost not thou mark, that this is our marriage-day? and that it behoveth us therefore to use more cleanliness for solemnity thereof?"

About nine of the clock the lieutenant came again, and, finding him almost ready, said, he was now come for him. Then said he to his man, "Reach me my furred tippet to put about my neck." "O, my lord!" said the lieutenant, "what need ye be so careful for your health for this little time, being, as yourself knows, not much above an hour?" "I think no otherwise," said he, "but yet in the mean time, I will keep myself as well as I can. For I tell you truth; though I have, I thank our Lord, a very good desire and willing mind to die at this present, and so trust of his infinite mercy and goodness he will continue it, yet will I not willingly hinder my health in the mean time one minute of an hour, but still prolong the same, as long as I can, by such reasonable ways and means as Almighty God hath provided for me." And, with that, taking a little book in his hand, which was a New Testament lying by him, he made a cross on his forehead, and went out of his prison-door with the lieutenant, being so weak as that he was scant able to go down the stairs; wherefore, at the stairs' foot he was taken up in a chair between two of the lieutenant's men, and carried to the Tower-gate, with a great number of weapons about him, to be delivered to the sheriff of London for execution.

9—13. *He advanceth to the Place of his Execution; the Manner of his mounting the Scaffold; his Speech to the People; his Execution; his Age and Stature.*

And, as they were come to the uttermost precinct of the liberties of the Tower, they rested there with him a space, till such time as one was sent before to know in what readiness the sheriffs were to receive him; during which space he rose out of his chair, and standing on his feet, leaned his shoulder to the wall, and lifting his eyes towards heaven, he opened a little book in his hand, and said, "O Lord! this is the last time that ever I shall open this book; let some comfortable place now chance unto me, whereby I thy poor servant may glorify thee in this my last hour." And, with that, looking into the book, the first thing that came to his sight were these words, *Hæc est autem vita æterna, ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum. Ego te glorificavi super terram, opus consummavi quod dedisti mihi, etc.* John xvii. 3, &c. and with that he shut the book together, and said, "Here is even learning enough for me to my life's end." And so, the sheriff being ready for him, he was taken up again among certain of the sheriff's men, with a new and much greater company of weapons than was before, and carried to the scaffold on the Tower-hill, otherwise called East Smithfield, himself praying all the way, and recording upon the words which he before had read.

When he was come to the foot of the scaffold, they that carried him offered to help him up the stairs; but, said he, "Nay, masters, seeing I am come so far, let me alone and ye shall see me shift for myself well enough!" and so went up the stairs without any help, so lively that it was a marvel to them that before knew his debility and weakness. But as he was mounting the stairs, the south-east sun shined very bright in his face; whereupon he said to himself these words, lifting up his hands, *Accedite ad eum et illuminamini, et facies vestræ non confundentur.* By that time he was upon the scaffold it was about ten o'clock; where the executioner, being ready to do his office, kneeled down to him, as the fashion is, and asked him forgiveness. "I forgive thee," said he, "with all my heart, and I trust thou shalt see me overcome this storm lustily."

Then was his gown and tippet taken from him, and he stood in his doublet and hose in sight of all the people, whereof there was no small number assembled to see the execution.

Being upon the scaffold, he spake to the people in effect as followeth:—"Christian people, I am come hither to die for the faith of Christ's holy catholic church; and, I thank God, hitherto my stomach hath served me very well thereunto, so that yet I have not feared death; wherefore I desire you all to help and assist with your prayers, that, at the very point and instant of death's stroke, I may in that very moment stand steadfast without fainting in any one point of the catholic faith, free from any fear. And I beseech Almighty God of his infinite goodness to save the king and this realm, and that it may please him to hold his holy hand over it, and send the king a good council." These words he spake with such a cheerful countenance, such a stout and constant courage, and such a reverend gravity, that he appeared to all men, not only void of fear, but also glad of death.

After these few words by him uttered, he kneeled down on both his knees, and said certain prayers. Among which, as some reported, one was the hymn of *Te Deum laudamus* to the end; and the psalm, *In te, Domine, speravi.* Then came the executioner and bound an handkerchief about his eyes; and so the bishop, lifting up his hands and heart to heaven, said a few prayers, which were not long, but fervent and devout: which being ended, he laid his head down over the midst of a little block, where the executioner, being ready with a sharp and heavy axe, cut asunder his slender neck at one blow; which bled so abundantly, that many, saith my author, wondered to see so much blood issue out of so lean and slender a body: though in my judgment, that might rather have translated the wonder from his leanness to his age, it being otherwise a received tradition that lean folk have the most blood in them.

Thus died John Fisher, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, on the two-and-twentieth of June, being St. Alban's day, the proto-martyr of England, and therefore with my author most remarkable. But, surely, no day in the Romish Calendar is such a skeleton, or so bare of sanctity, but (had his death happened thereon) a priest would pick a mystery out of it. He had a lank, long body, full six foot high, toward the end of his life very infirm, insomuch that he used to sit in a chair when he taught the people in his diocess.

14, 15. *His mean, not to say (if true) barbarous Burial, an impudent, improbable Lie.*

His corpse (if our author speaketh truth) was barbarously abused, no winding-sheet being allowed it, which will hardly enter into my belief. For, suppose his friends durst, his foes would, not afford him a shroud; yet some neuters betwixt both (no doubt) would have done it out of common civility. Besides, seeing the king vouchsafed him the Tower, a noble prison; and beheading, an honourable death; it is improbable he would deny him a necessary equipage for a plain and private burial. Wherefore, when Hall tells us, that the soldiers attending his execution could not get spades to make his grave therewith, but were fain with halberds, in the north side of the church-yard of All-Hallows Barking, to dig a hole wherein they cast his naked corpse; I listen to the relation as inflamed by the reporter's passion. Be it here remembered, that Fisher in his life-time made himself a tomb on the north side of the chapel in St. John's college, intending there to be buried, but therein disappointed. This Fisher was he who had a cardinal's hat sent him, which, stopped at Calais, never came on his head; and a monument made for him, wherein his body was never deposited.

Our author reporteth also, how queen Anna Boleyn gave order his head should be brought unto her, before it was set up on London-bridge, that she might please herself at the sight thereof, and, like another Herodias, insult over the head of this John her professed enemy. Nor was she content alone to revile his ghost with taunting terms, but out of spite or sport, or both, struck her hand against the mouth of this dead head brought unto her; and it happened, that one of Fisher's teeth, more prominent than the rest, struck into her hand, and not only pained her for the present, but made so deep an impression therein that she carried the mark thereof to her grave. It seems, this was contrary to the proverb, *Mortui non mordent.* But enough, yea, too much of such damnable falsehoods. Pass we from Fisher to More, his fellow-prisoner, whom Fisher's execution had not mollified into conformity to the king's pleasure, as was expected.

16—18. *Sir Thomas More's Extraction and Education: charged for his over-much Jesting: a great Anti-Protestant.*

Son he was to Sir John More, one of the judges of the King's Bench, who lived to see his son preferred above himself. Bred a Common Lawyer, but withal, a general scholar as well in polite as solid learning; a terse poet, neat orator, pure Latinist, able Grecian, he was chosen Speaker in the House of Commons, made Chancellor first of Lancaster-duchy, then of all England, performing the place with great integrity and discretion. Some ground we have in England, neither so light and loose as sand, nor so stiff and binding as clay, but a mixture of both, conceived the surest soil for profit and pleasure to grow together on: such the soil of this Sir Thomas More, in which facetiousness and judiciousness were excellently tempered together.

Yet some have taxed him, that he wore a feather in his cap, and wagged it too often; meaning, he was over-free in his fancies and conceits; insomuch, that, on the scaffold, (a place not to break jests, but to break off all jesting,) he could not hold, but bestowed his scoffs on the executioner and standers-by. Now, though innocency may smile at death, surely it is unfit to flout thereat.

But the greatest fault we find justly charged on his memory, is his cruelty in persecuting poor Protestants, to whom he bare an implacable hatred; insomuch that in his life-time he caused to be inscribed, as parcel of his epitaph on his monument at Chelsea, that he ever was *furibus, homicidis, hæreticisque molestus:* a passing-good praise, save after the way which he there calleth "heresy," pious people worship the God of their fathers. He suffered the next month after Fisher's execution, in the same place, for the same cause, July 6th, and was buried at Chelsea, under his tomb aforesaid; which, being become ruinous, and the epitaph scarce legible, hath few years since been decently repaired at the cost, as I am informed, of one of his near kinsmen.

19. *The Death and Character of Queen Catherine Dowager.*

At this time, January 8th, Catherine dowager, whom we will be bold still in courtesy to call "a queen," notwithstanding king Henry's proclamation to the contrary, ended her woful life at Kimbolton. A pious woman toward God, (according to her devotion,) frequent in prayer, which she always performed on her bare knees, nothing else between her and the earth interposed; little curious in her clothes, being wont to say, she accounted no time lost but what was laid out in dressing of her; * though art might be more excusable in her, to whom nature had not been over bountiful. She was rather staid, than stately; reserved, than proud; grave from her cradle, insomuch that she was a matron before she was a mother. This her natural gravity increased with her apprehended injuries, settled in her reduced age into a habit of melancholy, and that terminated into a consumption of the spirits. She was buried in the abbey-church of Peterborough, under a hearse of black say; probably by her own appointment, that she might be plain when dead, who neglected bravery of clothes when living. A noble pen † tells us, that in intuition to her corpse here interred, king Henry, at the destruction of abbeys, not only spared the church in Peterborough, but also advanced it into a cathedral. If so, it was civilly done of him not to disturb her in her grave whom he had so disquieted in her bed. The news of her departure was not unwelcome to queen Anna Boleyn, who, though too good a Christian to desire her death, was too wise a woman to be over-sorrowful for the same; seeing formerly she was the king's wife but by sequestration, the true possessor of his bed being yet alive; whereas now, ***Rehoboth***, she conceived God had made room for her, Gen. xxvi. 22.

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* SANDERS *De Schismate Anglicano.*

† LORD HERBERT in his Henry VIII.

20. *The Character of Queen Anna Boleyn.*

This Anna Boleyn was great-grandchild to a citizen, Sir Jeffery Boleyn, lord mayor of London; grandchild to Sir William Boleyn, knight, who lived respectedly in his country; daughter to Thomas Boleyn, earl of Wiltshire, a great courtier: and she had her birth in England; blood, by her grandmother,* from Ireland; and breeding in France, under Mary the French queen: so that so many relations, meeting in her, accomplished her with an acceptable behaviour to all qualities and conditions of people; of a handsome person and beautiful face; and therefore that pen † that reports her lean-visaged, long-sided, gobber-toothed, yellow-complexioned, with a wen in her neck, both manifests his malice, and disparageth the judgment of king Henry, whom all knew well-read in books, and better in beauties; who would never have been drawn to so passionate a love, without stronger loadstones to attract it. This queen, remembering how her predecessor lost the king's love with her over-austerity, tuned herself to a more open and debonair behaviour, even generally to all with whom she conversed: which, being observed by her adversaries, was improved by them to her overthrow; so that she but for a very short time had the sole and peaceable possession of her husband. In a word, she was a great patroness of the Protestants, protector of the persecuted, preferrer of men of merit, (among whom Hugh Latimer,) a bountiful reliever of the poor, and the happy mother of queen Elizabeth.

21—23. *The first Reformed Convocation. The Silence in the Abbots of the Convocation. The Journal of this Convocation.*

On the eighth of June began a short but sharp parliament, (dissolved the eighteenth of July following,) effecting much in little time; matters, it seems, being well prepared aforehand, and the House assembled, not to debate, but do the king's desires. The parallel Convocation began the day after, being one new-modelled, and of a fashion different from all former Convocations. Therein the lord Cromwell, prime secretary, sat in state above all the bishops, as the king's vicar or vicegerent-general in all spiritual matters. *Deformi satis spectaculo*, saith my author,* *indocto laico cœtui præsidente sacratorum antistitum, omnium, quos ante hæc tempora Anglia unquam habuisset, doctissimorum.* In one respect, that place had better become the person of king Henry, than this lord his proxy; all allowing the king a very able scholar. But Cromwell had in power and policy what he lacked in learning; if he may be said to lack it, who, at pleasure, might command the borrowing thereof from the best brains and pens of those of his own party in the Convocation.

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* Daughter to Thomas, Earl of Ormond.

† SANDERS *De Schismate Anglicano.*

This Convocation consisted of two Houses; the Lower, of the clerks and proctors of their respective cathedrals and dioceses, with the deans and archdeacons therein; the Upper, of the bishops, with the lord-abbots, and priors, (I mean, so many of them as voted as barons in parliament,) as may appear by their several subscriptions.† However, I find not the abbots active in any degree in canvassing matters of religion. Whether this proceeded from any desire of ease, their laziness being above their learning; or out of humility, counting it more proper to permit such disputes to the sole disposal of the bishops, as most concerned therein; or out of fear, loath to stickle on religion, knowing on what ticklish terms they stood. For, in this very parliament, all abbeys, which could not dispend two hundred pounds a year, were dissolved, and bestowed on the king; and those rich abbots (which had more than so many thousands yearly) knew that maxim in logic to be true, *Magis et minùs non variant speciem*, "More and less do not alter the kind;" and might say with him on the cross, they were "in the same condemnation," though as yet the sentence was not passed upon them.

We will observe the daily motions in this Convocation, as with mine own hand I have faithfully transcribed them out of the records. Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, made the Latin sermon, taking for his text, "The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light," Luke xvi. 8. On the Friday following, June 16th, Richard Gwent, archdeacon of London, was presented, and confirmed Prolocutor in this Convocation. On the same day Master William Peter, doctor of the laws, came into the House, as deputed from his master the lord Cromwell, who could not be present, because of his greater employment in parliament. This Dr. Peter claimed the highest place in the House, as due to his master the lord Cromwell, *et petiit dictum locum sibi, tanquam procuratori dicti magistri;*‡ and he (shall I say, requested? or)

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* GODWIN'S "Annals," *anno Domini* 1536.

† *Concordatum erat per honorandum virum* [Cromwell] *et reverendos episcopos abbates et priores domus superioris.—Acta Convocationis celebrat, anno* 1536, *fol. antepenul.*

‡ Records of *Cant. A.D.* 1536, fol. 9.

"required the same precedency, as due to him, being his proctor," and obtained it accordingly, without any dispute. Though some, perchance, might question, whether a deputy's deputy (as one degree farther removed) might properly claim his place, who was primitively represented. Next Wednesday, June 21st, came in the lord Cromwell in person, and, having judiciously seated himself above all, tendered unto them an instrument to be publicly signed by all the Convocation, concerning the nullity of the king's marriage with the lady Anna Boleyn.

24, 25. *Cranmer solemnly divorceth Anna Boleyn from the King. What might be the King's Designs in this Divorce. A D.* 1536.

Some ten days before, archbishop Cranmer at Lambeth had held an open court, in the presence of Thomas Audley, lord chancellor, Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, and most of the privy council; wherein the king and queen were cited to appear, as they did by their proxies, Dr. Richard Sampson being the king's, and Dr. Nicholas Wootten the queen's. Then proceeded the archbishop to discuss the validity of their marriage, and at the last, by his definitive sentence, pronounced the same " invalid, frustrate, and of none effect." No particular cause is specified in that sentence, still extant in the record; and though the judge and court seemed abundantly satisfied in the reasons of this nullity, yet, concealing the same unto themselves, they thought not fit to communicate this treasure to posterity; except they shut their coffers on purpose, because there was nothing in them. Sure I am, there is no dashing on the credit of the lady, nor any the least insinuations of inchastity in that instrument; *præclara domina, et serenissima regina*, being the worst titles that are given her therein.

Men may justly marvel what king Henry meant by this solemn and ceremonious divorce, which the edge of the axe or sword was more effectually to perform the day after, her death being then designed. Was it because he stood on this punctilio or criticism of credit, that he might not hereafter be charged with cruelty for executing his wife, that first he would be divorced from her, and so cannot be said to put his queen, but Anna Boleyn, to death? Or did he first but barely intend her divorce, and afterwards suspecting this would not make sufficient avoidance in his bed, to clear all claims, took up new resolutions to take away her life? Or was it because he conceived the execution would only reach the root, the queen herself, and not blast the branch, the lady Elizabeth, whom by this divorce he desired to render illegitimate? Whatever his aims were, he got her divorce confirmed both by Convocation and

Parliament, interesting all equally therein, that hereafter none should accuse him of this act, but first they must condemn themselves. However, after-ages take the boldness to conceive, that the greatest guilt of Anna Boleyn was king Henry's better fancying of another, which made him, the next day after her death, to mourn so passionately for her in the embraces of a new and beautiful bride, the lady Jane Seymour.

26. *The Convocation buxom to please the King in all Things.*

But, to return to the Convocation: That instrument of divorce was no sooner tendered therein, but all subscribed it; the Papists willingly, the Protestants faintly, but all publicly. Yea, in this Convocation nothing was propounded in the king's name but it passed presently. O, the operation of the purge of a premunire, so lately taken by the clergy, and a hundred thousand pounds paid thereupon! How did the remembrance thereof still work on their spirits, and made them meek and mortified! They knew the temper of the king, and had read the text, "The lion hath roared, who will not fear?" Amos iii. 8. Gardiner the fox durst not so much as bark to oppose the king, nor the proudest in the place. As for Edmund Bonner, archdeacon of Leicester, present and active in this Convocation, I may say, Bonner was no Bonner yet, but a perfect Cromwellist, and as forward as any to promote his designs.

27. *A Catalogue of erroneous Opinions complained of in the Convocation.*

On the Friday following, July 23rd, Mr. Gwent the Prolocutor brought to the Upper House of Convocation, a book containing the *mala dogmata*, those "erroneous doctrines," then (as he complained) publicly preached, printed, and professed; requesting reformation thereof, that order might be taken against the future propagation of such dangerous positions. Behold them here transcribed out of the record, partly for novelty's sake, because to my knowledge never printed before; and partly because, though many wild and distempered expressions be found therein, yet they contain the protestant religion in ore, which since, by God's blessing, is happily refined.

28. *Erroneous Opinions (as then accounted) complained of in the Convocation.*

"The Protestation of the clergy of the Lower House, within the province of Canterbury, with declaration of the faults and abuses which heretofore have, and now be within the same, worthy special reformation:—

"In very humble and reverent manner, with protestation, that we the clergy of the Lower House within the province of Canterbury, neither in word, deed, or otherwise, directly, or indirectly, intend any thing, to speak, attempt, or do, which, in any manner of wise may be displeasant unto the king's Highness, our most dread sovereign lord, and supreme head of the church of England; but in all things, according to the command of God, to be most obedient to his Grace, to whom accordingly we submit ourselves, minding in nowise, by any colourable fashion, to recognise privily or apertly the bishop of Rome, or his usurped authority, or in anywise to bring in, defend, or maintain the same, into this noble realm, or dominions of the same: but that the same bishop of Rome, with his usurped authority, utterly for ever with his inventions, rites, abuses, ordinances, and fashions, to be renounced, forsaken, extinguished, and abolished; and that we sincerely addict ourselves to Almighty God, his laws, and unto our said sovereign lord the king, our supreme head in earth, and his laws, statutes, provisions, and ordinances made here within his Grace's realm. We think, in our consciences and opinions, these errors and abuses following to have been, and now to be, within this realm, causes of dissension, worthy special reformation. It is to wit,—

"1. That it is commonly preached, taught, and spoken, to the slander of this noble realm, disquietness of the people, damage of Christian souls, not without fear of many other inconveniences and perils,—that the sacrament of the altar is not to be esteemed. For divers light and lewd persons be not ashamed or afraid to say, 'Why should I see the sacring of the high mass? Is it any thing else but a piece of bread, or a *little predie round robin?*'

"2. Item, That they deny extreme unction to be any sacrament.

"3. Item, That priests have no more authority to minister sacraments than the laymen have.

"4. Item, That children ought not in anywise to be confirmed of the bishops afore they come to the age of discretion.

"5. Item, That all ceremonies accustomed in the church, which are not clearly expressed in Scripture, must be taken away, because they are men's inventions.

"6. Item, That all those are antichrists that do deny the laymen the sacrament of the altar, *sub utrâque specie.*

"7. Item, That all that be present at mass, and do not receive the sacrament with the priest, are not partakers of the said mass.

"8. Item, That it is preached and taught, that the church that is commonly taken for the church, is the old synagogue; and that the church is the congregation of good men only.

"9. Item, It is preached against the Litany, and also said, that it was never merry in England, since the Litany was ordained, and *Sancta Maria*, *Sancta Catharina*, &c. sung and said.

"10. Item, That a man hath no free will.

"11. Item, That God never gave grace nor knowledge of holy Scripture to any great estate or rich man, and that they in no wise follow the same.

"12. Item, That all religions and professions, whatsoever they be, are clean contrary to Christ's religion.

"13. Item, That it be preached and taught, that all things ought to be common, and that priests should have wives.

"14. Item, That preachers will in no wise conform themselves *ad ecclesiam catholicam;* nor admit or receive *canonicos et probatos authores;* but will have their own fancies and inventions preached and set forward.

"15. Item, That images of saints are not in any wise to be reverenced; and, that it is plain idolatry and abomination to set up any lights before any images, or in any place of the church the time of divine service, as long as the sun giveth light.

"16. Item, That it is idolatry to make any oblations.

"17. Item, That it is as lawful to christen a child in a tub of water at home, or in a ditch by the way, as in a font-stone in the church.

"18. Item, That the water in the font-stone is alonely a thing conjured.

"19. Item, That the hallowed oil is no better than the bishop of Rome's grease or butter.

"20. Item, That priests' crowns be the whore's marks of Babylon.

"21. Item, That the stole about the priest's neck is nothing else but the bishop of Rome's rope.

"22. Item, That images, as well of the crucifix as of other saints, are to be put out of the church, and the relics of saints in no wise to be reverenced; and that it is against God's commandment, that Christian men should make courtesy or reverence to the image of our Saviour.

"23. Item, That it is no sin or offence to eat white meats, eggs, butter, cheese, or flesh in the Lent, or other fasting-days commanded by the church, and received by consent of Christian people.

"24. Item, That it is lawful to eat flesh on Good-Friday, as upon Easter-day, or other times in the year.

"25. Item, That the sinner offending in the Lent, or other high feasts of the year, is worthy no more punishment than he that transgresseth in any other time.

"26. Item, That confession auricular, absolution, and penance, are neither necessary nor profitable in the church of God.

"27. Item, That auricular confession is only invented and ordained to have the secret knowledge of men's hearts, and to pull money out of their purses.

"28. Item, That the ghostly father cannot give or enjoin any penance at all.

"29. Item, That it is sufficient for a man or woman to make their confession to God alone.

"30. Item, That it is as lawful at all times to confess to a layman as to a priest.

"31. Item, That confession is but a whispering in a priest's ear, and is as well to be made, a multitude being present, as secretly.

"32. Item, That it is sufficient that the sinner do say, 'I know myself a sinner.'

"33. Item, That bishops' ordinaries and ecclesiastical judges have no authority to give any sentence of excommunication or censure; nor yet to absolve or loose any man from the same.

"34. Item, That it is not necessary or profitable to have any church or chapel to pray in, or to do any Divine service in.

"35. Item, That the church was made for no other purpose, but other to keep the people from wind and rain, other else that the people upon Sundays and holy-days should resort thither to have the word of God declared unto them.

"36. Item, That buryings in churches and churchyards be unprofitable and vain.

"37. Item, That the rich and costly ornaments in the church are rather high displeasure than pleasure or honour to God.

"38. Item, That it is pity that ever the mass, matins, evensong, or any other Divine service was made, or suffered to be read, said, or sung within any church, because it is only to the deluding of the people.

"39. Item, That saints are not to be invocated or honoured; and that they understand not, nor know nothing of our petitions, nor can be mediators or intercessors betwixt us and God.

"40. Item, That our Lady was no better than another woman, and like a bag of pepper or saffron when the spice is out; and that she can do no more with Christ than another sinful woman.

"41. Item, That it is as much available to pray unto saints, as to hurl a stone against the wind; and that the saints have no more power to help a man, than a man's wife hath to help her husband.

"42. Item, That dirge, commendations, mass, suffrages, prayers, alms-deeds, or oblations, done for the souls of them that be departed out of this world, be but vain and of no profit.

"43. Item, That the souls departed go straight to heaven, other to hell.

"44. Item, That there is no mean place between heaven and hell, wherein souls departed may be afflicted.

"45. Item, That if there be a place where they be punished, God is not yet born, nor He that shall redeem the world.

"46. Item, That prayers, suffrages, fasting, or alms-deeds do not help to take away any sin.

"47. Item, That there is no distinction of sins after this sort,—sin to be venial and sin to be mortal.

"48. Item, That all sins, after that the sinner be once converted, are made by the merits of Christ's passion venial sins; that is to say, 'sins clean forgiven.'

"49. Item, That Almighty God doth not look for, nor yet require, of a sinner after his conversion from sin, any fasting, alms-deed, or any other penance; but only that the sinner be sorry for his sins, amending his life, and sinning no more.

"50. Item, That hallowed water, hallowed bread, hallowed candles, hallowed ashes, hallowed palm, and such like ceremonies of the church, are of none effect, and to be taken as trifles and vanities to seduce the people.

"51. Item, That holy-days ordained and instituted by the church are not to be observed and kept in reverence, inasmuch as all days and times be like; and that servile works, as ploughing and carting, may be done in the same, without any offence at all, as in other ferial days.

"52. Item, That the singing or saying of mass, matins, or even-song, is but a roaring, howling, whistling, mumming, tomring, and juggling; and the playing at the organs a foolish vanity.

"53. Item, That pilgrimage, fasting, alms-deeds, and such like, are not to be used; and that a man is not bound to the church, but only to the preaching.

"54. Item, That it is sufficient and enough to believe, though a man do no good works at all.

"55. Item, That men be not content to preach of certain abuses found in pilgrimages, in fasting, in prayer, in invocation of saints, in reverencing of images, in alms-deeds; but they will have needs the thing self taken away, and not enough the abuses to be reformed.

"56. Item, That by preaching the people have been brought in opinion and belief, that nothing is to be believed, except it can be proved expressly by Scripture.

"57. Item, That it is preached and taught, that, forasmuch as Christ hath shed his blood for us and redeemed us, we need not do any thing at all but to believe and repent, if we have offended.

"58. Item, That there is of late a new *Confiteor* made after this form, *Confiteor Deo cœli et terræ, peccavi nimis cogitatione,* *locutione, et opere, meâ culpâ. Ideò deprecor majestatem tuam, ut tu, Deus, deleas iniquitatem meam, et vos orare pro me.*

"59. Item, That it is preached, that because auricular confession hath brought forth innumerable vices, it is clearly to be taken away.

"60. Item, That the canon of the mass is the comment of some foolish, unlearned priest; and that the names of the saints there expressed are not to be rehearsed.

"61. Item, That water running in the channel, or common river, is of as great virtue as the holy-water.

"62. Item, That holy-water is but juggled water.

"63. Item, That the holy-water is more savoury to make sauce with than the other, because it is mixed with salt; which is also a very good medicine for a horse with a galled back; yea, if there be put an onion thereunto, it is a good sauce for a gibbet of mutton.

"64. Item, That no human constitutions or laws do bind any Christian man, but such as be in the Gospels, Paul's Epistles, or the New Testament; and that a man may break them without any offence at all.

"65. Item, That besides seditious preaching, letting unity to be had, there are many slanderous and erroneous books that have been made and suffered to go abroad indifferently, which books were the more gladly bought, because of these words, *Cum privilegio;* which the ignorant people took to have been an express approbation of the king, where it was not so indeed.

"66. Item, That where heretofore divers books have been examined by persons appointed in the Convocation, and the said books found full of heresy and erroneous opinions, and so declared, the said books are not yet by the bishops expressly condemned, but suffered to remain in the hands of unlearned people, which ministereth to them matter of argument, and much unquietness within the realm.

"67. Item, That apostates, abjured persons, and of notable ill conversation, and infamed, have, without license of the king's Grace or the ordinary, taken upon them to speak slanderously."

29. *Distempered Expressions partly excused.*

The reader hath no sooner perused these opinions, but well he may conceive himself to have put his hand into Jeremy's basket of figs: Those that are good, exceeding good; and those that are bad, exceeding bad, Jer. xxiv. 3; most of these tenets being true in themselves, grounded on God's word, and at this day professed by the Protestants. But, blended with these are some, rather expressions than opinions, (and those probably worse spoken than meant, worse taken than spoken,) which we will not go about in any degree to defend, only may the unpartial reader take this into consideration:—It happeneth in all heights and heats of oppositions, as in horse-races; wherein the rider, if he doth not go beyond the post, cannot come to the post so as to win the prize: for, being upon the speed, he must go beyond it that he come to it, though afterwards he may rein and turn his horse back again to the very place of the mark. Thus men being, in the heat of contest, upon the very career of their souls, because of their passions, cannot stop short at the very mark they aim at, but some extravagancies must be indulged to human infirmity, which in their reduced thoughts they will correct and amend; as some Protestants, no doubt, now lashing out so far in their language, retrenched them afterwards to a just proportion of truth.

30. *Two contrary Parties in the Convocation.*

Two contrary interests visibly discovered themselves in the Upper House of this Convocation betwixt the bishops therein; and certainly, in the Lower House, their clerks and chaplains adhered to the parties of their lords and masters. An honourable pen * hath stated the principal parties, whom we implicitly follow herein; only, where he mentions their bare sees, we will add their names and surnames for the better clearing thereof.

Protestants, for the Reformation.—1. Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; 2. Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely; 3. Nicholas Shaxton, bishop of Sarum; 4. Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester; 5. Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford; 6. John Hilsley, bishop of Rochester; 7. William Barlow, bishop of St. David's.

Papists, against the Reformation.—1. Edward Lee, archbishop of York; 2. John Stokesley, bishop of London; 3. Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham; 4. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; 5. Robert Sherborne, bishop of Chichester; 6. Richard Nyx, bishop of Norwich; 7. John Kite, bishop of Carlisle.

O! what tugging was here betwixt those opposite sides, (for, I dare not take bishop Latimer's phrase, as he took it out of his text, "Betwixt the children of this generation, and the children of light!") whilst with all earnestness they thought to advance their several designs! But, as when two stout and sturdy travellers meet together, and both desire the way, yet neither are willing to fight for it, in their passage they so shove and shoulder one another, that dividing the way betwixt them both, yet neither get the same: so these two opposite parties in the Convocation were fain at last in a drawn battle to part the prize between them, neither of them being conquering or conquered; but a medley-religion, as an expedient, being made up betwixt them both, to salve (if not the consciences) the credits of both sides.

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* Lord Herbert in the "Life of Henry VIII."

31. *The Protestant Bishops' Moderation vindicated.*

Some zealots of our age will condemn the Laodicean temper of the Protestant bishops; because, if stickling to purpose, and improving their power to the utmost, they might have set forth a more pure and perfect religion. Such men see the faults of Reformers, but not the difficulties of Reformation. These Protestant bishops were at this time to encounter with the Popish clergy, equal in number, not inferior in learning, but far greater in power and dependencies. Besides, the generality of the people of the land, being nustled in ignorance and superstition, could not on a sudden endure the extremity of an absolute Reformation. Should our eyes be instantly posted out of midnight into noon-day, certainly we should be blinded with the suddenness and excellency of the lustre thereof. Nature therefore hath wisely provided the twilight, as a bridge, by degrees to pass us from darkness to light. Yea, our Saviour himself did at the first connive at the carnality of his apostles, and would not "put new wine into old bottles," Matt. ix. 17, for fear of breaking. Yea, he had some commandments, which as yet they were "not able to bear," John xvi. 12; and, therefore, till they could bear them, his wisdom did bear with them. Thus the best of artists do not always work to the height of their own skill, but according to the aptness of the instruments wherewith, and the capacity of the subjects whereon, they employ themselves.

34, 35. *The Draught of the Twilight Religion, confirmed in this Convocation.*

And here we present the reader with the aforesaid medley-religion passed in this Convocation, and confirmed with royal assent; requesting him, though it be somewhat long, not to grudge his time and pains, seriously to peruse it: partly for the authenticalness thereof, being by me transcribed out of the Acts of the Convocation; partly for its usefulness, showing by what degrees the Gospel insinuated itself into the souls of men. What said Zeresh, Haman's wife, to her husband?—"If thou hast begun to fall before Mordecai, thou shalt not prevail against him, but shalt surely fall before him," Esther vi. 13. Seeing popery began even now to reel and stagger, within few years we shall have it tumble down and lie prostrate with the face thereof at the footstool of truth.

"HENRY THE EIGHTH, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF ENGLAND, AND OF FRANCE, DEFENSOR OF THE FAITH, LORD

OF IRELAND, AND IN EARTH SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND; to all and singular our most loving, faithful, and obedient subjects, greeting.—Amongst other cures appertaining unto this our princely office, whereunto it hath pleased Almighty God of his infinite mercy and goodness to call us, we have always esteemed and thought, like as we also yet esteem and think, that it most chiefly belongeth unto our said charge, diligently to foresee and cause that not only the most holy word and commandments of God should most sincerely be believed, and most reverently be observed and kept of our subjects; but also that unity and concord in opinions, namely, in such things as do concern our religion, may increase and go forward, and all occasion of dissent and discord touching the same be repressed and utterly extinguished.

"For the which cause, we being of late, to our great regret, credibly advertised of such diversity in opinions as have grown and sprung in this our realm, as well concerning certain articles necessary to our salvation, as also touching certain other honest and commendable ceremonies, rites and usages, now a long time used and accustomed in our churches, for conservation of an honest polity and decent and seemly order to be had therein; minding to have that unity and agreement established through our said church concerning the premisses; and, being very desirous to eschew, not only the dangers of souls, but also the outward unquietness which, by occasion of the said diversity in opinions, (if remedy were not provided,) might perchance have ensued; have not only in our own person at many times taken great pain, study, labours, and travails; but also have caused our bishops, and other the most discreet and best learned men of our clergy of this our whole realm, to be assembled in our Convocation, for the full debatement and quiet determination of the same: Where, after long and mature deliberation had of and upon the premisses, finally they have concluded and agreed upon the most special points and articles; as well such as be commanded of God, and are necessary to our salvation, as also divers other matters touching the honest ceremonies, and good and politic orders, as is aforesaid. Which their determination, debatement, and agreement, for so much as we think to have proceeded of a good, right, and true judgment, and to be agreeable to the laws and ordinances of God, and much profitable for the stablishment of that charitable concord and unity in our church of England, which we most desire, we have caused the same to be published, willing, requiring, and commanding you to accept, repute, and take them accordingly. And farther, we most heartily desire, and pray Almighty God, that it may please him so to illuminate your hearts, that you, and every of you, may have no less desire, zeal, and love to the said unity and concord, in reading, divulging, and following the same, than we have had and have in causing them to be thus devised, set forth, and published.

"And, for because we would the said articles, and every of them, should be taken and understood of you after such sort, order, and degree as appertaineth accordingly; we have caused, by the like assent and agreement of our said bishops, and other learned men, the said articles to be divided into two sorts; whereof the one part containeth such as be commanded expressly by God, and be necessary to our salvation; and the other containeth such things as have been, of a long continuance, for a decent order and honest polity, prudently instituted and used in the church of our realm, and be for that same purpose and end to be observed and kept accordingly, although they be not expressly commanded of God, nor necessary to our salvation. Wherefore, we will and require you to accept the same, after such sort as we have here prescribed them unto you, and to conform yourselves obediently unto the same: whereby you shall not only attain that most charitable unity and loving concord, whereof shall ensue your incomparable commodity, profit, and lucre, as well spiritual as other; but also you shall not a little encourage us to take farther travails, pains, and labours, for your commodities in all such other matters as, in time to come, may happen to occur, and as it shall be most to the honour of God, the profit, tranquillity, and quietness of all you our most loving subjects."

THE PRINCIPAL ARTICLES CONCERNING OUR FAITH.

"FIRST.—As touching the chief and principal articles of our faith, it is thus agreed, as hereafter followeth, by the whole clergy of this our realm. We will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people by us committed to their spiritual charge, that they ought and must most constantly believe and defend all those things to be true which be comprehended in the whole body and canon of the Bible; and also in the three Creeds or Symbols, whereof one was made by the apostles, and is the common creed which every man useth; the second was made by the Council of Nice, and is said daily in the mass; and the third was made by Athanasius, and is comprehended in the Psalm, *Quicunque vult.* And that they ought and must take and interpret all the same things, according to the self-same sentence and interpretation which the words of the self-same creeds or symbols do purport, and the holy approved doctrines of the church do entreat and defend the same.

"Item, That they ought and must repute, hold, and take all the same things for the most holy, most sure, and most certain and infallible words of God, and such as neither ought ne can be altered or convelled by any contrary opinion or authority.

"Item, That they ought and must believe, repute, and take all the articles of our faith contained in the said creeds to be so necessary to be believed for man's salvation, that whosoever, being taught, will not believe them, as is aforesaid, or will obstinately affirm the contrary of them; he or they cannot be the very members of Christ, and his spouse the church, but be very infidels or heretics, and members of the devil, with whom they shall perpetually be damned.

"Item, That they ought and must most reverently and religiously observe and keep the self-same words, according to the very same form and manner of speaking, as the articles of our faith be already conceived and expressed in the said creeds, without altering in any wise or varying from the same.

"Item, That they ought and must utterly refuse and condemn all those opinions contrary to the said articles, which were of long time passed, condemned in the four holy Councils, that is to say, in the Council of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and all other since that time in any point consonant to the same."

THE SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM.

"SECONDLY.—As touching the holy sacrament of baptism, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must of necessity believe certainly all those things which have been always, by the whole consent of the church, approved, received, and used in the sacrament of baptism; that is to say, that the sacrament of baptism was instituted and ordained in the New Testament by our Saviour Jesus Christ, as a thing necessary for the attaining of everlasting life, according to the saying of Christ: 'No man can enter the kingdom of heaven, except he be born again of water and the Holy Ghost,' John iii. 5.

"Item, That it is offered unto all men, as well infants as such as have the use of reason, that by baptism they shall have remission of sins, and the grace and favour of God, according to the saying of Christ: 'Whosoever believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved,' Mark xvi. 16.

"Item, That the promise of grace and everlasting life, which promise is adjoined unto this sacrament of baptism, pertaineth not only unto such as have the use of reason, but also to infants, innocents, and children; and that they ought, therefore, and must needs be baptized; and that by the sacrament of baptism they do also obtain remission of their sins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very sons and children of God. Insomuch as infants and children dying in their infancy shall undoubtedly be saved thereby, and else not.

"Item, That infants must needs be christened, because they be born in original sin, which sin must needs be remitted, which cannot be done but by the sacrament of baptism, whereby they receive the Holy Ghost, which exerciseth his grace and efficacy in them, and cleanseth and purifieth them from sin by his most secret virtue and operation.

"Item, That children or men, once baptized, can nor ought ever to be baptized again.

"Item, That they ought to repute and take all the Anabaptists' and the Pelagians' opinions, contrary to the premisses, and every other man's opinion agreeable unto the said Anabaptists' or Pelagians' opinions in this behalf, for detestable heresies, and utterly to be condemned.

"Item, That men or children, having the use of reason, and willing and desiring to be baptized, shall, by the virtue of that holy sacrament, obtain the grace and remission of all their sins, if they shall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant, and contrite of all their sins before committed: and also perfectly and constantly confessing and believing all the articles of our faith according as it was mentioned in the first article.

"And finally, If they shall also have firm credence and trust in the promise of God, adjoined to the said sacrament, that is to say, that, in and by this said sacrament which they shall receive, God the Father giveth unto them, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, remission of all their sins, and the grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby they be newly regenerated and made the very children of God, according to the saying of St. John, and the apostle St. Peter: 'Do penance for your sins, and be each of you baptized in the name of Jesus Christ, and you shall obtain remission of your sins, and shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost,' Acts ii. 38. And according also to the saying of St. Paul: 'God hath not saved us for the works of justice which we have done, but of his mercy by baptism, and renovation of the Holy Ghost: whom he hath poured out upon us most plentifully, for the love of Jesu Christ our Saviour, to the intent that we, being justified by his grace, should be made the inheritors of everlasting life, according to our hope.' Titus iii. 5."

THE SACRAMENT OF PENANCE.

"THIRDLY.—Concerning the sacrament of penance, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must constantly believe that that sacrament was institute of Christ in the

New Testament as a thing so necessary for man's salvation that no man, which after his baptism is fallen again, and hath committed deadly sin, can without the same be saved, or attain everlasting life.

"Item, That like as such men, which after baptism do fall again into sin, if they do not penance in this life, shall undoubtedly be damned; even so, whensoever the same men shall convert themselves from their naughty life, and do such penance for the same as Christ requireth of them, they shall without doubt attain remission of their sins, and shall be saved.

"Item, That the sacrament of perfect penance, which Christ requireth of such manner of persons, consisteth of three parties; that is to say, Contrition, Confession, and the Amendment of the former life, and a new obedient reconciliation unto the laws and will of God; that is to say, exterior acts in works of charity, according as they be commanded of God, which be called in Scripture 'the worthy fruits of penance,' Luke iii. 8.

"Furthermore, As touching Contrition, which is the first part, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that the said Contrition consisteth in two special parts, which must always be conjoined together, and cannot be dissevered; that is to say, the penitent and contrite man must first knowledge the filthiness and abomination of his own sin, unto which knowledge he is brought by hearing and considering of the will of God, declared in his laws; and feeling and perceiving in his own conscience that God is angry and displeased with him for the same. He must also conceive not only great sorrow and inward shame, that he hath so grievously offended God, but also great fear of God's displeasure towards him, considering he hath no works or merits of his own, which he may worthily lay before God, as sufficient satisfaction for his sins. Which done, then afterward with this fear, shame, and sorrow, must needs succeed and be conjoined the second part; that is to wit, a certain faith, trust, and confidence of the mercy and goodness of God, whereby the penitent must conceive certain hope and faith, that God will forgive him his sins, and repute him justified, and of the number of his elect children, not for the worthiness of any merit or work done by the penitent, but for the only merits of the blood and passion of our Saviour Jesu Christ.

"Item, That this certain faith and hope is gotten, and also confirmed and made more strong, by the applying of Christ's words and promises of his grace and favour contained in his Gospel and the sacraments instituted by him in the New Testament. And therefore to attain this certain faith, the second part of penance is necessary; that is to say, Confession to a priest, if it may be had; for, the absolution given by the priest was institute of Christ to apply the promises of God's grace and favour to the penitent.

"Wherefore, as touching confession, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, that they ought and must certainly believe, that the words of absolution, pronounced by the priest, be spoken by the authority given to him by Christ in the Gospel.

"Item, That they ought and must give no less faith and credence to the same words of absolution, so pronounced by the ministers of the church, than they would give unto the very words and voice of God himself, if he should speak unto us out of heaven, according to the saying of Christ: 'Whose sins soever ye do forgive, shall be forgiven; whose sins soever ye do retain, shall be retained,' John xx. 23. And again: in another place, Christ saith, 'Whosoever heareth you, heareth me,' Luke x. 16.

"Item, That in nowise they do contemn this Auricular Confession which is made unto the ministers of the church, but that they ought to repute the same as a very expedient and necessary mean, whereby they may require and ask this absolution at the priest's hands, at such time as they shall find their conscience grieved with mortal sin, and have occasion so to do; to the intent, they may thereby attain certain comfort and consolation of their consciences.

"As touching to the third part of penance, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, that although Christ and his death be the sufficient oblation, sacrifice, satisfaction, and recompense, for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all sinners, not only their sin, but also eternal pain due for the same; yet all men truly penitent, contrite, and confessed, must needs also bring forth the fruits of penance; that is to say, prayer, fasting, alms-deeds; and must make restitution or satisfaction in will and deed to their neighbours in such things as they have done them wrong and injury in, and also must do all other good works of mercy and charity, and express their obedient will in the executing and fulfilling of God's commandments outwardly, when time, power, and occasion shall be ministered unto them, or else they shall never be saved. For, this is the express precept and commandment of God: 'Do you the worthy fruits of penance,' Luke iii. 8. And St. Paul saith, 'Like as in times past you have given and applied yourselves, and all the members of your body, to all filthy living and wickedness, continually increasing the same; in like manner now you must give and apply yourselves wholly to justice, increasing continually in purity and cleanness of life,' Rom. vi. 19. And in another place he saith, 'I chastise and subdue my carnal body, and the affections of the same, and make them obedient unto the spirit,' 1 Cor. ix. 27.

"Item, That these precepts and works of charity be necessary works to our salvation, and God necessarily requireth, that every penitent man shall perform the same whensoever time, power, and occasion shall be ministered unto them so to do.

"Item, That, by penance and such good works of the same, we shall not only obtain everlasting life, but also we shall deserve remission or mitigation of these present pains and afflictions in this world, according to the saying of St. Paul: 'If we would correct and take punishment of ourselves, we should not be so grievously corrected of God,' 1 Cor. xi. 31. And Zecharias the prophet saith, 'Turn yourselves unto me, and I will turn again unto you,' Zech. i. 3. And the prophet Esay saith, 'Break, and deal thy bread unto the hungry, bring into thy house the poor man, and such as want harbour. When thou seest a naked man, give him clothes to cover him with, and refuse not to succour and help the poor and needy, for he is thine own flesh. And, if thou wilt thus do, then shall thy light glister out as bright as the sun in the morning, and thy health shall sooner arise unto thee, and thy justice shall go before thy face, and the glory of God shall gather thee up, that thou shalt not fall. And, whensoever thou shalt call upon God, God shall hear thee: and, whensoever thou shalt cry unto God, God shall say, Lo! here I am ready to help thee; then shall thy light overcome all darkness, and thy darkness shall be as bright as the sun at noon-days: and then God shall give unto thee continual rest, and shall fulfil thy soul with brightness; and shall deliver thy body from adversity: and then thou shalt be like a garden, that most plentifully bringeth forth all kind of fruits, and like the well-spring that never shall want water,' Isai. lviii. 7—11.

"These things, and such other, should be continually taught and inculked into the ears of our people, to the intent to stir and provoke them unto good works, and by the self-same good works to exercise and confirm their faith and hope, and look for to receive at God's hand mitigation and remission of the miseries, calamities, and grievous punishments, which God sendeth to men in this world for their sins."

THE SACRAMENT OF THE ALTAR.

"FOURTHLY.—As touching the sacrament of the altar, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that they ought and must constantly believe, that, under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended the very self-same body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption; and that, under the same form and figure of bread and wine, the very self-same body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received unto and of all them which receive the said sacrament; and that therefore the said sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and honour; and that every man ought first to prove and examine himself, and religiously to try and search his own conscience before he shall receive the same, according to the saying of St. Paul, 'Whosoever eateth this body of Christ unworthily, or drinketh of this blood of Christ unworthily, shall be guilty of the very body and blood of Christ. Wherefore let every man first prove himself, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this drink; for, whosoever eateth it or drinketh it unworthily, he eateth and drinketh to his own damnation, because he putteth no difference between the very body of Christ, and other kinds of meat,' 1 Cor. xi. 27—29."

JUSTIFICATION.

"FIFTHLY.—As touching the order and cause of our justification, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, that this word *justification* signifieth 'remission of our sins,' and 'our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God;' that is to say, our perfect renovation in Christ.

"Item, That sinners attain this justification by contrition and faith joined with charity, after such sort and manner as we before mentioned and declared. Not, as though our contrition, or faith, or any works proceeding thereof, can worthily merit or deserve to attain the said justification; for the only mercy and grace of the Father promised freely unto us for his Son's sake Jesus Christ, and the merits of his blood and passion, be the only sufficient and worthy causes thereof. And yet that, notwithstanding, to the attaining of the same justification, God requireth to be in us, not only inward contrition, perfect faith and charity, certain hope and confidence, with all other spiritual graces and motions; which, as we said before, must nesessarily concur in remission of our sins, that is to say, our justification; but also he requireth and commandeth us, that, after we be justified, we must also have good works of charity and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his laws and commandments. For, although acceptation to everlasting life be conjoined with justification, yet our good works be necessarily required to the attaining of everlasting life. And we being justified be necessarily bound, and it is our necessary duty, to do good works, according to the saying of St. Paul: 'We be bound not to live according to the flesh, and to fleshly appetites; for if we live so, we shall undoubtedly be damned. And contrary, if we will mortify the deeds of our flesh, and live according to the spirit, we shall be saved. For, whosoever be led by the Spirit of God, they be the children of God,' Rom. viii. 12, &c. And Christ saith, 'If you will come to heaven, keep the commandments,' Matt. xix. 17. And St. Paul, speaking of evil works, saith, 'Whosoever commit sinful deeds shall never come to heaven,' Gal. v. 21. Wherefore, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that God necessarily requireth of us to do good works commanded by him, and that not only outward and civil works, but also the inward spiritual motions and graces of the Holy Ghost; that is to say, to dread and fear God, to love God, to have firm confidence and trust in God, to invocate and call upon God, to have patience in all adversities, to hate sin, and to have certain purpose and will not to sin again, and such other like motions and virtues. For Christ saith, 'Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven,' Matt. v. 20: that is to say, we must not only do outward civil good works, but also we must have these foresaid inward spiritual motions, consenting and agreeable to the law of God."

ARTICLES CONCERNING THE LAUDABLE CEREMONIES USED IN THE CHURCH OF CHRIST; AND, FIRST, OF IMAGES.

"As touching images, truth it is the same have been used in the Old Testament, and also, for the great abuses of them, sometime destroyed and put down. And in the New Testament they have been also allowed, as good authors do declare. Wherefore we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us to their spiritual charge, how they ought and may use them. And, first, that there be attributed unto them, that they be representers of virtue and good example. And that they also be, by occasion, the kindlers and stirrers of men's minds, and make men oft to remember and lament their sins and offences,—especially the images of Christ and our Lady. And that therefore it is meet that they should stand in the churches, and none otherwise to be esteemed. And, to the intent that rude people should not from henceforth take such superstition as in time past, it is thought, that the same hath used to do, we will, that our bishops and preachers diligently shall teach them, and according to this doctrine reform their abuses: for, else, there might fortune idolatry to ensue, which God forbid. And as for censing of them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshippings, although the same hath entered by devotion, and fallen to custom, yet the people ought to be diligently taught that they in no wise do it, nor think it meet to be done, to the same images; but only to be done to God and in his honour, although it be done before the images, whether it be of Christ, of the Cross, of our Lady, or of any other Saint beside."

OF HONOURING OF SAINTS.

"As touching the honouring of saints, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charges, that saints, now being with Christ in heaven, be to be honoured of Christian people in earth, but not with that confidence and honour which are only due unto God, trusting to attain at their hands that which must be had only of God; but that they be thus to be honoured, because they be known the elect persons of Christ, because they be passed in godly life out of this transitory world; because they already do reign in glory with Christ; and most specially to laud and praise Christ in them for their excellent virtues, which he planted in them, for example of and by them, to such as yet are in this world, to live in virtue and goodness; and also not to fear to die for Christ and his cause, as some of them did; and, finally, to take them, in that they may, to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Christ. By these ways, and such like, be saints to be honoured and had in reverence, and by none other."

OF PRAYING TO SAINTS.

"As touching praying to saints, we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that albeit grace, remission of sin, and salvation cannot be obtained, but of God only, by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, which is only sufficient Mediator for our sins; yet it is very laudable to pray to saints in heaven everlastingly living, whose charity is ever permanent to be intercessors, and to pray for us, and with us, unto Almighty God, after this manner:—

"'All holy angels and saints in heaven, pray for us, and with us, unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jesus Christ his sake, we may have grace of him, and remission of our sins, with an earnest purpose, (not wanting ghostly strength,) to observe and keep his holy commandments, and never to decline from the same again unto our lives' end.' And in this manner we may pray to our blessed Lady, to St. John Baptist, to all and every of the apostles, or any other saint particularly, as our devotion doth serve us; so that it be done without any vain superstition, as to think that any saint is more merciful, or will hear us sooner than Christ; or that any saint doth serve for one thing more than another, or is patron of the same. And likewise we must keep holy-days unto God, in memory of him and his saints, upon such days as the church hath ordained their memories to be celebrate, except they be mitigated and moderated by the assent and commandment of us the supreme head to the ordinaries, and then the subjects ought to obey it."

OF RITES AND CEREMONIES.

"As concerning the rites and ceremonies of Christ's church; as, to have such vestments in doing God's service, as be and have been most part used; as sprinkling of holy water, to put us in remembrance of our baptism, and the blood of Christ sprinkled for our redemption upon the cross; giving of holy bread, to put us in remembrance of the sacrament of the altar, that all Christian men be one body mystical of Christ, as the bread is made of many grains, and yet but one loaf; and to put us in remembrance of the receiving of the holy sacrament and body of Christ, the which we ought to receive in right charity, which, in the beginning of Christ's church, men did more often receive, than they use now a-days to do; bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, in memory of Christ the spiritual light, of whom Simeon did prophesy, as is read in the church that day; giving of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, to put in remembrance every Christian man in the beginning of Lent and penance, that he is but ashes and earth, and thereto shall return, which is right necessary to be uttered from henceforth in our mother-tongue always on the Sunday; bearing of palms on Palm-Sunday, in memory of the receiving of Christ into Jerusalem a little before his death, that we may have the same desire to receive him into our hearts; creeping to the cross, and humbling ourselves to Christ on Good-Friday before the cross, and there offering unto Christ before the same, and kissing of it in memory of our redemption by Christ made upon the cross; setting up the sepulture of Christ, whose body after his death was buried; the hallowing of the font; and other like exorcisms and benedictions by the ministers of Christ's church, and all other like laudable customs, rites, and ceremonies, be not to be contemned and cast away, but to be used and continued, as things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of those spiritual things that they do signify, not suffering them to be forgotten, or to be put in oblivion, but renewing them in our memories from time to time. But none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven."

OF PURGATORY.

"Forasmuch as due order of charity requireth, and the Book of Maccabees, and divers ancient doctors plainly show, that it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed; and forasmuch also as such usage hath continued in the church so many years, even from the beginning; we will, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us unto their spiritual charge, that no man ought to be grieved with the continuance of the same; and, that it standeth with the very due order of charity, a Christian man to pray for souls departed, and to commit them in our prayers to God's mercy, and also to cause other to pray for them in masses and exequies, and to give alms to other to pray for them, whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain. But, forasmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof, and kind of pains there also, be to us uncertain by Scripture, therefore this, with all other things, we remit to Almighty God, unto whose mercy it is meet and convenient for us to commend them; trusting that God accepteth our prayers for them, referring the rest wholly to God, to whom is known their estate and condition. Wherefore it is much necessary that such abuses be clearly put away, which, under the name of Purgatory, hath been advanced, as to make men believe, that, through the bishop of Rome's pardons, souls might clearly be delivered out of Purgatory, and all the pains of it; or, that masses said at *scala cœli*, or otherwhere in any place, or before any image, might likewise deliver them from all their pain, and send them straight to heaven. And other like abuses."

36. *The Convocation dissolved, and what acted in Parliament.*

Nothing else of moment passed in this convocation, save that on the 20th of July, Edward bishop of Hereford brought in a book containing the king's reasons, conceiving it unfit, in person, or by proxy, to appear at the general council, lately called by the pope at Mantua, afterward removed to Trent; and then the Convocation, having first confirmed the king's reasons, was dissolved. It was transacted, in relation to church or church-men, in the contemporary Parliament,* 1. That felons for abjuring petty treason, should not have clergy.† 2. That every ecclesiastical and lay officer shall be sworn to renounce the bishop of Rome and his authority, and to resist it to his power; and to repute any oath taken in the maintenance of the said bishop, or his authority, to be void. And the refusing of the said oath, being tendered, shall be adjudged high treason.‡ 3. That fruits, during the vacation of a benefice, shall be restored to the next incumbent, whose charge for first-fruits shall begin from the first vacation.* 4. Which spiritual persons shall be resident upon their benefices, and which not; and for what causes. 5. Release of such who have obtained licences from the see of Rome.† But all these are set down at large in the printed Statutes, and thither we refer the reader for satisfaction: as, to our "History of Abbeys," to be informed about the rebellion in the north, occasioned in this year by these alterations in religion.

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* See them in "the Statutes at large." † Ibid. cap. i. ‡ Ibid. cap. x.

37—39. *The Birth, Breeding, first Persecution, and far Travelling of William Tyndal. He translateth the New and most Part of the Old Testament; Faults in his Translation confessed and excused.*

Towards the end of this year, the faithful servant of God, William Tyndal, *aliàs* Hichins,‡ was martyred at Fylford in Flanders, born about Wales, bred first in Oxford, then in Cambridge, after schoolmaster to the children of Mr. Welch, a bountiful housekeeper in Gloucestershire. To his house repaired many abbots of that county, (as, indeed, no one shire in England had half so many mitred ones, which voted in parliament,) and clergymen, whom Tyndal so welcomed with his discourse against their superstitions, that afterwards they preferred to forbear Master Welch's good cheer rather than to have the sour sauce therewith,—Master Tyndal's company. But this set their stomachs so sharp against him, that he was forced to quit Gloucestershire, and tender his service to Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of London, a great scholar himself, and therefore probable to prove a patron to a learned man. Him Tyndal presented, in vain, with an oration out of Isocrates, which he had translated into English. But, though he sued for himself in two tongues, Greek and English, both proved ineffectual; the bishop returning, that he had more already than he could well maintain. On this denial, over hastes Tyndal beyond the seas; and, after much travelling, fixeth at last at Antwerp, where he became clerk to the company of English merchant-adventurers.

Here he began with the New Testamant, (as of most concernment to man's salvation,) and, with the help of John Fryth, the Baruch to this Jeremy, translating it out of the Greek original, finished, printed, and published it. Then he proceeded to the Old, and accomplished it from Genesis to Nehemiah inclusively, but translated none of the Prophets, save Jonah,§ being prevented by death. I presume he rendered the Old Testament out of the Latin, his best friends not entitling him to any skill at all in the Hebrew.

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* Statutes, cap. xi.

† Ibid. cap. xvi.

‡ BALEUS, *De Script. Brit.* page 658.

§ BALEUS, *ut prius.*

And remarkable it was, that, sailing to Hamburgh to print the Pentateuch, he lost all his books and copies by shipwreck,* which doubled his pains in re-translating it. But here he lighted on the help of Miles Coverdale, afterward bishop of Exeter, to assist him; and safely they went through their work, even when the sweating-sickness swept away thousands in the city, with a general mortality; as if the useful sweating of their brains were a preservative against the hurtful sweating of their bodies. And, indeed, painfulness in a lawful calling is the best antidote against a public infection.

Yet none will deny, but that many faults, needing amendment, are found in his translation; which is no wonder to those who consider: First. Such an undertaking was not the task for a *man*, but *men*. Secondly. No great design is invented and perfected at once. Thirdly. Tyndal, being an exile, wanted many necessary accommodations. Fourthly. His skill in Hebrew was not considerable; yea, generally, learning in languages was then but in the infancy thereof. Fifthly. Our English tongue was not improved to that expressiveness whereat at this day it is arrived. However, what he undertook was to be admired as glorious; what he performed, to be commended as profitable; wherein he failed, is to be excused as pardonable, and to be scored on the account rather of that age, than of the author himself. Yea, Tyndal's pains were useful, had his translation done no other good than to help toward the making of a better; our last translators having in express charge, from king James, to consult the translation of Tyndal.

40, 41. *Tyndal and his Translation both martyred with Fire. A Parallel betwixt St. Paul and Tyndal.*

But when the Testament of Tyndal's translation came over into England, O how were the Popish clergy cut to the heart! How did their blear eyes smart at the shining of the Gospel in a vulgar tongue! Down must their Dagon, if this ark be set up; down their Diana, if Paul be permitted to preach to the people. Some said, that "the Bible ought not to be translated;" some, that "it could not be, that it was impossible;"† others, that "the translating thereof would make men rebel against the king;" and why, I pray? seeing they shall read therein, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers," &c. Rom. xiii. 1; and many other places pressing obedience. Some were not so much angry with the text, as with Tyndal's comment, his preface before and notes upon the same. In fine, they did not only procure his book to be publicly burned in Paul's churchyard, but also their malice (which hath long arms to reach at such distance) contrived, and effected, the strangling and burning of Tyndal in Flanders.

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* Fox's "Martyrology," vol. ii. page 364.

† Fox, *ut prius*.

Bale calleth him "the apostle of the English." And, indeed, some general parallel (far be it from me to enforce it to an absolute conformity!) may be observed betwixt St. Paul and our Tyndal. St. Paul withstood and defeated the power of Elymas the sorcerer, Acts xiii. 8. Tyndal, with the grace and gravity of his company, put a magician out of countenance, being brought thither to show a cast of his skill by enchanting.* St. Paul, in Thyatira, converted his jailor, and all his household, Acts xvi. 33. Tyndal, during his year-and-half durance, converted his keeper, his daughter, and other of his family. St. Paul was "in perils by waters, in perils by robbers, in perils amongst false brethren," 2 Cor. xi. 26; so was Tyndal, whom one Philips, pretending much friendship, by cunning insinuation betrayed to his destruction.† We take our leaves of Tyndal, with that testimony which the emperor's procurator or attorney-general (though his adversary) gave of him, ***Homo fuit doctus, pius, et bonus:*** "He was a learned, a godly, and a good-natured man."

SECTION V.

TO CLIFFORD CLIFTON, ESQUIRE.

I KNOW not of what place properly to name and inscribe you,—whether of Middlesex, where you have your present dwelling;—or of Nottinghamshire, whence first you fetched your name;—or from Derbyshire and other neighbouring counties, wherein you are heir-apparent to a fair inheritance. I envy not your deserved happiness, but only observe, it is almost as difficult to fix a rich man, as a beggar; the one for his *variety*, the other for his *want*, of habitation. But be you styled from what place you please, be pleased also to accept this expression of my service unto you. All that I will add is, that seeing two ancient and honourable families (the one of Norman, the other of Saxon, extraction) have met in your name, may their joint virtues be united in your nature.

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* Fox, page 367.

† *Idem, ut prius.*

1. *The Beginning of the First-fruits' Office. A.D.* 1537.

Great the king's profit at this time from the office for the receipt of Tenths and First-fruits, which was now first set up in London, and something must be observed of the original thereof. Such moneys formerly were paid to the pope, who, as *pastor pastorum*, claimed *decimas decimarum;* entitling himself thereunto, partly from Abraham, a priest, paying tithes to Melchizedeck the high priest, Gen. xiv. 20, and Heb. vii. 4; partly from the Levites in the Mosaical law, paying the second tithes, that is, the tithes of their tithes to the priest: "Thus shall you offer an heave-offering unto the Lord of all your tithes, which ye receive of the children of Israel; and ye shall give thereof the Lord's heave-offering to Aaron the priest," Num. xviii. 28. Hereupon, the pope had his collectors in every diocess, who sometimes by bills of exchange, but generally in specie, to the great impoverishing of the land, yearly returned the Tenths and First-fruits of the English clergy to Rome.

2. *Commissioners employed to rate all ecclesiastical Preferments.*

But the pope being now dead in England, the king was found his heir at common law, as to most of the power and profit the other had usurped. But now as the clergy changed their landlord, so their rents were new-rated, and, I believe, somewhat raised; commissioners being employed in all counties, (the bishop of the diocess being always one of them,) to value their yearly revenue, that so their Tenths and First-fruits may be proportioned accordingly. These raters were the chiefest persons in all counties under the degree of barons; and I had a project to present their names, as of men of unquestionable extraction, none as yet standing on the ruins of abbeys to heighten their mean birth into the repute of gentility.

Surrey.—Nicholas Carew, and Matthew Broun, knights; Thomas Stidolfe, esquire; John Banister, gentleman.

Huntingdonshire.—Richard Sapcot and Lawrence Taylard, knights; John Gostwick and John Goodrick, esquires.

Devonshire.—William Courtney and Thomas Dennis, knights; John Birnall, mayor of Exeter; John Hull, William Simonds, John Ford, and John Southcote, auditors.

Somersetshire. — William Stourton, John Horsey, and Andrew Lutterell, knights; Thomas Speke and Hugh Powlet, esquires; Henry Capel, knight; * William Portman, gentleman; Roger Kinsey, auditor.

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* In this method they are named.

STAFFORDSHIRE.—John Talbot and John Gifford, knights; Walter Wrotley, esquire; John Wrotley, gentleman.

CHESHIRE.—John Holford and Peter Dutton, knights; George Booth, Thomas Aston, Richard Ligh, and William Brereton, esquires.

But my design failed, when I found the return of the commissioners' names into the office so defective, that in most counties they are wholly omitted.

3—5. *Instructions given to the Commissioners; some Years spent in the Work; Vicarages, why so high rated.*

These commissioners were empowered by the king, to send for the scribes and notaries of all bishops and archdeacons, to swear the receivers and auditors of incumbents, to view their register-books, Easter-books, and all other writings, and to use all other ways to know the full value of ecclesiastical preferments, with the number and names of persons enjoying the same. They were to divide themselves by three and three, allotting to every number so many deaneries, and to inquire the number and names of all abbeys, monasteries, priories, brotherships, sisterships, fellowships, &c. houses religious and conventual, as well Charterhouse as others,* (these Carthusians being specified by name, because proudly pretending privileges of papal exemption,) and meeting together to certify into the exchequer, (at the time limited in their commission,) the true value of such places of preferments. Herein, reparations, fees of in-y-s† were not to be deducted; but perpetual rents, pensions, alms, synods, fees paid out yearly to persons, were to be allowed.

This being a work of time exactly to perform, took up some years in the effecting thereof. Devonshire and Somerset were done in the twenty-seventh, Staffordshire and many other counties, in the thirty-fourth of king Henry the eighth, and most of Wales not till the reign of king Edward the sixth. Yea, I am credibly informed, that in Ireland, (to which kingdom such commissions were afterwards extended,) the commissioners, partly tired with their troublesome work, partly afraid to pass the dangerous Hill of Rushes (in Irish, *Sleue Logher*) never came into the county of Kerry, the south-west extremity of that island. So that the clergy thereof, though the poorest of the poorest in Ireland, enjoy this privilege,—

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* Transcribed with my own hand out of the original in the office.

† Fuller says in a note, "No clerk in the office could read this word." In the Collection of Records appended to bishop BURNET'S *History of the Reformation*, (book iii. num. 6,) is a full copy of these Instructions, in which no mention is made of this abbreviated word, but the commissioners are there directed "to examine the true yearly value of all the farms of the same house, deducting thereof rents reserved, pensions and portions paid out of the same, synodals, and proxies; bailiffs', receivers', stewards', and auditors' fees."—EDIT.

that they are presently put into their livings, or benefices rather, without any payments.

But no such favour was allowed to any place in England, where all were unpartially rated, and vicarages valued very high according to their present revenue by personal perquisites. In that age, he generally was the richest shepherd who had the greatest flock; where oblations from the living, and obits for the dead, (as certainly paid as predial tithes,) much advanced their income. In consideration whereof, vicarages, mostly lying in market-towns and populous parishes, were set very high, though soon after those obventions sunk with superstition: and the vicars in vain desired a proportionable abatement in the king's books; which, once drawn up, were no more to be altered.

6—8. *Queen Mary remits Tenths and First-fruits; Queen Elizabeth resumeth them; the State, Profit, and Policy of this Office.*

Now, queen Mary, a princess whose conscience was never purse-ridden, as one who would go to the cost of her own principles, did by Act of Parliament exonerate, acquit, and discharge the clergy from all First-fruits. As for Tenths, the same statute ordereth them to be paid to cardinal Pole,* who from the same was to pay the pensions allowed by her father to monks and nuns at the Dissolution of abbeys; yet so, that when such persons, who were but few and aged, (all named in a deed indented,) should decease, all such payments of the clergy, reserved *nomine decimæ*, should cease, and be clearly extinct and determined for ever.

But her sister queen Elizabeth succeeding her, and finding so fair a flower as First-fruits and Tenths fallen out of her crown, was careful quickly to gather it up again, and get it re-set therein; a princess most facile to forgive injuries, but inexorable to remit debts; who knowing that necessitous kings are subject to great inconveniencies, was a thrifty improver of her treasure. And, no wonder if she were exact (though not exacting) to have her dues from the clergy, who herein would not favour her grand favourite Sir Christopher Hatton, who, by the way, was Master of this First-fruits' Office, and was much indebted unto her for moneys received; all which arrears her majesty required so severely and suddenly from him, that the grief thereof cost him his life. I say, this queen in the first of her reign † resumed First-fruits and Tenths only with this ease to parsonages not exceeding ten marks, and vicarages ten pounds,—that they should be freed from First-fruits. A clause in this statute, empowering the queen to take all that was due unto her from the first day of this parliament, was so improved by her officers in the exchequer, (who sometimes have none of the softest palms to those that fall into their hands,) that many ministers were much vexed thereby: Yea, one observeth that the courtesy intended to the clergy by queen Mary in remitting their Tenths, proved in event an injury to many, so vexed about their arrears.*

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* 2 and 3 Phil. and Mary, cap. 4.

† See the Statute, 1 Eliz. cap. 4.

In vain have some of late heaved at this office, which is fastened to the state with so considerable a revenue, as it advanced thereunto by Tenths and First-fruits; the former certain, the latter casual, as depending on the uncertain deaths of incumbents, and such as succeed them. Many, indeed, accuse such payments, as popish in their original. But could that be susperstitious, which was plucked down by queen Mary, and set up again by queen Elizabeth? Besides, suppose them so, in their first foul fountain, since being shifted, yea, strained through the hands of protestant kings, Tenths have their old property altered, and acquire, no doubt, a new purity to themselves. And the advocates for this office do pertinently plead that there ought to be a badge of subjection of the clergy to the secular power,† by public acknowledgment of their dependence thereon, which by such payment is best performed.

9, 10. *John Lambert condemned, and why. Cranmer's unexcusable cowardly Dissimulation. A.D.* 1538.

John Lambert, *aliàs* Nicolson, bred in Cambridge, had lately been much persecuted by archbishop Warham, about some opinions he held against the corporal presence in the sacrament. And now being fallen into fresh troubles on the same account, to make the quicker work, (following the precedent of St. Paul, appealing to Cæsar,) he appeals to the king; who, having lately taken upon him the title of "the Supreme Head of the Church of England," would show that Head had a tongue could speak in matters of divinity. In Whitehall the place and day, November 10th, is appointed, where an act-royal was kept; the king himself being the Opponent, and Lambert the Answerer; and where his Highness was worsted or wearied, archbishop Cranmer supplied his place,‡ arguing, though civilly, shrewdly against the truth and his own private judgment.

Was not this worse than "keeping the clothes" of those who killed St. Stephen? seeing this archbishop did actually "cast stones" at this martyr, in the arguments he urged against him. Nor will it excuse Cranmer's cowardice and dissimulation to accuse

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* M. PARKER *Ant. Brit. in Vitâ Reginaldi Poli.*

† Some say, such a vectigal from the clergy is mentioned in Bede.

‡ Fox's "Acts and Monuments."

Gardiner's craft and cruelty, who privily put the archbishop on this odious act; such Christian courage being justly expected from a person of his parts and place as not to be acted by another, contrary to his own conscience. I see not, therefore, what can be said in Cranmer's behalf, save only that I verily hope and steadfastly believe, that he craved God's pardon for this particular offence, and obtained the same on his unfeigned repentance. And because the face of men's faults is commonly seen in the glass of their punishment, it is observable, that, as Lambert now was burned for denying the corporal presence, so Cranmer (now his opponent) was afterwards condemned and died at Oxford for maintaining the same opinion; which valour if sooner shown, his conscience had probably been more cleared within him, and his credit without him to all posterity.

11. *Dutchmen broach strange Opinions.*

A match being now made up, by the lord Cromwell's contrivance, betwixt king Henry and the lady Anne of Cleves, Dutchmen flocked faster than formerly into England. Many of these had active souls, so that whilst their hands were busied about their manufactures, their heads were also beating about points of divinity. Hereof they had many rude notions, too ignorant to manage them themselves, and too proud to crave the direction of others. Their minds had a by-stream of activity more than what sufficed to drive on their vocation; and this waste of their souls they employed in needless speculations, and soon after began to broach their strange opinions, being branded with the general name of ANABAPTISTS. These Anabaptists, for the main, are but "Donatists new dipped;" and this year their name first appears in our English Chronicles; for I read that four Anabaptists,* three men and one woman, all Dutch, bare faggots at Paul's Cross, Nov. 24th, and, three days after, a man and woman of their sect were burned in Smithfield.

12, 13. *Queen Anne of Cleves, why divorced. The Reparations the King made her. A.D.* 1539.

It quickly came to the turn of queen Anne of Cleves to fall, if not into the displeasure, out of the dear affection, of king Henry VIII. She had much of Catherine dowager's austerity, little of Anna Boleyn's pleasant wit, less of the beauty of Jane Seymour. Some feminine impotency,—that she answered not her creation, was objected against her; though only her precontract with the son of the duke of Lorraine was publicly insisted on, for which by Act of Parliament now sitting, she was solemnly divorced.

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* STOW in his "Chronicle," page 576.

King Henry durst not but deal better with Anne of Cleves than with such his wives which were his native subjects; not so much for love of her, as for fear of her brother the duke of Cleves, considerable (if not much in himself) in his union with the protestant princes of Germany. Wherefore he restored her all her jewels, assigned her precedence above all English, (save his own that should be queen and children,) graced her with a new-devised style of his "adopted sister," by which from henceforward he saluted her in his letters, and she in answer subscribed herself, allotted her Richmond-House for her retirement, with an augmentation of means for her maintenance. And now let her be glad that she escaped so well, seeing all which had reference to king Henry's bed came off gainers, if savers of their own lives and reputations. She returned no more into her own country; but, living, and dying *anno* 1557,* in England, was buried in Westminster-church at the head of king Sebert, in a tomb not yet finished; none other of king Henry's wives having any, and this Anne but half, a monument.

14—18. *Reformation goes backwards. King Henry justly blamed; compared with King Jehu. The six bloody Articles. The Lord Cromwell's Design miscarrieth.*

In the last parliament, reformation, running a race with superstition, hardly carried it by the head's length; but it was hoped, that, in this new parliament, (now sitting,) true religion would run her rival quite out of distance: whereas, alas! it not only stood still, but went backwards, the Six Articles being therein enacted,—that whip with six knots, each one, as heavily laid on, fetching blood from the backs of poor protestants.

King Henry was much blamed for passing this Act. Indeed, power and profit being the things politic princes chiefly desire, king Henry had already attained both by his partial reformation: POWER, by abolishing the pope's usurpation in his dominions: PROFIT, by seizing on the lands and goods of suppressed monasteries. And thus having served his own turn, his zeal wilfully tired to go any farther, and, only abolishing such popery as was in order to his aforesaid designs, he severely urged the rest on the practice of his subjects.

Herein he appeared like to Jehu, king of Israel, who utterly rooted out the foreign idolatry of Baal, (fetched from the Zidonians, and almost appropriated to the family of Ahab,) but still worshipped the calves in Dan and Bethel,—the state-idolatry of the kingdom; so our Henry, though banishing all outlandish superstition of papal dependence, still reserved and maintained home-bred popery, persecuting the refusers to submit thereunto.

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* STOW'S "Funeral Monuments," page 513.

For, by the persuasion of bishop Gardiner, (in defiance of archbishop Cranmer and the lord Cromwell, with might and main opposing it,) it was enacted:—"1. That in the sacrament of the altar, after consecration, no substance of bread or wine remaineth, but the natural body and blood of Christ. 2. That the communion in both kinds is not necessary *ad salutem*, by the law of God, to all persons. 3. That priests, after Orders received, may not marry, by the law of God. 4. That vows of chastity ought to be observed. 5. That it is meet and necessary, that private masses be admitted and continued in churches. 6. That auricular confession must be frequented by people, as of necessity to salvation." Laws, bad, as penned; worse, as prosecuted; which, by some bishops' extensive interpretations, were made commensurate to the whole body of popery.

Indeed, the lord Cromwell (unable to right his own) had a design to revenge himself on the opposite party, by procuring an Act,—that popish priests convict of adultery should be subject to the same punishment with Protestant ministers that were married. But Gardiner, by his greatness, got that law so qualified, that it soon became *lex edentula*, whilst the other remained *mordax*, death being the penalty of such who were made guilty by the Six Articles, though Nicholas Shaxton of Salisbury, and Hugh Latimer of Worcester, found the especial favour to save themselves by losing of their bishoprics.

19. *Bonner first beginneth to Bonner it. A.D.* 1540.

And now began Edmond Bonner, *aliàs* Savage, (most commonly called by the former, but too truly known by the latter name,) newly made bishop of London, to display the colours of his cruelty therein; which here I forbear to repeat, because cited at large by Mr. Fox. For, I desire my Church-History should behave itself to his Book of Martyrs, as a lieutenant to its captain,—only to supply his place in his absence, to be supplemental thereunto, in such matters of moment which have escaped his observation.

20—22. *Cromwell falls into the King's Displeasure, and People's Hatred. Why Cromwell was deservedly envied. Cromwell's admirable Parts.*

Match-makers betwixt private persons seldom find great love for their pains, betwixt princes often fall into danger,—as here it proved in the lord Cromwell, the grand contriver of the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves. On him the king had conferred honours so many, and so suddenly, that one may say, the crudities thereof lay unconcocted in his soul, so that he could not have time to digest one dignity before another was poured upon him. Not to speak of his Mastership of the Jewel-house, he was made Baron, Master of the Rolls, the King's Vicar-General in spiritual matters, Lord Privy Seal, Knight of the Garter, Earl of Essex, Lord Great Chamberlain of England. And my author observeth,* that all these honours were conferred upon him in the compass of five years, most of them possessed by him not five months; I may add, and all taken from him in less than five minutes, with his life on the scaffold.

This was the cause why he was envied of the nobility and gentry,—being by birth so much beneath all, by preferment so high above most of them. Besides, many of his advancements were interpreted not so much honours to him as injuries to others, as being either in use improper—or in equity unfit—or in right unjust—or in conscience unlawful—for him to accept. His Mastership of the Rolls, such who were bred lawyers conceived it fitter for men of their profession. As for the earldom of Essex conferred upon him, though the title lately became void by the death of Henry Bourchier, the last earl without issue-male, (and so in the strictness of right in the king's free disposal,) yet because he left Anne, a sole daughter behind him, Cromwell's invading of that honour bred no good blood towards him amongst the kindred of that orphan, who were honourable and numerous. His lord great Chamberlainship of England, being an office for many years hereditary in the ancient and honourable house of Oxford, incensed all of all that family, when beholding him possessed thereof. His Knighthood of the Garter, which custom had appropriated to such who by three degrees at least could prove their gentle descent, being bestowed on him, did but enrage his competitors thereof, more honourably extracted. As for his being the King's Vicar-General in spiritual matters, all the clergy did rage thereat, grudging much that king Henry the substance—and, more, that Cromwell his shadow—should assume so high a title to himself. Besides, Cromwell's name was odious unto them, on the account of abbeys dissolved; and no wonder, if this Samson, plucking down the pillars of the popish church, had the rest of the structure falling upon him. These rejoiced when the duke of Norfolk arrested him for treason at the council-table, July 9th, whence he was sent prisoner to the Tower.

And now, to speak impartially of him, though in prison: If we reflect on his parts and endowments, it is wonderful to see how one quality in him befriended another. Great scholar he was none, (the Latin Testament gotten by heart being the master-piece of his learning,) nor any studied lawyer, (never long living, if admitted, in the Inns of Court,) nor experienced soldier, (though necessity cast on him that calling, when the duke of Bourbon besieged Rome,) nor courtier in his youth, till bred in the court, as I may call it, of cardinal Wolsey's house; and yet, that of the lawyer in him so helped the scholar; that of the soldier, the lawyer; that of the courtier, the soldier; and that of the traveller so perfected all the rest,—being no stranger to Germany, well acquainted with France, most familiar with Italy,—that the result of all together made him for endowments eminent, not to say admirable.

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* CAMDEN'S *Brit.* in Essex, page 454.

23—25. *Articles charged upon the Lord Cromwell. An injurious Act to many poor People charged on the Lord Cromwell. The worst passionate Speech objected against him.*

It was laid to his charge, first, that he had exceeded his commission, in acting many things of high consequence without acquainting the king therewith; dealing therein, though perchance wisely for the state, not warily for himself. Indeed, it is impossible for such officers, managing not only multitudes but multiplicity of matters, but that in some things they must mistake. As "in many words there wanteth not iniquity," Prov. x. 19; so, in the actors of many affairs, faults are soon found out. He was also accused to set at liberty certain persons not capable of it; for granting licenses and commissions destructive to the king's authority; for being guilty of heresy himself, and favouring it in others. Traitorous speeches were also charged upon him, spoken two years before in the church of St. Peter's in the Poor, in Broad-street; the avouchers thereof pretending, that, as hitherto they had concealed them for love of themselves, (fearing Cromwell's greatness,) so now, for the love of the king, they revealed the same. Indeed, on the first manifesting of the king's displeasure against him, the foes of Cromwell had all their mouths open, and his friends their mouths shut up.

The mention of St. Peter's in Broad-street mindeth me of a passage, not unworthy to be recited, of an injury offered, by this lord Cromwell, to many poor men in the same parish. And, because every one is best able to tell his own tale, take it in the words of John Stow,* being himself deeply concerned therein:—

"The lord Cromwell, having finished his house in Throgmorton-street in London, and having some reasonable plot of ground left for a garden, caused the pales of the gardens, adjoining to the north part thereof, on a sudden to be taken down, two-and-twenty feet to be measured forth-right into the north of every man's ground, a line there to be drawn, a trench to be cast, a foundation laid, a high brick wall to be builded. My father had a garden there, and there was a house standing close to his south pale. This house they loosed from the ground, and bare upon rollers into my father's garden two-and-twenty feet ere my father heard thereof. No warning was given him, nor other answer, (when he spake to the surveyors of that work,) but that their master, Sir Thomas, commanded them so to do. No man durst go to argue the matter, but each man lost his land; and my father paid his whole rent, which was six shillings and eight-pence the year, for that half which was left. Thus much of mine own knowledge have I thought good to note, that the sudden rising of some men causeth them to forget themselves."

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* "Survey of London," page 187.

I am moved the rather to believe our author herein, because elsewhere he alloweth this lord his deserved praise for his virtues, and especially his hospitality, affirming, he had often seen, at the lord Cromwell's gate, above two hundred persons served twice every day, with meat and drink sufficient.* Nor can I see what may be said in excuse of this oppression, except any will plead, that Abimelech's servants violently took away the wells from Abraham, and yet Abimelech himself never knew more or less thereof, Gen. xxi. 26.

As for the passionate expressions of Cromwell: a knight, aged well-nigh eighty, whose mother was daughter to the lord Cromwell's son, hath informed me,† that the principal passage, whereon the lord's enemies most insisted, was this:—It being told the lord Cromwell, that one accused him for want of fidelity to the king; Cromwell returned in passion, "Were he here now, I would strike my dagger into his heart;" meaning into the heart of the false accuser; and therein guilty of want of charity to his fellow-subject, not of loyalty to his sovereign. But seeing the words were a measuring-cast as uttered (though not as intended) to whom they should relate, the pick-thank repeater avowed them uttered against the king himself. So dangerous are dubious words and ambiguous expressions, when prevalent power is to construe and interpret the meaning thereof!

26, 27. *His Speech on the Scaffold. His Prayer, whereby his Speech may be interpreted.*

Ten days after his arrest, he was attainted of high treason in parliament, and brought on the scaffold the next week to execution. Here he spake the following words unto the people, which the reader is requested the more seriously to peruse, that thereby he may be enabled to pass (if concerned therein) his verdict in what religion this lord died:—

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* "Survey of London," page 74. † SIR I. STRODE, of Parnham, in Dorsetshire.

"I am come hither to die, and not to purge myself, as some think, peradventure, that I will. For, if I should so do, I were a very wretch and miser. I am by the law condemned to die, and thank my Lord God that hath appointed me this death for mine offence. For, since the time that I have had years of discretion I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God, for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great traveller in this world, and, being but of base degree, I was called to high estate; and since the time I came thereunto, I have offended my prince, for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that he will forgive me. And now I pray you that be here to bear me record, I die in the catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no, nor doubting in any sacrament of the church. Many have slandered me, and reported, that I have been a hearer of such as have maintained evil opinions; which is untrue. But I confess, that, like as God by his Holy Spirit doth instruct us in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us, and I have been seduced; but bear me witness, that I die in the catholic faith of the Holy Church. And I heartily desire you to pray for the king's Grace, that he may long live with you in health and prosperity; and that, after him, his son prince Edward, that goodly imp, may long reign over you. And, once again, I desire you to pray for me, that, so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I waver nothing in my faith. And so making his prayer," &c.

The general terms wherein this his speech is couched, hath given occasion for wise men to give contrary censures thereof. Fox, in his marginal note on this speech, page 515,—"A true Christian confession of the lord Cromwell at his death." Lord Herbert in the index of his "History," under, C,—"Cromwell died a Roman Catholic, notwithstanding he had been such a destroyer of the Church." True it is, so wary were Cromwell's expressions, that Luther and Bellarmine might in their own persons have said the same, without any prejudice to their own principles, and many conceive that the most which these his words amount to, will but make him a Six-Articles Protestant.

But let Cromwell's politic speech be in part expounded by his plain prayer which he immediately after made, (too long here to insert, but set down at large in Mr. Fox,) and which speaketh him a true Protestant. And if negative arguments avail aught in this matter, no superstitious crossing of himself, no praying to saints, no desiring of prayers for him after his death, &c. may evidence him no Papist in the close of his life. Indeed, Anti-Cromwellists count this controversy (of the religion he died in) not worth the deciding;

no Papists conceiving the gain great to get him on their side, and some Protestants accounting the loss as little to part with him. However, this right ought to be done to his memory, in fixing it on its own principles, and not misrepresenting the same to posterity.

28—32. *Heaven is just in Earth's Injustice. Yet the Lord Cromwell by a great Person acquitted herein. His exemplary Gratitude. His Care for his Children. An eminent Instance of his Humility.*

Remarkable is that passage in his speech, wherein he confesseth himself "by law condemned to die," because a story dependeth thereupon. Not long ago an Act had passed in Parliament, that one might be attainted of treason by bill in Parliament, and consequently lose his life, without any other legal trial, or being ever brought to answer in his own defence. The lord Cromwell was very active in procuring this law to pass, insomuch that it is generally believed, that the arm and hammer of all king Henry's power could never have driven on this Act through both houses, had not Cromwell first wimbled an hole for the entrance thereof, and politicly prepared a major part of lords and commons to accept the same. For, indeed, otherwise it was accounted a law injurious to the liberty which reason alloweth to all persons accused, and which might cut out the tongue of innocency itself, depriving her of pleading in her own behalf. Now, behold the hand of heaven! It happened that this lord first felt the smart of this rod which he made for others, and was accordingly condemned before ever he was heard to speak for himself.

——— *Nec lex est justior ulla*
Quam necis artifices arte perire suâ.

"Most just it is, that they bad laws who make
Should themselves first of their own laws partake."

Thus, those who break down the banks, and let in the stream, of arbitrary power, (be it into the hands of prince or people,) are commonly the first themselves which, without pity, are drowned in the deluge thereof.

Thus far I have swum along with the wind and tide of all our English historians, in charging of Cromwell herein. But I find one author* of strong credit, (such he needs to be who swims against the stream,) acquitting the said lord, deriving his intelligence from Sir Thomas Gawdie, a grave judge, then living, who acquainted him as followeth: "King Henry commanded the lord Cromwell to attend the Chief Justices, and to know, whether a man that was forth-coming might be attainted of high treason by parliament, and never called to his answer? The judges answered, that it was a dangerous question; and that the high court of parliament ought to give examples to inferior courts for proceeding according to justice, and no inferior court could do the like; and they thought the high court of parliament would never do it. But being, by the express commandment of the king, and pressed by the said earl, to give a direct answer, they said, that if he be attainted by parliament, it could not come in question afterwards, whether he was called or not called to answer: and the Act of Attainder, being passed by parliament, did bind, as they resolved." The party against whom this was intended was never called in question; but the first man after the said resolution that was so attainted, and never called to answer, was the said earl of Essex; whereupon that erroneous and vulgar opinion amongst our historians grew,—that he died by the same law which he himself had made.

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* SIR EDWARD COKE's "Institutes," part iv. in Jurisdiction of Courts, page 37.

But, grant this lord Cromwell faulty in this and some other actions, in the main he will appear a worthy person, and a great instrument of God's glory in the reforming of religion, and remarkable for many personal eminencies. Commonly when men are (as in a moment) mounted from meanness to much wealth and honour, first they forget themselves, and then all their old friends and acquaintance. Whereas, on the contrary, here gratitude grew with his greatness; and the lord Cromwell conferred many a courtesy on the children from whose fathers Master Cromwell had formerly received favours. As he was a good servant to his master, so was he a good master to his servants; and, foreseeing his own fall, (which he might have foretold without the spirit of prophecy, some half-a-year before,) he furnished his men, which had no other livelihood to subsist by, with leases, pensions, and annuities, whereby after his death they had a comfortable maintenance.

One so faithful to his servants cannot be suspected for an infidel in "not providing for his family," of his own children. It was not, therefore, his ambition, but providence, that on the same day wherein he was created earl of Essex, he procured Gregory his son, (which otherwise had been then but a lord by courtesy,) to be actually made baron Cromwell of Okeham; which honour, because inherent in the son, was not forfeited on his father's attainture, but descends at this day on his posterity.

We will conclude his story with this remarkable instance of his humility: Formerly there flourished a notable family of the Cromwells at Tattershall in Lincolnshire,* especially since Sir Ralph Cromwell married the younger sister and co-heir of William the last lord Deincourt. Now there wanted not some flattering heralds, (excellent chemists in pedigrees to extract any thing from any thing,) who would have entitled this lord Cromwell to the arms of that ancient family, extinct (in the issue male thereof) about the end of king Henry VI. His answer unto them was, that he would not wear another man's coat, for fear the right owner thereof should pluck it off over his ears; and preferred rather to take a new coat; namely, Azure, Or, a Fess *inter* three Lions rampant, Or; a Rose, Gules, betwixt two Chaughes proper,* being somewhat of the fullest, —the epidemical disease of all arms given in the reign of Henry VIII.

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* CAMDEN'S *Brit.* in Lincolnshire.

33. *Men of different Judgment meeting at their Death.*

After the execution of the lord Cromwell, the parliament still sitting, a motley execution happened in Smithfield; three Papists hanged by the statute for denying the king's supremacy, and as many Protestants burned at the same time and place by virtue of the Six Articles, dying with more pain and no less patience. PAPISTS: Edward Powell, Thomas Abley, and Richard Fetherston. PROTESTANTS: Robert Barns, doctor of divinity; Thomas Gerard, and William Jerom,† bachelors of divinity. This was caused by the difference of religions in the king's privy council, wherein the Popish party called for the execution of these Protestants,‡ whilst the Protestant lords in the council, (out of policy to repress the other's eagerness, or, if that failed, out of desire to revenge it,) cried as fast, that the laws might take effect on the Papists. And whilst neither side was able to save those of their own opinions, both had power to destroy those of their opposite party. They were dragged on hurdles, coupled two and two, a Papist and a Protestant, (cattle of different kinds yoked to draw, or rather to be drawn together,) insomuch as a Romanist § professeth, that, to the three Papists, this their unequal matching was to them, *ipsâ morte gravius et intolerabilius*, "more heavy and intolerable than death itself." But the Protestants expressed no such distaste hereat, not angry out of principles of pride, for the joining of their bodies together, but grieved, out of the grounds of charity, that their souls soon after should so far be parted asunder. A stranger, standing by, did wonder, (as well he might,) what religion the king was of; his sword cutting on both sides,—Protestants for heretics, and Papists for traitors, of whom in the same month, Laurence Cooke, prior of Doncaster, and six others, were sent the same way, for the same offence.

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* See VINCENT in the Earls of Essex.

† GODWIN in Henry VIII. page 131.

‡ Fox in his "Book of Martyrs," vol. ii. page 529.

§ SANDERS *De Schismate Anglicano*, lib. i. page 192.

34. *A Statute made for Recovery of Tithes.*

But, to return to such Acts of the Parliament as concern the church: Therein a statute was made, commanding every man "fully, truly, and effectually to divide, set out, yield, or pay all and singular tithes and offerings, according to the lawful customs and usages of the parishes and places where such tithes or duties shall grow, arise, come, or be due."* And remedy is given for ecclesiastic persons before the ordinary; and for laymen, that claimed appropriated tithes, by grant from the crown, in the secular courts, by such actions as usually lay-possessions had been subject to. The occasion of which statute is intimated in the preamble thereof: "Because in few years past many presumed more contemptuously and commonly than in time past, had been seen or known to subtract and withdraw their lawful and accustomed tithes; encouraged thereunto, for that that divers lay persons, having tithes to them and their heirs, had no due remedy by order and course of the ecclesiastical laws to recover their right." And no wonder, seeing their sovereign had set them so large and so late a precedent in destroying of abbeys, if subjects thought, that, in their distance and proportion, they might also be bold to detain the rites of the church; especially because it seemed unreasonable that they should receive wages who did no work, and that the hire of the labourers in the vineyard should be given to lazy lookers-on. This statute, in favour of lay impropriators, was beneficial to the clergy to recover their predial tithes at common law, being equally advantaged by that which was not principally intended for them, because of the concurrence of their interest in case of tithes. A statute also made, "that it was lawful for all persons to contract marriage, who are not prohibited by God's law."† For although Gregory the Great (who had not less learning, but more modesty, than his successors) did not flatly forbid the marriage of cousin-germans as unlawful, but prudentially dissuade it as unfitting; yet after-popes prohibited that and other degrees further off, thereby to get money for dispensations. What a mass these amounted unto, their own auditors can only compute, seeing Solomon himself sent ships but every third year to Ophir for gold, 1 Kings x. 22; whereas his Holiness by granting such faculties from those Indies made annual returns of infinite profit. And this law came very conveniently to comply with king Henry's occasions, who had the first-fruits thereof, and presently after married Catherine Howard, cousin-german to Anna Boleyn his second wife, which, by the canon law, formerly was forbidden without a special dispensation first obtained.

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* 32 Henry VIII. cap. 7.

† *Idem*, cap. 38.

35. *Acts of this Year's Convocation.*

But now, to step out of the Parliament into the Convocation, a place more proper for our employment: There we shall find archbishop Cranmer landing in his barge at Paul's Wharf, and thence proceeding on foot with the cross carried before him into the choir of Paul's; where, at the high altar, bishop Bonner officiated, if I speak properly, a mass of the Holy Ghost; doctor Richard Cox, archdeacon of Ely, preached a Latin sermon on this text, *Vos estis sal terræ;* Richard Gwent, doctor of law and archdeacon of London, was chosen Prolocutor. Then intimation was given, that the king allowed them liberty to treat of matters in religion, to peruse the canons *de simoniâ vitandâ*, with other ecclesiastical constitutions; to continue the good ones, and make new ones *pro temporis exigentiâ.* In the third session on Friday, several bishops were assigned to peruse several books of the translation of the New Testament, in order as followeth:*—

1. To archbishop Cranmer was assigned St. Matthew; 2. To John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, St. Mark; 3. To Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, St. Luke; 4. To Thomas Goodrick, bishop of Ely, St. John; 5. To Nicholas Heath, bishop of Rochester, the Acts of the Apostles; 6. To Richard Sampson, bishop of Chichester, the Epistle to the Romans; 7. To John Capon, bishop of Sarum, the First and Second Epistle to the Corinthians; 8. To William Barlow, bishop of St. David's, the Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians; 9. To John Bell, bishop of Worcester, the First and Second Epistle to the Thessalonians; 10. To Robert Parfew, bishop of St. Asaph, the First and Second Epistle to Timothy, and the Epistles to Titus and Philemon; 11. To Robert Holgate, bishop of Landaff, the First and Second Epistle of St. Peter; 12. To John Skip, bishop of Hereford, the Epistle to the Hebrews; 13. To Thomas Thyrlby, bishop of Westminster, the Epistle of St. James, the First, Second, and Third Epistle of St. John, and the Epistle of St. Jude; 14, 15. To John Wakeman, bishop of Gloucester, and to John Chambers, bishop of Peterborough, the Revelation.

Why Edmond Bonner, bishop of London, then and there present, had no part in this perusal allotted him, as I find no reason rendered thereof, so I will not interpose my own conjecture.

39. *Words in the Testament which Gardiner desired might be preserved entire in the Translation.*

In the sixth session, Gardiner publicly read a catalogue of Latin words of his own collection out of the Testament; and desired, that, for their genuine and native meaning, and for the majesty of the matter in them contained, these words might be retained in their own nature as much as might be, or be very fitly Englished, with the least alteration, being in number and order here inserted :—

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* Transcribed with my own hand out of the Records of Canterbury.

Ecclesia, *pœnitentia*, *pontifex*, *ancilla*, *contritus*, *olacausta*,[*] *justitia*, *justificare*, *idiota*, *elementa*, *baptizare*, *martyr*, *adorare*, *dignus*, *sandalium*, *simplex*, *tetrarcha*, *sacramentum*, *simulacrum*, *gloria*, *conflictationes*, *ceremonia*, *mysterium*, *religio*, *Spiritus Sanctus*, *spiritus*, *merces*, *confiteor tibi Pater*, *panis præpositionis*, *communio*, *perseverare*, *dilectus*, *sapientia*, *pietas*, *presbyter*, *lites*, *servus*, *opera*, *sacrificium*, *benedictio*, *humilis*, *humilitas*, *scientia*, *gentilis*, *synagoga*, *ejicere*, *misericordia*, *complacui*, *increpare*, *distribueretur orbis*, *inculpatus*, *senior*, *conflictationes*, *apocalypsis*, *satisfactio*, *contentio*, *conscientia*, *peccatum*, *peccator*, *idolum*, *prudentia*, *prudenter*, *parabola*, *magnifico*, *oriens*, *subditus*, *didragma*, *hospitalitas*, *episcopus*, *gratia*, *charitas*, *tyrannus*, *concupiscentia*, *cisera*, *apostolus*, *apostolatus*, *egenus*, *stater*, *societas*, *zizania*, *mysteriū*,[†] *Christus*, *conversari*, *profiteor*, *impositio manuum*, *idololatria*, *Dominus*, *sanctus*, *confessio*, *imitator*, *pascha*, *innumerabilis*, *inenarrabilis*, *infidelis*, *paganus*, *commilito*, *virtutes*, *dominationes*, *throni*, *potestates*, *hostia*.[‡]

35. *The Papists' Plot therein.*

The judicious reader hath no sooner perused these words, but presently he sorts them in two ranks. First. Some few untranslatable without loss of life or lustre. These are continued in our English Testament entire, it being conceived better that ministers should expound these words in their sermons, than alter them in their texts. But, beside these, most of the second sort are not so emphatical in themselves but that they may be rendered in English without prejudice of truth. Wherefore Gardiner's design plainly appeared, in stickling for the preserving of so many Latin words, to obscure the Scripture ; who, though wanting power to keep the light of the Word from shining, sought out of policy to put it into a dark lantern : contrary to the constant practice of God in Scripture, levelling high hard expressions to the capacity of the meanest. For, foreign terms are always brought in, like Joseph, with an interpreter, Gen. xlii. 23. EMMANUEL doth not pass without an exposition, " God with us," Matt. i. 23 : nor EPHPHATHA escape, but commented on, " Be thou opened," Mark vii. 34.

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[*] Take faults and all, as in the original.

[†] Though sensible of tautology, (otherwise spelled,) I durst not vary from the original.

[‡] *Acta Synod. Cant. anno* 1541, pages 48, 49.

Besides, the popish bishop multiplied the mixture of Latin names in the Testament, to teach the laity their distance; who, though admitted into the outward court of common matter, were yet debarred entrance into the Holy of holies of these mysterious expressions, reserved only for the understanding of the high priest to pierce into them. Moreover, this made Gardiner, not only tender, but fond to have these words continued in kind without translation; because the profit of the Romish church was deeply in some of them concerned: Witness the word "penance," which, according to the vulgar sound, contrary to the original sense thereof, was a magazine of will-worship, and brought in much gain to the priests, who were desirous to keep that word, because that word kept them. I find not what entertainment Gardiner's motion met with; it seems so suspended in success as neither generally received nor rejected.

36. *Cranmer stickleth for the Universities' Approbation.*

In a following session, March 10th, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, informed the House, "that it was the king's will and pleasure, that the translation both of the Old and New Testament should be examined by both universities." This met with much opposition in the House, all the bishops, Ely and St. David's excepted, making their protests to the contrary. These affirmed, "The universities were much decayed of late, wherein all things were carried by young men, whose judgments were not to be relied on; so that the learning of the land was chiefly in this Convocation." But the archbishop said he would stick close to the will and pleasure of the king his master, and that the universities should examine the translation. And here, for aught I can find to the contrary, the matter ceased, and the Convocation soon after was dissolved.

37, 38. *The Six Articles somewhat mitigated. The Acts of the last Parliament in this King's Reign. A.D.* 1544, 1545.

The cruel prosecution of the Protestants still continued on the Six Articles. And yet the parliament now somewhat abated the illegal fury thereof. For, formerly any active officer of the bishops, at his pleasure, molested all suspected persons, and prosecuted some to death. But afterwards it was required, that such offenders should first be found guilty by a jury of twelve men;—a rub to the wheels of their cruelty, that it saved the lives of some, and prolonged the deaths of others.

Now began the last parliament in the king's reign, Nov. 24th, wherein many things of consequence were enacted. First. An Act against usury. Secondly. For tithes in London.* Thirdly. For an exchange of lands betwixt the king's majesty, and Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Robert Holgate archbishop of York, and Edmond Bonner bishop of London; which the king annexed to the duchy of Lancaster. Fourthly. An Act for union of churches, not exceeding the value of six pounds. Lastly. That doctors of the civil law, being married, might exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

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* See the printed Statutes of this year.

39—41. *The Original of Stews. The Regulation of the Stews. The Impossibility to legitimate what in itself is unlawful.*

At this time also, by the king's command, were the stews suppressed. A line or two, I hope, will not defile our Church-History, in the description and detestation of such filthy persons and practices. There stood a place on the south bank over against London, called "the Stews," where live fishes were formerly kept, there to be washed in ponds from their slime and muddiness, to make the more wholesome and pleasant food; which was the original use of these stews, and the proper meaning of the word.* Afterwards the place was converted to a worse use, but still retaining its own name, from the scouring of fish to the defiling of men; brothel-houses being built there, and publicly permitted by the state. These were sixteen in number, known by the several signs, whereof one was "the Cardinal's Hat;"† and it is to be feared, that too many of the clergy (then forbidden marriage) were too constant customers to it. Such who lived in these colleges of lust were called "single women;" and pity it was so good a name should be put upon so lewd persons.

Divers constitutions were made in the eighth year of king Henry II. for the regulating of these houses; whereof some may inoffensively, yea, profitably, be inserted:—1. No stew-holder should keep open his doors on the holydays, or keep any in his house on those days. 2. No single woman to be kept against her will, if out of remorse of conscience she would leave that lewd life. 3. No stew-holder to receive any man's wife, or "any woman of religion." 4. No man to be drawn or enticed into any of those houses; and the constables and bailiffs were every week to search the same. They were not to sell bread, ale, flesh, fish, wood, coal, or any victuals.

This was done, partly because they should not engross those trades, being the livelihood of more honest people; and partly lest simple chapmen, in seeking for such necessaries, should be inveigled into sin. Such women, living and dying in their sinful life, were excluded Christian burial, and had a plot of ground far from the parish-church appointed for them, called, "the single woman's church-yard."*

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* CAMDEN'S *Brit.* in Middlesex.

† STOW'S "Survey of London," page 449.

These cautions and constitutions could not make them who are bad in themselves to be good, though happily keeping some who were bad from being worse; such a toleration of sin being utterly unlawful. For though natural poisons may by art be so qualified and corrected as to make them not only not noxious, but, in some cases, as wisely applied, cordial; yet moral poisons, I mean things sinful of themselves, can never be so ordered and regulated, but that still they will remain pernicious and unlawful; the only way to order and amend being to remove and extirpate them.

42. *Argument Pro and Con about Stews.*

Yet there wanted not those (better idle than so employed) who endeavoured with arguments to maintain—some (so shameless) the necessity—but more the conveniency—of such brothel-houses. No wonder if wanton wits pleaded for wanton women. Whoredom, like the whores, was painted over with politic reasons for the permission thereof, which may easily be washed away if the following parallel be but seriously perused.

ARGUMENT I.—Man's infirmity herein, since his natural corruption, is grown so general, it is needful to connive at such houses, as a kind of remedy to prevent worse incontinency with married women; the whole land being the cleaner for the public sinks or sewer of the stews.

ANSWER.—It is absurd to say, and belibelleth Divine Providence, that any thing is really needful that is not lawful. Such pretended necessity, created by bad men, must be annihilated by good laws. Let marriage run in its proper channel, being permitted to all persons; and then no need of such noisome sinks which may well be dammed up. The malady cannot be accounted a remedy; for whilst matrimony is appointed and blessed by God to cool the heat of lust, whoredom doth double the drought thereof.

ARGUMENT II.—As Moses permitted divorcement to the Jews, stews may be connived at on the same account, for the hardness of men's hearts, Mark x. 5.

ANSWER.—Christians ought not so much to listen to Moses's permission, as to Christ's reprehension thereof. Besides, some faults had a cover for them in the twilight of the law, which have none in the sunshine of the Gospel.

ARGUMENT III.—Strange women were no strangers in Israel itself under their best kings; two of that trade, publicly known, pleaded before king Solomon, 1 Kings iii. 16: these were publicly repaired unto and known by the attire of an harlot, Prov. vii. 10.

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* STOW, *ut prius.*

ANSWER.—Christians must conform themselves to the necessary members and commendable ornaments of the Jewish commonwealth, but not to the wens and ulcers thereof.

ARGUMENT IV.—Many great families were preserved thereby, whose younger brethren, abstaining from marriage, did not cumber the same with numerosity of children.

ANSWER.—Where harlots have preserved one house, they have destroyed an hundred. Besides, we must not do evil that good may come thereof. Nor can many children be accounted evils to men, which are blessings from God.

ARGUMENT V.—Such stews are fashionable in foreign nations; yea, in Rome itself.

ANSWER.—Let the Paramount Whore tolerate whores, which, as a branch of popery, was now banished England. More honour it is for us to go before foreign nations in Reformation, than to follow them in their corruptions.

ARGUMENT VI.—The suppressing of stews would not make men more chaste, but more close; not more sincerely honest, but secretly wanton. In all populous places, male incontinency will meet with a female counterpart, and so reciprocally.

ANSWER.—This undeniable truth is sadly granted. Perchance there may now be more English folk adulterers, but England was then an adulteress, so long as stews were openly licensed. It was a national sin, when publicly permitted; which now is but personal, though too generally committed.*

Thus chastity, by the countenance of authority, got at last a final conquest of wantonness. Indeed, formerly, in the one-and-twentieth year of Henry VII. for a time the stews were closed up; but afterwards opened again, though reduced from sixteen to twelve.† But now, by the king's commandment, this regiment of sinners was totally and finally routed; the king's pleasure herein proclaimed by sound of trumpet, and their houses peopled with other inhabitants of honest conversation.

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* Dr. Heylin bears very hard upon our author for his reasoning on this nauseous subject, and expresses his fear, lest his "arguments will be studied and made use of when his answers will not." In his justification, Fuller produces the following among other just observations: "It is reported of Zeuxis, that famous painter, that he so lively pictured a boy with a rod in his hand, carrying a basket of grapes, that birds (mistaking them for real ones) pecked at them; and whilst others commended his art, he was angry with his own workmanship, confessing that if he had made the boy but as well as the grapes, the birds durst not adventure at them. I have the same just cause to be offended with my own endeavours, if the arguments against those schools of wantonness should prove insufficient; though I am confident that, if seriously considered, they do in their own true weight preponderate those produced in favour of them. However, if my well-intended pains be abused by such who only will feed on the poisons, wholly neglecting the antidotes, their destruction is of themselves, and I can wash my hands of any fault therein."—EDIT.

† ROBERT FABYAN in his "Chronicle," *anno* 1506.

43. *Prelates' Loss by Pomp.*

We lately mentioned the exchange of land, betwixt the king and the two archbishops; on which account, be it remembered, (though I find not the exact year,) Otford in Kent was given the king: whereof thus our great antiquary: "William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, built Otford for himself and his successors, so sumptuously, that, for to avoid envy, Cranmer, who next succeeded him, was constrained to exchange it with king Henry VIII."* Could the clergy have found out the mean betwixt baseness and bravery, too sordid and too sumptuous, they might have fixed themselves therein with the more security. Whilst their palaces built so big as to receive, and so beautiful as to invite, the king and his court, made (especially if lying near London) covetousness to long after them. And, although some competent consideration was given in exchange, yet politic prelates disliked such commutations, as which gaged the root of episcopal lands, from their first property, and ancient foundation.

44—47. *The Character of Anne Ashcough. Her Plea for leaving her Husband. She is first racked, and then burned. Her Prose and Poetry. A.D.* 1546.

The last person of quality which suffered martyrdom in this king's reign, was Anne Ashcough, [Askew,] *aliàs* Kyme, June 2nd. She was worshipfully extracted; the daughter of Sir William Ashcough, of Kelsey, in Lincolnshire, of the age of twenty-five years; whose wit, beauty, learning, and religion, procured her much esteem on the queen's side of the court, and as much hatred from the popish persecuting bishops. But the Jesuit condemns her for leaving her husband at home, "and gadding to gospel and gossip it at court,"† always subscribing herself, not by her married but maiden surname; the rather, because, being often examined what reason she could give of forsaking her husband, she refused to answer to any, save to the king alone. Master Fox turneth off the whole matter to John Bale; and I, having his manuscript in my hand, thought fit to insert this his following account thereof, though not knowing whether the same will give the reader satisfaction.

A match was made, by the power of their parents, betwixt Mr. Kyme's son in Lincolnshire, and Sir William Ashcough's eldest daughter, who chanced to die before the completing thereof. Sir William, loath to lose so rich an heir, and having paid part of her portion, for lucre's sake compelled this Anne, his second daughter, to supply her sister's place, and to marry him [Kyme] against her own will and consent; notwithstanding, the marriage once past, she demeaned herself like a Christian wife, and bare him two children.* In process of time, by oft reading of the sacred Bible, she clearly fell from all papistry, to a perfect belief in Jesus Christ. Whereupon her husband was so offended, that, by suggestion of the priests, he violently drove her out of his house. And she, on this occasion, sought from the law a divorce; and, because of his cruel usage, would not return unto him again, thinking herself free from that uncomely kind of co-acted marriage, by the doctrine of St. Paul: "But, if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases: But God hath called us to peace," 1 Cor. vii. 15. This is the effect of what our author speaketh in more words. Now, whether this rule laid down by St. Paul, betwixt Christian and Heathen, be also commensurate betwixt Protestant and Papist, is not my work to decide. Perchance, she would only answer to the king for her behaviour towards her husband, as hoping for some tenderness from his Highness, because of some general conformity, in the first part of her case, with the king's; as who for by-respects was first married to, then divorced from, his brother's wife.

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* CAMDEN in his *Brit.* in Kent, page 328.

† PARSONS in his "Examination of John Fox's Saints" in the month of June.

Her several examinations are largely penned by herself, extant in Mr. Fox; where the reader may find them. But be it remembered, that, whereas heresy only was charged upon her, without the least suspicion of treason, yet was she racked to detect some court-ladies of her opinion, by the lord Wriothesley, the then, and sir Robert Rich, the next, lord chancellor.† But, whether it was noble in these lords, or legal in these lawyers, or conscientious in these chancellors, to rack one already condemned to death, belongeth to others to determine. Their cruelty extorted no discovery from her, whose constancy now made recompence for her former infirmities; if it be true what is charged upon her,—that before she had twice subscribed the real presence in the sacrament of the altar, but zealously died at last in the earnest denial thereof, being amongst those who, according to the precept in the prophet, "glorified the Lord in the fires," Isai. xxiv. 15. Her suffering in Smithfield was most solemnly performed, where three men, Nicholas Belevian, priest, of Shropshire; John Lascelles, gentleman of the household of king Henry VIII. and John Adams, a poor tailor, of London, were all burned together: three couple of qualities meeting together in four persons; clergy and laity, male and female, gentle and simple, made the fuel of the same fire.

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* BALE's Manuscript, pages 91, 92.

† FOX, page 1239.

John Bale registers this Anne Ashcough amongst the number of his English learned writers, for her examinations, letters, and poems, written with her own hand; though the Jesuit jeers him for his pains,*—as if no works, save those of the needle, became her sex. I have seen a manuscript of her verses, afterwards printed at Marpurgh in Germany; and must confess, I better approve her charity in the four last, than her poetry in all the rest:—

> "Yet, Lord, I thee desire,
> For that they do to me,
> Let them not taste the hire
> Of their iniquity."

However, those that have drunk deeper than she of Helicon, would be loath to pledge her in the bitter cup of martyrdom. So I take my leave of her memory.

48—50. *The King marrieth Catherine Parr. The Conspiracy of her Enemies against her, by God's Providence, defeated.*

Now began the troubles of queen Catherine Parr, whom the king married some two years since. For he, either being or believing himself wronged by his last wife, whom he married for a maid, resolved now to take a widow to wife, who had given proof of her chastity and loyalty to her former husband; and thereupon married this Catherine, the daughter of Sir Thomas Parr, of Kendal, the relict of John Nevill lord Latimer; one of great piety, beauty, and discretion. Next to the Bible, she studied the king's disposition, observing him to her utmost. And need she had of a nimble soul, to attend at all times on his humour, whose fury had now got the addition of frowardness thereunto. She was rather nurse than wife unto him, who was more decayed by sickness and intemperance than old age.

Yet sometimes she would presume to discourse with the king about points of religion, defending the Protestant tenets by Scripture and reason; and sometimes would hold up the king very close hard at it. This displeased him, who loved looseness and liberty, in his clothes, arguments, and actions; and was quickly observed by Gardiner, and others, who were the queen's enemies. Hereupon, taking advantage of an unhappy juncture of time, Gardiner drew up articles against her, and had got them subscribed with the king's own hand, to remove her to the Tower; whither had she been sent, *vestigia nulla retrorsum*, without doubt she had followed the way of his former wives in that place.

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* PARSONS, *ut prius.*

But Divine Providence ordereth all things to fall out for the good of God's children. Chancellor Wriothesley put the paper of those articles (precious jewels!) in no worse cabinet than his own bosom. Hence it casually fell out, was taken up by one of the queen's servants, and brought to her Grace, who, on her sickness and submission to the king, obtained his pardon, signed and sealed unto her with many kisses and embraces. As for such her enemies, who came at the present to attach her, (intending, by virtue of the king's warrant, to send her the shortest way to her long home,) they were sent back with what made worse rumbling than a flea in the ear,—even the taunts and threats of the enraged king against them.

51. *Parsons's wild Intelligence.*

And yet Parsons tells us,* that, "notwithstanding, the king purposed to have burned her, if he had lived." I know not whence he derived this his strange intelligence, and, therefore, justly suspect the truth hereof; the rather, because I find her in great grace with the king, as appeareth by the good language and great legacy he gave her in his Will, which here we thought fit to transcribe, both for the rarity thereof, and because containing many passages which may reflect much light upon our Church History.

TESTAMENTUM REGIS HENRICI VIII. Names of the Executors.

"IN the name of God, and of the glorious and blessed virgin our Lady St. Mary, and of all the holy company of heaven: We HENRY, by the grace of God, king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth immediately under God the supreme head of the church of England, and also Ireland, of that name the eighth; calling to our remembrance the great gifts and benefits of Almighty God given unto us in this transitory life, give unto him our most lowly and humble thanks, acknowledging ourselves insufficient in any part to deserve or recompense the same. But fear that we have not worthily received the same, and considering further also that we be (as all mankind are) mortal and born in sin; believing, nevertheless, and hoping, that every Christian creature living here in this transitory and wretched world, under God dying in steadfast and perfect faith, endeavouring and exercising himself to execute in his life-time, if he have leisure, such good deeds and charitable works as Scripture commandeth, and as may be to the honour and pleasure of God, is ordained by Christ's passion to be saved and attain eternal life; of which number we verily trust by his grace to be one.

"And that every creature, the more high that he is in estate, honour, and authority in this world, the more he is bound to love, serve, and thank God, and the more diligently to endeavour himself to do good and charitable works to the laud, honour, and praise of Almighty God, and the profit of his soul: We also—calling to remembrance the dignity, estate, honour, rule, and governance that Almighty God hath called us unto in this world, and that neither we, nor any other creature-mortal knoweth the time, place, when nor where, it shall please Almighty God to call him out of this transitory world, willing therefore and minding with God's grace, before our passage out of the same, to dispose and order our later mind, will, and testament, in that sort as we trust it shall be acceptable unto Almighty God, our only Saviour Jesus Christ, and all the holy company of heaven, and the due satisfaction of all godly brethren in earth—have now, being of whole and perfect mind, adhering wholly to the right faith of Christ and his doctrine, repenting also our old and detestable life, and being in perfect will and mind, by his grace, never to return to the same, nor such like; and minding, by God's grace, never to vary therefrom as long as any remembrance, breath, or inward knowlege doth or may remain within this mortal body; most humbly and heartily do commend and bequeath our soul to Almighty God, who in person of the Son redeemed the same with his most precious body and blood in time of his passion; and, for our better remembrance thereof, hath left here with us, in his church militant, the consecration and administration of his precious body and blood, to our no little consolation and comfort, if we as thankfully accept the same as he lovingly and undeservedly, on man's behalf, hath ordained it for our only benefit, and not his.

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* In his Exam. of Fox's "Martyrs," in June, cap. 10, page 433.

"Also, we do instantly require and desire the blessed virgin Mary, his mother, with all the holy company of heaven, continually to pray for us while we live in this world, and in the time of passing out of the same, that we may the sooner attain everlasting life after our departure out of this transitory life, which we do both hope and claim by Christ's passion: And, for my body, which when the soul is departed, shall then remain but as a *cadaver*, and so return to the vile matter it was made of, were it not for the crown and dignity which God hath called us unto, and that we would not be counted an infringer of honest worldly policies and customs when they be not contrary to God's laws, we would be content to have it buried in any place accustomed for Christian folks, were it never so vile; for it is but ashes, and to ashes it shall return. Nevertheless, because we would be loath, in the reputation of the people, to do injury to the dignity which we are unworthily called unto, we are content, and also by these presents, our last will and testament, to will and order, that our body be buried and interred in the choir of our college of Windsor, middle-way between the stalls and the high altar; and there to be made and set, as soon as conveniently may be done after our decease, by our executors at our costs and charges, if it be not done by us in our life-time, an honourable tomb for our bones to rest in, which is well onward and almost made, therefore already with a fair grate about it, in which we will also that the bones and body of our true and loving wife queen Jane be put also; and that there be provided, ordained, and set, at the costs and charges of us or of our executors, if it be not done in our life-time, a convenient altar honourably prepared and appareled with all manner of things requisite and necessary for daily masses there to be said perpetually while the world shall endure; Also we will, that the tombs and altars of king Henry VI. and also of king Edward IV. our great uncle and grandfather, be made more princely, in the same place where they now be, at our charge; and also will, and specially desire and require, that where and whensoever it shall please God to call us out of this transitory world to his infinite mercy and grace, be it beyond the sea, or in any other place without our realm of England, or within the same, that our executors, as soon as they conveniently may, shall cause all Divine service accustomed for dead folks to be celebrated for us, in the next and most proper place where it shall fortune us to depart out of this transitory life; and ever, that we will that whensoever and wheresoever it shall please God to call us out of this transitory life to his infinite mercy and grace, be it within the realm or without, that our executors in as goodly, brief, and convenient haste as they reasonably can or may, order, prepare, and cause our body to be removed, conveyed, and brought into the said college of Windsor, and the service of *Placebo* and *Dirige*, with a sermon and mass on the morrow at our costs and charges devoutly to be done, observed, and solemnly kept, there to be buried and interred in the place appointed for our said tomb to be made for the same intent, and all this to be done in as devout-wise as can or may be; and we will and charge our executors, that they dispose and give alms to the most poor and needy people that may be found, common beggars as much as may be avoided, in as short space as possible they may after our departure out of this transitory life, one thousand marks of lawful money of England, part in the same place and thereabout where it shall please Almighty God to call us to his mercy, partly by the way, and part in the same place of our burial after their discretions; and to move the poor people that shall have our alms to pray heartily unto God for the remission of our offences and the wealth of our soul.

"And we will, that with as convenient speed as may be done after our departure out of this world, (if it be not done in our life,) that the dean and canons of our free chapel of St. George within our castle of Windsor shall have manors, lands, tenements, and spiritual promotions to the yearly value of viC. pounds over all charges made sure to them and to their successors for ever, upon these conditions hereafter ensuing, and for the due accomplishment and full performance of all other things contained with the same in the form of an indenture, signed with our own hand, which shall be passed by way of covenant for that purpose between the said dean and canons and our executors, (if it pass not between us and the said dean and canons in our life,) that is to say, the said dean and canons, and their successors for ever, shall find two priests to say masses at the said altar, to be made where we have before appointed our tomb to be made and stand.

"And also after our decease keep yearly four solemn obits for us within the said college of Windsor, and at every of the same obits to cause a solemn sermon to be made, and also at every of the said obits to give to poor people in alms ten pounds, and, also to give for ever yearly to thirteen poor men, which shall be called 'poor knights,' to every of them twelve-pence a-day, and once in the year yearly for ever a long gown of white cloth with the garter upon the breast embroidered with a shield and cross of St. George within the garter and a mantle of red cloth, and to such one of the thirteen poor knights as shall be appointed to be head and governor over them, iii *li.* vi *s.* viii *d.* yearly for ever over and beside the said xii *d.* by the day: and also to cause every Sunday in the year for ever a sermon to be made at Windsor aforesaid, as in the said indenture and covenant shall be more fully and particularly expressed, willing, charging, and requiring our son prince Edward, all our executors and counsellors, which shall be named hereafter, and all other our heirs and successors, which shall be kings of this realm, as they will answer before God Almighty at the dreadful day of judgment that they, and every of them, do see that the said indenture and assurance to be made between us and the said dean and canons, or between them and our executors, and all things therein contained, may be duly put in execution, and observed and kept for ever perpetually according to this our last will and testament.

"And as concerning the order and disposition of the imperial crown of this realm of England and Ireland, with our title of France, and all dignities, honours, pre-eminences, prerogatives, authorities, and jurisdictions to the same annexed or belonging, and for the sure establishment of the succession of the same; and also for a full and plain gift, disposition, assignment, declaration, limitation, and appointment with what conditions our daughters Mary and Elizabeth shall severally have, hold, and enjoy the said imperial crown, and other the premises after our decease; and for default of issue and heirs of the several bodies of us and of our son prince Edward lawfully begotten and his heirs; and also for a full gift, disposition, assignment, declaration, limitation, and appointment to whom, and of what estate, and in what manner, form, and condition the said imperial crown, and other the premises, shall remain and come after our decease; and for default of issue and heirs of the several bodies of us, and of the said son prince Edward, and of our said daughters Mary and Elizabeth lawfully begotten, we by these presents do make and declare our last will and testament concerning the said imperial crown, and all other the premises, in manner and form following:—

"That is to say, we will, by these presents, that, immediately after our departure out of this present life, our said son prince Edward shall have and enjoy the said imperial crown and realm of England and Ireland, our title of France, with all dignities, honours, pre-eminences, prerogatives, authorities, and jurisdictions, lands and possessions to the same annexed, or belonging unto him and to his heirs of his body lawfully begotten; and for default of such issue of our said son prince Edward's body lawfully begotten, we will the same imperial crown, and other the premises, after our two deceases, shall wholly remain and come to the heirs of our body lawfully begotten, of the body of our entirely beloved wife queen Catherine that now is, or of any other our lawful wife that we shall hereafter marry; and, for lack of such issue and heirs, we will also that after our decease, and for default of heirs of the several bodies of us and of our said son prince Edward's lawfully begotten, the said imperial crown and all other the premises shall wholly remain and come to our said daughter Mary, and the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, upon condition that our said daughter Mary after our decease shall not marry, nor take any person to her husband, without the assent and consent of the privy counsellors, and others, appointed by us to our dearest son prince Edward aforesaid to be of counsel, or of the most part of them, or the most of such as shall then be alive thereunto, before the said marriage, had in writing, sealed with their seals; all which conditions we declare, limit, appoint, and will by these presents, shall be knit and invested to the said estate of our daughter Mary in the said imperial crown, and other the premises. And if it fortune our said daughter Mary to die without issue of her body, lawfully begotten, we will that after our decease, and for default of issue of the several bodies of us, and of our said son prince Edward, lawfully begotten, and of our daughter Mary, the said imperial crown, and other the premises, shall wholly remain to come to our said daughter Elizabeth, and to the heirs of her body, lawfully begotten, upon condition that our said daughter Elizabeth, after our decease, shall not marry, nor take any person to her husband without the assent and consent of the privy counsellors, and others, appointed by us to be of counsel with our said dearest son prince Edward, or the most part of them, or the most part of such of them as shall be then alive; thereunto, before the marriage, had in writing, sealed with their seals, which condition we declare, limit, and appoint, and will by these presents, shall be to the said estate of our said daughter Elizabeth in the said imperial crown, and other the premises knit and invested. And if it shall fortune our said daughter Elizabeth to die without issue of her body, lawfully begotten, we will that after our decease, and for default of issue of the several bodies of us and of our said son prince Edward, and of our said daughters Mary and Elizabeth, the said imperial crown, and other the premises, after our decease, shall wholly remain and come to the heirs of the body of the lady Frances, our niece, eldest daughter to our late sister the French queen, lawfully begotten, and for default of such issue of the body of the said lady Frances, we will that the said imperial crown, and other the premises, after our decease, and for default of issue of the several bodies of us, and of our son prince Edward, and of our daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and of the lady Frances, lawfully begotten, shall wholly remain and come to the heirs of the body of the lady Eleanor our niece, second daughter to our said sister the French queen, lawfully begotten. And if it happen the said lady Eleanor to die without issue of her body, lawfully begotten, we will that after our decease, and for default of issue of the several bodies of us, and of our said son prince Edward, and of our said daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and of the said lady Frances, and of the said lady Eleanor, lawfully begotten, the said imperial crown, and other the premises, shall wholly remain and come to the next rightful heirs. And we will that if our said daughter Mary do marry without the consent and assent of the privy counsellors and others appointed by us to be of counsel to our said son prince Edward, or the most part of them as shall then be alive thereunto, before the said marriage, had in writing, sealed with their seals, as is aforesaid, that then and from thenceforth for lack of heirs of the several bodies of us and of our said son prince Edward, lawfully begotten, the said imperial crown shall wholly remain, be, and come to our said daughter Elizabeth, and to the heirs of her body lawfully begotten, in such manner and form, as though our said daughter Mary were then dead without any issue of the body of our said daughter Mary, lawfully begotten, any thing contained in this our will, or any act of parliament or statute to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And in case our said daughter the lady Mary do keep and perform the said condition expressed, declared, and limited to her estate in the said imperial crown, and other the premises in this our last will declared; and that our said daughter Elizabeth do not keep and perform for her part the said condition declared and limited by this our last will to the estate of the said lady Elizabeth, in the said imperial crown of this realm of England and Ireland, and other the premises; we will that then and from thenceforth after our decease, and for lack of heirs of the several bodies of us and of our said son prince Edward, and of our said daughter Mary, lawfully begotten, the said imperial crown and other the premises shall wholly remain and come to the next heirs lawfully begotten of the body of the said lady Frances, in such manner and form as though the said lady Elizabeth were then dead without any heir of her body lawfully begotten, any thing contained in this will, or in any act or statute to the contrary notwithstanding, the remainders over for lack of issue of the said lady Frances lawfully begotten, to be and continue to such persons like remainders and estates as is before limited and declared. And we being now at this time (thanks to Almighty God) of perfect memory, do constitute and ordain these personages following our executors and performers of this our last will and testament, willing, commanding, and praying them to take upon them the occupation and performance of the same as executors; that is to say, the archbishop of Canterbury; [Thomas Cranmer;] the lord Wriothesley, chancellor of England; the lord St. John, great master of our house; the earl of Hertford, [Edward Seymour,] great chamberlain; the lord Russell, lord privy seal; the viscount Lisle, [John Dudley,] high admiral of England; the bishop Tonstal, of Duresme; Sir Anthony Browne, knight, master of our horses; Sir Edward Montague, knight, chief judge of the Common Pleas; justice Bromley; Sir Edward North, knight, chancellor of the augmentations; Sir William Paget, knight, our chief secretary; Sir Anthony Denny, Sir William Herbert, knights, chief gentlemen of our privy chamber; Sir Edward Wotton, knight, and Mr. Dr. Wotton his brother; and all these we will to be our executors and counsellors of the privy council with our said son prince Edward, in all matters concerning both his private affairs and public affairs of the realm; willing and charging them, and every of them, as they must and shall answer at the day of judgment, wholly and fully to see this my last will and testament performed in all things with as much speed and diligence as may be, and that none of them presume to meddle with any of our treasure, or to do any thing appointed by our said will alone, unless the most part of the whole number of these co-executors do consent, and by writing agree to the same; and we will that our said executors, or the most part of them, may lawfully do what they shall think most convenient for the execution of this our will, without being troubled by our said son, or any other, for the same: willing further, by our said last will and testament, that Sir Edmund Peckham, our trusty servant and yet cofferer of our house, shall be treasurer, and have the receipt and laying out of all such treasure and money as shall be defrayed by our executors for the performance of this our last will, straitly charging and commanding the said Sir Edmund, that he pay no great sum of money but he have first the hands of our said executors, or of the most part of them, for his discharge touching the same; charging him further, upon his allegiance, to make a true account of all such sums as shall be delivered to his hands for this purpose: and since we have now named and constituted our executors, we will and charge them, that, first and above all things, as they will answer before God, and as we put our singular trust and confidence in them, that they cause all our due debts, that can be reasonably showed and proved before them, to be fully contented and paid as soon as they conveniently can or may after our decease without longer delay, and that they do execute these points first; that is to say, the payment of our debts, with redress of injuries, if any such can be duly proved, (though to us they be unknown,) before any other part of this our will and testament, our burial, exequies, and funerals, only except.

" Furthermore, we will that all such grants and gifts as we have made, given, or promised, to any, which be not yet perfected under our sign or any our seals, as they ought to be, and all such recompense for exchanges, sales, or any other thing or things as ought to have been made by us, and be not yet accomplished, shall be perfected in every point towards all manner of men for discharge of our conscience, charging our executors and all the rest of our counsellors to see the same done, performed, finished, and accomplished in every point, foreseeing that the said gifts, grants, and promises, and recompense, shall appear to our said executors, or the most part of them, to have been granted, made, accorded, or promised, in any manner of wise.

" Further, according to the laws of Almighty God, and for the fatherly love which we bear to our son prince Edward, and to this our realm, we declare him, according to justice, equity, and conscience, to be our lawful heir, and do give and bequeath unto him the succession of our realms of England, and Ireland, with our title of France, and all our dominions, both on this side the seas, and beyond, a convenient portion for our will and testament to be reserved.

"Also, we give unto him all our plate, stuff of household, artillery, ordnance, ammunition, ships, cables, and all other things and implements to them belonging; and money also and jewels, saving such portions as shall satisfy this our last will and testament, charging and commanding him on pain of our curse, seeing he hath so loving a father of us, and that our chief labour and study in this world is to establish him in the crown imperial of this realm after our decease in such sort as may be pleasing to God, and to the wealth of this realm, and to his own honour and quiet, that he be ordered and ruled both in his marriage, and also in ordering the affairs of the realm, as well outward, as inward; and also in all his own private affairs, and in giving of offices of charge, by the advice and counsel of our right entirely beloved counsellors, the archbishop of Canterbury; the lord Wriothesley, chancellor of England; the lord St. John, great master of our house; the lord Russell, lord privy seal; the earl of Hertford, great chamberlain of England; the viscount Lisle, high admiral of England; the bishop Tonstall of Duresme; Sir Anthony Browne, knight, master of our horses; Sir William Paget, our chief secretary; Sir Anthony Denny, Sir William Herbert, justice Montague, and Bromley, Sir Edward Wotton, Mr. Dr. Wotton, and Sir Edward North, whom we ordain, name, and appoint, and, by these presents, signed with our hand, do make and constitute our privy council with our said son, and will, that they have the governance of our most dear son prince Edward, and of all our realms, dominions, and subjects, and of all the affairs public and private, until he shall have fully completed the eighteenth year of his age.

"And, for because the variety and number of things, affairs, and matters are, and may be, such as we, not knowing the certainty of them before, cannot conveniently prescribe a certain order or rule unto our said counsellors for their behaviours and proceedings in this charge which we have now and do appoint unto them, about our said son, during the time of his minority aforesaid; We, therefore, for the special trust and confidence which we have in them, will, and by these presents, do give and grant full power and authority unto our said counsellors, that they all, or the most part of them, being assembled together in council, or if any of them fortune to die, the more part of them which shall be for the time living, being assembled in council together, shall and may make, devise, and ordain what things soever they, or the more part of them, as aforesaid, shall, during the minority of our said son, think meet, necessary, and convenient, for the benefit, honour, and surety of the weal, profit, and commodity of our said son, his realms, dominions, or subjects, or the discharge of our conscience. And the same things devised, made, or ordained by them, or the more part of them aforesaid, shall and may lawfully do, execute, and accomplish, or cause to be done, executed, and accomplished by their discretions, or the discretions of the more part of them, as aforesaid, in as large and ample manner as if we had or did express unto them, by a more special commission under our great seal of England, every particular cause that may chance or occur during the time of our said son's minority and the self-same manner of proceeding, which they shall for the time think meet to use and follow: willing and charging our said son, and all others which shall hereafter be counsellors to our said son, that they never charge, molest, trouble, or disquiet our aforesaid counsellors, nor any of them, for the devising or doing, nor any other person for the doing of that they shall devise, or the more part of them devise or do, assembled, as is aforesaid.

"And we do charge expressly the same our entirely-beloved counsellors and executors, that they shall take upon them the rule and charge of our said son and heir, in all his causes and affairs, and of the whole realm, doing nevertheless all things as under him and in his name, until our said son and heir shall be bestowed and married by their advice, and that the eighteenth year be expired; willing and desiring furthermore our said trusty counsellors, and, then, all our trusty and assured servants, and thirdly, all other our loving subjects, to aid and assist our forenamed counsellors in the execution of the premises during the aforesaid time; not doubting but they will in all things deal so truly and uprightly, as they shall have cause to think them well chosen for the charge committed unto them, straitly charging our said counsellors and executors, and in God's name exhorting them, for the singular trust and special confidence which we have and ever had in them, to have a due and diligent eye, perfect zeal, love, and affection to the honour, surety, estate, and dignity of our said son, and the good state and prosperity of this our realm; and that, all delays set apart, they well aid and assist our said counsellors and executors to the performance of this our present testament and last will, in every part, as they will answer before God at the day of judgment, *cum venerit judicare vivos et mortuos;* and furthermore for the special trust and confidence which we have in the earls of Arundel and Essex, that now be; Sir Thomas Cheny, knight, treasurer of our household; Sir John Gage, knight, comptroller of our household; Sir Anthony Wingfield, knight, our vice-chamberlain; Sir William Peter, knight, one of our two principal secretaries; Sir Richard Rich, knight, Sir John Baker, knight, Sir Ralph Sadler, knight, Sir Thomas Seymour, knight, Sir Richard Southwell, and Sir Edmund Peckham, knights; they, and every of them, shall be of counsel, for the aiding and assisting of the forenamed counsellors and our executors, when they or any of them shall be called by our said executors, or the more part of the same.

" Item, We bequeath to our daughters Mary and Elizabeth's marriage, they being married to any outward potentate, by the advice of the aforesaid counsellors, (if we bestow them not in our life-time,) ten thousand pounds in money, plate, jewels, and household stuff, for each of them ; or a larger sum, as to the discretion of our executors, or the more part of them, shall be thought convenient ; willing them on my blessing to be ordered as well in marriage, as in all other lawful things by the advice of our fore-named counsellors ; and in case they will not, then the sums to be minished at the counsellors' discretions.

" Further, our will is, that from the first hour of our death until such time as the said counsellors can provide either of them, or both, some honourable marriages, they shall have each of them MMM *li.* [three thousand pounds] *ultra reprisas* to live upon ; willing and charging the aforesaid counsellors to limit and appoint to either of them such sage officers and ministers for orderance thereof, as it may be employed both to our honour and theirs ; and for the great love, obedience, chasteness of life and wisdom being in our forenamed wife and queen we bequeath unto her for her proper use, and as it shall please her to order it, three thousand pounds, in plate, jewels, and stuff of household, besides such apparel as it shall please her to take as she hath already ; and further, we give unto her one thousand pounds in money, with the enjoying of her dowry and jointure, according to our grant by Act of Parliament.

" Item, for the kindness and good service that our said executors have showed unto us, we give and bequeath unto each of them such sums of money, or the value of the same as hereafter ensueth : First. To the archbishop of Canterbury vC [five hundred] marks ; to the lord Wriothesley vC *li.* [five hundred pounds] ; to the lord St. John, five hundred pounds ; to the lord Russell, five hundred pounds ; to the earl of Hertford, five hundred pounds ; to the viscount Lisle, five hundred pounds ; to the bishop of Duresme, three hundred pounds ; to Sir Anthony Browne, three hundred pounds ; to Sir William Paget, three hundred pounds ; to Sir Anthony Denny, three hundred pounds ; to Sir William Herbert, three hundred pounds ; to justice Montague, three hundred pounds ; to justice Bromley, three hundred pounds ; to Sir Edward North, three hundred pounds ; to Sir Heward Wotton, three hundred pounds ; to doctor Wotton, three hundred pounds.

" Also, for the special love and favour that we bear to our trusty counsellors and other our said servants, hereafter following, we give and bequeath unto them such sums of money, or the value thereof as is tottad upon their heads: First. To the earl of Essex, CC *li.* [two hundred pounds]; to Sir Thomas Cheny, two hundred pounds; to the lord Herbert, two hundred pounds; to Sir John Gage, two hundred pounds; to Sir Thomas Seymour, two hundred pounds; to John Gate, two hundred pounds; to Sir Thomas Darcy, knight, two hundred pounds; to Sir Thomas Speke, knight, two hundred marks; to Sir Philip Hobbey, knight, two hundred marks; to Sir Thomas Paston, two hundred marks; to Sir Morrice Barkeley, two hundred marks; to Sir Ralph Sadler, two hundred pounds; to Sir Thomas Carden, two hundred pounds; to Sir Peter Newtas, two hundred marks; to Edward Bullingham, two hundred marks; to Thomas Audeley, two hundred marks; to Edmund Harman, two hundred marks; to John Penn, one hundred marks; to Henry Nevile, one hundred pounds; to William Symbarbe, one hundred pounds; to Richard Cooke, one hundred pounds; to John Osborne, one hundred pounds; to David Vincent, one hundred pounds; to James Rufforth, keeper of our house here, one hundred marks; to Richard Cecill, yeoman of our robes, one hundred marks; to Thomas Sternhold, groom of our robes, one hundred marks; to John Rowland, page of our robes, fifty pounds; to the earl of Arundel, lord chamberlain, two hundred pounds; to Sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain, two hundred pounds; to Sir Edmond Peckham, two hundred pounds; to Sir Richard Rich, two hundred pounds; to Sir John Baker, two hundred pounds; to Sir Richard Southwell, two hundred pounds; to Mr. doctor Owen, one hundred pounds; to Mr. doctor Wendy, one hundred pounds; to Mr. doctor Cromer, one hundred pounds; to Thomas Alssop, one hundred marks; to —— Patrick, one hundred marks; to John Ailef, one hundred marks; to Henry Forrest, one hundred marks; to Richard Ferrers, one hundred marks; to John Holland, one hundred marks; to the four gentlemen-ushers of our chamber, (being daily waiters,) a hundred pound in all: and we will that our executors, or the most part of them, shall give orders for the payment of such legacies as they shall think meet to such our ordinary servants, as unto whom we have not appointed any legacy by this our present testament. Finally, this present writing in paper we ordain and make our last will and testament, and will the same to be reputed and taken to all intents and purposes for our good, strong, available, most perfect, and last will and testament, and we do declare all other wills and testaments made at any time by us to be void and of none effect.

"In witness whereof, we have signed it with our hand in our palace at Westminster the thirtieth day of December, in the year of our Lord God 1546, after the computation of the church of England, and of our reign the thirty-eighth year, being present, and called to witness the persons which have written their names:

JOHN GATE,
EDWARD HARMAN,
WILLIAM SAINT-BARBE,
HENRY NEVILL,
RICHARD COOKE,
DAVID VINCENT,
—— PATRICK,
GEORGE OWEN,
THOMAS WENDY,
ROBERT KEWICKE,
WILLIAM CLERKE."

51. *When this Will was made.*

This the king's will was drawn up some two years since, before he went to Boulogne, as is intimated in a passage, "Be it beyond the sea," &c. which now was only fairly written over again, without any alteration, save that Stephen Gardiner was expunged from being one of his executors. It seems, that formerly, finding none substituted in Gardiner's room, he appointed seventeen executors, that so a decisive vote might avoid equality of voices. And although, in this will, provision is made for "multitude of masses to be said for his soul," yet one,* pretending to extraordinary intelligence herein, would persuade us, that king Henry intended in his latter days so thorough a reformation, as not to have left one mass in the land, if death had not prevented him.

52. *Legacies scarcely paid.*

Amongst his servants in ordinary attendance, to whom legacies were bequeathed, Richard Cecil, there named "yeoman of the robes," was the father to William Cecil, afterwards baron of Burghley and lord treasurer of England. Thomas Sternhold, "groom of the robes," and afterwards of the bedchamber to king Edward VI.† was one of them who translated the Psalms into English metre, being then accounted an excellent poet; though he who wore bays in those days deserveth not ivy in our age. Now, seeing by the rules of justice, and the king's own appointment, his debts were to be paid before his legacies; and, seeing many of his personal debts remained unsatisfied till the days of queen Elizabeth, probably most of these legacies were never paid, especially to inferior persons: as if it were honour enough for them to have such sums bequeathed unto, though never bestowed upon, them.

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* Fox in his "Acts and Monuments," page 1291.

† Baleus, *Gent.* page 728, *ab intimis cubiculis.*

53. *Monument made for the King by the Cardinal.*

Whereas mention in this will of "a monument well onwards and almost made," it is the same which cardinal Wolsey built for king Henry, and not for himself, as is commonly reported. Wherefore, whereas there goeth a tale, that king Henry, one day finding the cardinal with the workmen making his monument, should say unto him, "Tumble yourself in this tomb whilst you are alive; for, when dead, you shall never lie therein;" it is a mere fiction, the cardinal originally intending the same for the king, as appeareth by the ancient inscription thereupon,* wherein king Henry was styled "lord" (not king) "of Ireland," without addition of "supreme head of the church," plainly showing the same was of ancient date in the days of the cardinal.

54. *Why his Nieces more at Liberty than his Daughters.*

Whereas the marriages of the lady Mary and Elizabeth are so severely conditioned, that, if made without consent of the council, they were to forfeit their right to the crown; men interpret it as provided *in terrorem*, and not otherwise. Yet this clause was it which afterwards put so plausible a pretence on Wyat's rebellion; which, though made of rotten cloth, had nothwithstanding a good colour thereon. Now, whereas the king's nieces (the daughters to Mary his younger sister) were not clogged in this his will with such restrictions concerning their marriages, the plain reason was, because both of them were already married before this will was made: Frances the elder, to Henry Gray, marquess Dorset, afterward duke of Suffolk; and Eleanor the younger, to Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland.

55. *Ten thousand Pounds the Portion of a Princess.*

The portion of but ten thousand pounds a-piece left to his two daughters, was not much unproportionable to the value of money, as it went in that age, though a sum small for such an use in our days. And I have heard, that queen Elizabeth, being informed that doctor Pilkington, bishop of Durham, had given ten thousand pounds in marriage with his daughter;† and, being offended that a prelate's daughter should equal a princess in portion, took away one thousand pounds a-year from that bishopric, and assigned it for the better maintenance of the garrison of Berwick.

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* GODWIN in Henry VIII. page 200.

† This is not correct. See in a subsequent part of this Church History, book ix. in the nineteenth year of queen Elizabeth's reign, A.D. 1576, par. 21, Fuller's explanation of his mistake.—EDIT.

56. *Much of Arbitrariness in this Will.*

Very much of his own arbitrariness appears in this will of king Henry, entailing the crown according to his own fancy, against all right and reason. For, First. How unjust was it, that his female issue by queen Catherine Parr, his last wife, (had he had any,) should inherit the crown before Mary and Elizabeth, his eldest daughters by his former wives! If Mary and Elizabeth were not his lawful children, how came they by any right to the crown? If his lawful children, why was their birthright and seniority not observed in succession? Well it was for them that Henry Fitzroy, his natural son, (but one of supernatural and extraordinary endowments,) was dead; otherwise (some suspect) had he lived to survive king Edward VI. we might presently have heard of a king Henry IX. so great was his father's affection, and so unlimited his power to prefer him.

57, 58. *The Scottish Line quite left out.*

But the grand injury in this his testament is,—that he quite passeth over the children of Margaret, his eldest sister, married into Scotland, with all her issue, not so much as making the least mention thereof.

Great, indeed, when this will was first made, was the antipathy which, for the present, possessed him against the Scotch, with whom then he was in actual war; though at other times, when in good humour, very courteous to his kindred of that extraction. For, most sure it is, that when Margaret Douglas, his sister's daughter, was married to Matthew, earl of Lennox, he publicly professed, that, in case his own issue failed, he should be right glad some of her body should succeed to the crown; as it came to pass.*

59, 60. *Legatees Witnesses in King's Will. Little of his Will performed.*

Of the eleven witnesses, whose names are subscribed to his will, the nine first are also legatees therein, and, therefore, (because reputed parties,) not sufficient witnesses, had it been the will of a private person. But the testaments of princes move in a higher sphere than to take notice of such punctilios; and, foreigners being unfit to be admitted to such privacies, domestical servants were preferred, as the properest witnesses, to attest an instrument of their lord and master.

It is but just with God, that he who had too much of his will done, when living, should have the less, when dead, of his testament performed. The ensuing Reformation swept away the masses and chanter-priests founded to pray for his soul. The tombs of Henry VI. and Edward IV. (the one the last of Lancaster, the other the first of York, the titles of both which Houses met in this Henry,) remain at this day *in statu quo priùs*, without any amendment. Where, by the way, seeing in this will king Henry VI. is styled his "uncle," I cannot make out the relation in the common sense of the word, except any will say, that kings' uncles (as their cousins) are oft taken in a large and favourable acceptation. But the main wherein his will missed the intent is, in that the Scotch line, neglected and omitted by him, (ordinary heirs are made in heaven, heirs to crowns in the heaven of heavens,) came in their due time to the throne, their undoubted right thereunto recognised by Act of Parliament.

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* HENRY LORD DARNLEY, her son, father to king James.

61, 62. *His Disease and the Manner of his Death. His Hope expressed by speechless Gesture.*

After the making of this his will, he survived a full month, falling immediately sick. He had *sesquicorpus*, "a body and half," very abdominous and unwieldy with fat; and it was death to him to be dieted, so great his appetite; and death to him not to be dieted, so great his corpulency. But now all his humours repaired to one place, and settled themselves in an old sore in his thigh, which quickly grew to be greatly inflamed. Here flame met with fire, the anguish of the sore with an hot and impatient temper; so that, during his sickness, few of his servants durst approach his presence. His physicians, giving him over, desired some, who tendered the good of his soul, to admonish him of his estate. But such, who could fly with good tidings, would not halt to him with ill news. Besides, lately a law was made,—that none should speak any thing of the king's death. Which Act, though only intended to retrench the predictions and mock prophecies of soothsayers; yet now all the courtiers, glad of so legal a covert for their cowardice, alleged it, to excuse themselves to inform the king of his approaching end. At last Sir Anthony Denny went boldly unto him, and plainly acquainted him of his dying condition; whereupon, archbishop Cranmer was, by the king's desire, sent for, to give him some ghostly counsel and comfort.

But before Cranmer, then being at Croydon, could come to him, he was altogether speechless, but not senseless. The archbishop exhorted him to place all his trust in God's mercies through Christ, and besought him, that, if he could not in words, he would by some sign or other testify this his hope; who then wringed the archbishop's hand as hard as he could, and shortly after expired, Jan. 28th, having lived fifty-five years, and seven months; and thereof reigned thirty-seven years, nine months, and six days.

63. *Lying Slanders.*

As for the report of Sanders, that king Henry, perceiving the pangs of approaching death, called for a great bowl of white wine, and, drinking it off, should say to the company, "We have lost all;"—it is enough to say, It is a report of Sanders. As loud a lie is it what he affirmeth,—that the last words heard from his mouth were, "The monks! the monks!" and so gave up the ghost. This may go hand in hand with what another catholic * relates,—that a black dog (he might as truly have said a blue one) licked up his blood, whilst the stench of his corpse could be charmed with no embalming; though, indeed, there was no other noisomeness than what necessarily attendeth on any dead body of equal corpulency.

64. *His Vices and Virtues.*

Vices most commonly charged on his memory are: First. *Covetousness.* He was an eminent instance to verify the observation, *omnis prodigus est avarus;* vast his profuseness, (coming a fork after a rake,) not only spending the great treasure left him by his father, but also vast wealth besides, and yet ever in want, and rapacious to supply the same. Secondly. *Cruelty.* Being scarce ever observed to pardon any noble person, whom he condemned to death. I find but two black swans in all the current of his reign, that tasted of his favour herein. And, therefore, when Arthur lord Lisle, imprisoned, and daily expecting death in the Tower, was unexpectedly set free, he instantly died of sudden joy;† so that it seems king Henry's pity proved as mortal as his cruelty. Thirdly. *Wantonness.* Which cannot be excused. But these faults were (if not over) even poised with his virtues,—of valour, bounty, wisdom, learning, and love of learned men, scarce one dunce wearing a mitre all his days.

65. *Why King Henry's Monument never perfected.*

The monument mentioned in his will, as "almost made," was never all made, but left imperfect; whereof many reasons are rendered. Some impute it to the very want of workmen, unable to finish it, according to the exactness wherewith it was begun; a conceit, in my mind, little better than *scandalum seculi*, and very derogatory to the art and ingenuity of our age. Others more truly ascribe it to the costliness thereof, which deterred his successors from finishing of it.* Indeed, king Henry VII. in erecting his own monument in his chapel at Westminster, did therein set a pattern of despair for all posterity to imitate. And yet Sanders tells us,† that queen Mary had a great mind to make up his tomb, but durst not, for fear a catholic should seem to countenance the memory of one dying in open schism with the church of Rome. As for his imperfect monument, it was beheld like the barren fig-tree, bearing no fruit, and cumbering the ground, Luke xiii. 7; (I mean the chapel wherein it stood;) and, therefore, it was, since these Civil Wars, taken down, and sold by order of Parliament.

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* RICHARD HALL in his manuscript "Life of Bishop Fisher."

† GODWIN in Henry VIII. page 181.

66. *Cardinal Pole's Project.*

In the reign of queen Mary, it was reported, that cardinal Pole (whose spleen generally vented itself against dead men's bodies) had a design, with the principal clergy of England, to take up and burn the body of king Henry VIII. This plot is said to be discovered by doctor Weston, dean of Westminster.‡ But because Weston was justly obnoxious for his scandalous living, (for which at that time he stood committed to the Tower,) and bare a personal grudge to the cardinal, his report was the less credited, as proceeding from revenge, and desire to procure his own enlargement.

67. *The Bones of King Henry abused.*

Indeed, when a vault, seven years since, was pierced in the midst of the choir at Windsor, therein to inter the corpse of king Charles, they lighted on two coffins therein. Now (though no memory alive could reach the same, yet) constant tradition, seconded with a coincidency of all signs and circumstances,§ concluded these coffins to contain the bones of king Henry VIII. and his dear queen Jane Seymour. And yet the bigness of the coffin (though very great) did not altogether answer that giant-like proportion which posterity hath fancied of him.

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* GODWIN in Henry VIII. page 113.

† *De Schismate Anglicano*, page 216.

‡ FOX'S "Acts and Monuments," page 2102.

§ See more hereof at the burial of king Charles I. [in the last page of this "Church History," vol. iii.]

THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

BEING

THE HISTORY OF ABBEYS IN ENGLAND: OF THEIR ORIGINAL,
INCREASE, GREATNESS, DECAY, AND DISSOLUTION.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. WILLIAM COMPTON,

SON AND HEIR TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

JAMES BARON COMPTON, OF COMPTON,

AND

EARL OF NORTHAMPTON.

HAVING formerly proved at large,* that it is lawful for any, and expedient for me, to have infant-patrons for my books, let me give an account why this parcel of my History was set apart for your Honour; not being cast by chance, but led by choice, to this my Dedication.

First. I resolved with myself to select such a patron for this my "History of Abbeys," whose ancestor was not only of credit and repute in the reign, but also of favour and esteem in the affection, of king Henry VIII.

Secondly. He should be such (if possible to be found) who had no partage at all in abbey-lands at their dissolution, that so his judgment might be unbiassed in the reading hereof.

Both my requisites have happily met in your Honour, whose direct ancestor, Sir William Compton, was not only chief gentleman of the bedchamber to the aforesaid king, but also (as a noble pen,* writing his "Life," informeth us) the third man in his favour, in the beginning of his reign; yet had he not a shoe-latchet of abbey-land, though nothing surely debarred him save his own abstinence: as there is none in all your ancient paternal estate; for I account not what since by accession of matches hath accrued unto it.

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* In several Dedicatory Epistles in my "Pisgah Sight."

Thus are you the person designed for my purpose; and I believe very few, if any, in England, can wash their hands in the same basin,—to have no abbey-lands sticking to their fingers; and thus being freest from being a party, in due time you will be fittest to be a judge, to pass unpartial sentence on what is written on this subject.

And now let me make your lordship smile a little, acquainting you with a passage in the Legend of Nicholas, a popish saint. They report of him, that when an infant hanging on his mother's breast, he fasted Wednesdays and Fridays, and could not be urged to suck more than once a day.†

But, good my lord, be not so ceremonious, or rather superstitious, to imitate his example. Wean not yourself, until you be weaned, and let all days be alike to your Honour. I dare assure you, no spark of sanctity the less for a drop of milk the more. A good case is no hinderance to a precious jewel, and a healthful body no abasement to a holy soul.

And when your lordship shall arrive at riper years, consult your own extraction, as the best remembrancer of worthy behaviour; in whose veins there is the confluence of so many rivulets, that a mean herald, by the guidance thereof upwards, may be led to the fountains of the most of the English nobility.

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* The LORD HERBERT in his "History," page 8.

† *Lib. Festival. in die S. Nichol.* fol. 55.

All I will add is this: As you give three helmets for your arms, may you be careful to take the fourth, even "the helmet of salvation," Eph. vi. 17. An helmet which here is worn close, (whilst soldiers in the church-militant we see but in part,) but hereafter shall be borne, like the helmet of princes, with the beaver open in the church-triumphant, when we shall see as we are seen: The desire of

Your Honour's most engaged beadsman,

THOMAS FULLER.

THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

THE HISTORY OF ABBEYS IN ENGLAND.

SECTION I.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

I. PRIMITIVE MONKS, WITH THEIR PIETY AND PAINFULNESS.

1. *First Monks caused by Persecution.*

When the furnace of persecution in the infancy of Christianity was grown so hot, that most cities, towns, and populous places were visited with that epidemical disease, many pious men fled into deserts, there to live with more safety, and serve God with less disturbance. No wild humour to make themselves miserable, and to choose and court their own calamity, put them on this project; much less any superstitious opinion of transcendent sanctity in a solitary life, made them willingly to leave their former habitations. For, whereas all men by their birth are indebted to their country, there to stay and discharge all civil relations; it had been dishonesty in them, like bankrupts, to run away into the wilderness to defraud their country, their creditor, except some violent occasion (such as persecution was) forced them thereunto: and this was the first original of monks in the world, so called from μόνος, because "living alone by themselves."

2. *Their pious Employment in a solitary Life.*

Here they in the deserts hoped to find rocks, and stocks, yea, beasts themselves, more kind than men had been to them. What would hide and heat, cover and keep warm, served them for clothes, not placing (as their successors in after-ages) any holiness in their habit, folded up in the affected fashion thereof. As for their food, the grass was their cloth, the ground their table, herbs and roots their diet, wild fruits and berries their dainties, hunger their sauce, their nails their knives, their hands their cups, the next well their wine-cellar. But what their bill-of-fare wanted in cheer, it had in grace; their life being constantly spent in prayer, reading, musing, and such like pious employments. They turned solitariness itself into society; and, cleaving themselves asunder by the divine art of meditation, did make, of one, two or more opposing, answering, moderating in their own bosoms, and busy in themselves with variety of heavenly recreations. It would do one good even but to think of their goodness, and at the re-bound and second-hand to meditate on their meditations. For if ever poverty was to be envied, it was here. And I appeal to the moderate men of these times, whether in the height of these woful wars, they have not sometimes wished, (not out of passionate distemper, but serious recollection of themselves,) some such private place to retire unto, where, out of the noise of this clamorous world, they might have reposed themselves, and served God with more quiet.

3. *They vowed no Poverty, Chastity, or Obedience.*

These monks were of two sorts, either such as fled from actual, or from imminent, persecution.* For when a danger is not created by a timorous fancy, but rationally represented as probable, in such a case the principles of prudence, not out of cowardice but caution, warrant men to provide for their safety. Neither of these bound themselves with a wilful vow to observe poverty, but poverty rather vowed to observe them, waiting constantly upon them. Neither did they vow chastity, though keeping it better than such as vowed it in after-ages. As for the vow of obedience, it was both needless and impossible in their condition, having none beneath or above them, living alone, and their whole convent, as one may say, consisting of a single person. And as they entered on this course of life rather by impulsion than election, so when peace was restored, they returned to their former homes in cities and towns, resuming their callings, which they had not left off, but for a time laid aside. The first British monks that we meet with in this kind were immediately after the martyrdom of St. Alban; for then, saith Gildas, *qui superfuerant sylvis ac desertis, abditisque speluncis se occultaverunt*, "such as survived hid themselves in woods and deserts, and secret dens of the earth." As, long after, on the like occasion, when the Pagan Saxons and Danes invaded this island, many religious persons retired themselves to solitary lives.

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* See POLYDORE VIRGIL *De Inventione Rerum*, lib. vii. cap. 1, and SIXTUS SENENSIS, lib. vi. annotat. 332.

II. VOLUNTARY MONKS, EMBRACING THAT LIFE, NOT FOR NECESSITY, BUT CONVENIENCY.

1. *Silver Monks succeeded the former Golden Ones.*

After these succeeded a second sort of monks, leading a solitary life, when no visible need forced them thereunto, as neither feeling nor fearing any apparent persecution. Yet these, considering the inconstancy of human matters,—that, though they had prosperity for the present, it might soon be changed into a contrary condition, if either the restless endeavours of the devil took effect, or sinful Christians were rewarded according to their deserts,—freely chose a lone life; also prompted, perchance, thereunto by their own melancholy disposition.

2. *Fetched from wandering in the Wilderness to dwell together.*

Afterwards it was counted convenient, that such who hitherto dwelt desolate in deserts, scattered asunder, should be gathered together to live under one roof, because their company would be cheerful in health, and needful in sickness, one to another. Hence these two words, though contrary to sound, signify the same: *Monasterium*, a place containing men living "alone;" *Cœnobium*, a place containing men living "in common." For though they were sequestered from the rest of the world, yet they enjoyed mutual society amongst themselves. And, again: though at solemn times they joined in their public devotions and refections, yet, no doubt, they observed hours by themselves in their private orisons. Of these, some were gardeners like Adam, husbandmen like Noah, caught fish with Peter, made tents with Paul,—as every man was either advised by his inclination, or directed by his dexterity; and no calling was counted base that was found beneficial. Much were they delighted with making of hives, as the emblem of a convent for order and industry; wherein the bees, under a master their abbot, have several cells, and live and labour in a regular discipline. In a word, they had hard hands and tender hearts, sustaining themselves by their labour, and relieving others by their charity, as formerly hath been observed in the monks of Bangor.

3. *The Discipline of British Monks under St. David.*

Take a taste of their austerity who lived at Vall Rosine, since called Minevea in Pembrokeshire, under the method of St. David. They were raised with the crowing of the cock from their beds,* and then betook themselves to their prayers, and spent the rest of the day in their several callings. When their task was done, they again bestowed themselves in prayers, meditations, reading, and writing; and at night, when the heavens were full of stars, they first began to feed, having their temperate repast to satisfy hunger on bread, water, and herbs. Then the third time they went to their prayers, and so to bed, till the circulation of their daily employment returned in the morning: A spectacle of virtue and continence; who, although they received nothing, or any thing very unwillingly, of others, yet were so far from wanting necessaries, that by their pains they provided sustenance for many poor people, orphans, widows, and strangers.

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* Harpsfield *Hist. Eccl. Angl.* page 40.

4. *Superstition unawares occasioned by them.*

Here, as we cannot but highly commend the integrity of their hearts herein, so we must withal bemoan, that what in them was intentionally good proved occasionally evil, hatching superstition under the warmth of their devotion. For though even these as yet were free from human ordinances and vows, yet will-worship crept in insensible in the next age, (tares are easier seen grown than growing,) and error and viciousness came in by degrees. The monks afterwards, having sufficiency, turned lazy; then, getting wealth, waxed wanton; and at last, endowed with superfluity, became notoriously wicked, as hereafter shall appear. Thus, as Pliny reporteth of the gagate-stone, that, set a-fire, it burneth more fiercely if water be cast on, but is extinguished if oil be poured thereupon: so the zeal of monastic men was inflamed the more with the bitter water of affliction, whilst in prosperity the oil of plenty quenched their piety. So ill a steward is human corruption of outward happiness, oftener using it to the receiver's hurt, than the Giver's glory!

III. OF SUPERSTITION, WHICH WAS THE FUNDAMENTAL FAULT IN ALL ABBEYS.

1. *Abbeys built on the Sand of Superstition.*

THIS was one main fault in all English abbeys, that the builders did not dig deep enough to lay the foundation, as grounded on the foundered and mouldering bottom of superstition. For every monastery was conceived a magazine of merit both for the founder, his ancestors, and posterity. And although all these dotations did carry the title of pure alms, yet, seriously considered, they will be found rather forced than free, as extorted from men with the fear of purgatory; one flash of which fire, believed, is able to melt a miser into charity; yea, which is worse, many of their foundations had their mortar tempered with innocent blood. For which we may conceive, afterwards they sped never a whit the better. To give some instances of many:—

2—5. *Peterborough Abbey founded to expiate Murder. Middleton being on the same occasion. So also the Nunnery of Ambresbury. Suspicions therein might be a great Fault herein.*

Wulphere, king of the Mercians, having murdered Wulphald and Rufine, his own sons, with cruel and barbarous immanity, because they had devoted themselves unto Christ, and embraced his religion; afterwards turning Christian himself, to wash away the stain of his impiety, built that famous abbey, since known by the name of Peterborough.*

King Athelstan drowned his brother Edwin, having put him into a little wherry or cock-boat, without any tackling or furniture thereunto, to the end he might impute his wickedness to the waves; and afterwards, as a satisfaction to appease his ghost, built the fair abbey of Middleton in Dorsetshire.†

To join to these two houses of monks, one of nuns; (such society hath not been unacceptable;) Ælfrith, second wife to king Edgar, having contrived the death of Edward her son-in-law, king of England, murdered him by a company of hacksters and villains, at her appointment, at Corfe-Castle in Dorsetshire, to pave the way for the succession of her son Etheldred to the crown; afterwards built the stately nunnery of Ambresbury,‡ with some other religious houses.

It is confessed, that wilful murder may be pardoned in Christ; and they who deny it are guilty, as much as lies in their power, of a worse soul-murder in their uncharitable opinion. Yet this we say, that all the chantings of the monks and nuns in their convents could not drown the noise of innocent blood. And if these founders of abbeys thought that their murder could be expiated by raising such beautiful buildings, their most polished marble and costly carved pieces were, in the expression of the prophet, but daubing over their damnable sins "with untempered mortar," Ezek. xxii. 28. But though abbeys long since have been demolished, we leave their founders to stand or fall to their own Maker, when his all-seeing eye hath discerned betwixt the errors of their judgment and integrity of their affections, endeavouring that which, they conceived, was to the glory of God and advance of true religion.

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* CAMDEN'S *Brit.* in Northamptonshire. † *Idem,* in Dorsetshire. ‡ HARPSFIELD *Hist. Eccl. Angl.* sæc. 10, page 188.

IV. OF THE SEVERAL ORDERS OF MONKS AND NUNS IN ENGLAND.

1. *A Heap of Monkish Orders in England.*

So much of the superstition of the founders; come we now to their superstition, and other notorious sins, who lived in these foundations. But first we will premise their several Orders. Herein we pretend not to any critical skill. For, though every minister of God's word, whereof I am the meanest, is a spiritual herald to derive and deduce the pedigrees and genealogies of any institution, which hath its original in God's word, yet they are not bound (not to say it is a learned ignorance) to be skilled in the deductions, divisions, and subdivisions of these Orders, which have no foundation in the Scripture. Yea, hear what Matthew Paris, being a monk of St. Alban's, saith, *Tot jam apparuerunt Ordines in Angliâ, ut ordinum confusio videretur inordinata.*[*] It is possible then for my best diligence to commit an error and impropriety in reckoning them up. For what wonder is it if one be lost in a wood, to which their numerous Orders may well be resembled? though in all this wood there appears not one plant of God's planting, as one of their own abbots most remarkably did observe.[†] In a word, when the frogs of Egypt died out of the houses, out of the villages, and out of the fields, "they gathered them together upon heaps," &c. Exod. viii. 13, 14. And give us leave in like manner confusedly to shovel up these vermin, now dead in England.

2. *Benedictines the primitive Monks in England.*

First come forth the Benedictines, or Black Monks, so called from St. Benedict, or Benet, an Italian, first father and founder of that Order. Augustine the monk first brought them over into England; and these blackbirds first nested in Canterbury, whence they have flown into all the parts of the kingdom. For, as one rightly observeth,[‡] all the abbeys in England, before the time of king William the Conqueror, (and some while after,) were filled with this Order. Yea, all the abbeys in England, of the first magnitude, which had parliamentary barons, (abate only the prior of the Hospitallers of St. John's in London,) were of this Order; and though the Augustinians were their seniors in Europe, they were their juniors in England. Now as mercers, when their old stuffs begin to tire in sale, refresh them with new names to make them more vendible; so when the Benedictines waxed stale in the world, the same Order was set forth in a new edition, corrected and amended, under the names, (1.) Of CLUNIACKS: These were Benedictines sifted through a finer search, with some additionals invented and imposed upon them by Odo abbot of Cluni in Burgundy, who lived A. D. 913. But these Cluniacks appeared not in England till after the Norman Conquest; and had their richest convents at Barnstaple in Devonshire, Pontefract and Meux in Yorkshire, &c. (2.) CISTERCIANS, so called from one Robert, living in Cistercium, in Burgundy aforesaid. He the second time refined the drossy Benedictines; and Walter Especk first established their brotherhood in England at Rivaulx in Yorkshire. Besides which, they had many other pleasant and plentiful habitations, at Warden and Woburn in Bedfordshire, Buckland and Ford in Devonshire, Bindon in Dorsetshire, &c. The Bernardine monks were of a younger house, or under-branch of the Cistercians. (3.) Of GRANDMONT, which observed St. Benet's Rule, were brought into England, *anno* 1233, and were principally fixed at Abberbury in Shropshire. The family of these Benedictines, taken at large, with their children and grandchildren of Under-Orders springing from them, were so numerous and so richly endowed, that in their revenues they did match all the other Orders in England, especially if the foundations of Benedictine nuns be joined in the same reckoning. I doubt not but, since, these Benedictines have had their crudities deconcocted, and have been drawn out into more slender threads of sub-divisions. For, commonly, once in a hundred years, starts up some pragmatical person in an Order, who out of novelty alters their old Rules, (there is as much variety and vanity in monks' cowls, as in courtiers' cloaks,) and out of his fancy adds some observances thereunto; to cry quits with whom, after the same distance of time, ariseth another, and under some new name reformeth his reformation, and then his late new (now old) Order is looked on as an almanac out of date, wanting the perfection of new and necessary alterations.

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[*] MATTHEW PARIS, A.D. 1257, page 949.

[†] ROBERT WHITGIFT, abbot of Wellow.

[‡] CLEM. REYNER. *De Antiq. Ordinis S. Benedict.*

3. *Scandalum Benedictinorum.*

A scandal hath lately been raised, much in dishonour of these Benedictines; namely, that all the ancient English monks before the Conquest were only of the order of St. Equitius. Some highly concerned to confute this report, wrote over to our antiquaries in England, for their judgments herein; from whom they received this following answer:*—

Quoniam hâc nostrâ ætate exorta est controversia de monachatu Gregorii magni et Augustini Cantuariensis, sociorumque ejus quos

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* Extant in CLEM. REYNER. *De Apostolatu Benedictinorum in Angliâ*, page 202.

Gregorius in Angliam de suo monasterio prædicandi evangelii causâ destinâsse legitur; quibusdam ipsos ordini Benedictino addicentibus, quibusdam verò id acriter pernegantibus et ipsos ordini S. Equitii sive alicui alii ascribentibus: Nos qui multum temporis in rebus vetustis tàm civilibus quàm sacris, atque iis imprimis quæ ad Britanniam nostram potissimùm spectant, impendimus, rogati ut testimonium perhiberemus veritati, cum neutrius partis prejudiciis simus obnoxii: dicimus et affirmamus, nos duo solùm monachorum genera in primis Saxonicæ apud majores nostros ecclesiæ temporibus: unum eorum qui Ægyptiensium mores secuti, in hâc insulâ florebant, ante adventum Augustini: alterum eorum qui Benedictini Augustino itineris erant comites. Hanc traditionem a patribus ad filios derivatam esse testamur, atque ita derivatam, ut non levibus innitatur fabulis, aut ambitiosis partium conjecturis, quin eam ipsam vetusta signatæ fidei exhibent apud nos monumenta. Ab Augustino insuper ad Henricum octavum perpetuo in hâc insulâ viguit Benedictina institutio; nec Augustino recentiorem ejusve originem, originisve recentioris vestigium ullibi comperimus. Tantùm abest Equitianum aliquem in hâc insulâ fuisse ordinem, ut nulla omninò hujusmodi neque ordinis neque nominis mentio in vetustis, quibus versamur, tabulariis, habeatur. Sanè aliorum ferè omnium in hâc insulâ origines ita observavimus, ut unius cujusque etiam minimi ingressum suo anno consignatum habeamus: solius Benedictini ordinis originem ante Augustini sæculum non invenimus; ipsius sæculo floruisse apertè re reperimus. Unde exploratissimum nobis esse profitemur, non alterius ordinis fuisse ipsum sociosque ejus quam Benedictini; qui ideò proculdubiò, tam altas radices in Angliâ egerit, quoniam primi illi monachi a Gregorio in insulam destinati, regulæ Benedictinæ professores extiterunt.

ROBERTUS COTTON.
JOHANNES SELDENUS.
HENRICUS SPELMAN.
GULIELMUS CAMBDENUS.

England may see four hundred years, yet not behold four such antiquaries, her natives, at once,—the four wheels of the triumphant chariot of truth for our British History. This quaternion of subscribers have "sticken the point" dead with me, that all ancient English monks were Benedictines; which Order, lasting above one thousand years in this land, hath produced about two hundred and fifty writers of name and note, as Pitzæus accounteth them.*

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* Catalogue, page 966.

4, 5. *Hue and Cry after St. Equitius. Why Habits of Monks not here presented.*

What this St. Equitius was, (pretended founder of our first English monks,) is worth our inquiry. Sure, he could not be that Equitius of whom the African bishops complained in the council of Carthage,—that by indirect courses he had invaded the priesthood; desiring by their legates,* whom they sent to the emperor, that he might be expelled that office. Yet he, in defiance of their endeavours, went about to disturb the peace of the church. More probable it is, he was either Equitius, a deacon in the Apamean church, (flourishing in the fourth century,) and famous for his faith and fervency in religion, in assisting Marcellus, bishop thereof, to demolish the temple of Jupiter;† or else his contemporary Equitius, consul of Rome with Gratian, *anno* 378; or some other unknown unto us. But be he who he himself or any other pleaseth, (brother, if they will, to St. George on horseback,) he was never father of any monks in England.

I intended to present the reader with the habits of Benedictines, and all other Orders for the fashion, matter, and colour thereof. But, understanding the industrious work called "Monasticon" is coming forth, (which hath the speed of this my book for a term or two,) wherein that subject is handled at large, I thought better to forbear: partly, because I presume Master Dodsworth (an eminent instrument in that useful work) better acquainted than I am with their tailors: partly, because my wardrobe of their clothes (coming so long after his) will be beheld but as from the second-hand fetched from Long-lane, and his new bought out of the draper's shop.

6, 7. *Augustinian Monks. Whether H be a Letter.*

The Augustinian monks succeed, younger than the Benedictines in England, though older in Europe. For St. Augustine of Hippo (on whom these monks would willingly recover themselves) was St. Benet's senior by sixty years. I cannot believe, that they came over into England (what some affirm) precise, *anno* 636, (others 640,) when Birinus was bishop of Dorchester; or that, 1059,‡ they were seated in London; being rather inclined to believe, that Eudo the *dapifer* ("sewer," if you please) to king Henry I. first brought them into England, *anno* 1105; and that St. John's at Colchester was the prime place of their residence. However, I find that Waltham-Abbey (for Benedictines at the first) had its copy altered by king Henry II. and bestowed on Augustinians.

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* *Acta Concilii*, sect. xxxii. and lx. † THEODORET. lib. iii. cap. 27. ‡ JOSEPHUS PAMPHILUS in his *Chronicon. Augustin.*

These Augustinians were also called "canons regular;" where, by the way, I meet with such a nice distinction, which disheartens me from pretending to exactness in reckoning up these Orders. For, this I find in our English Ennius:*—

> "And all such other Counterfaitours,
> Chanons, Canons, and such disguised,
> Been Goddes enemies and traytours
> His true religion hav some despised."

It seems the H here amounted to a letter so effectual as to discriminate *chanons* from *canons*, though both *canonici* in Latin; but what should be the difference betwixt them, I dare not interpose my conjecture. I have done with these Augustinians when I have observed, that this Order in England afforded threescore and ten eminent writers,†—and one in Germany, worth them all in effect; I mean MARTIN LUTHER, who by his writings gave a mortal wound to all these Orders, yea, and to the root of the Romish religion.

8. *Gilbertine Monks.*

Gilbertine monks may be the third, a mongrel Order, observing some select rules partly of St. Benet, partly of St. Augustine: so named from Gilbert, (son to Joceline, a knight,) lord of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, where, 1148, first they were planted. Whereupon, this Order may boast, that it alone is a native and *indigena;* (whereas Benedictines are by original Italians; Augustinians, African; Carthusians, French; Dominicans, Spanish; &c.) pure English by the extraction thereof. This Gilbert, unhandsome, but not unlearned, erected this Order, (contrary to Justinian's constitution, who forbad double monasteries,) wherein men and women lived together, (though secluded,) under one roof. He survived to see thirteen Houses of this his own Order, and in them seventeen hundred Gilbertine brothers and sisters. Yet I find no writer of this Order; conceiving them so well busied with their company in their convent, they had little leisure for the writing of books.

9. *Carthusian Monks.*

Carthusian monks make up a mess, much famed for their mortified lives and abstinence from all flesh. One Bruno first founded them in the Dolphinate [Dauphiny] in France, *anno* 1080; and, some sixty years after, they were brought over into England. I wonder, men fasting so much should have so high spirits, no Order standing more stoutly on their privileges; insomuch when the means of all convents were valued, in the reign of king Henry VIII.* a peculiar clause was added to the patent of the commissioners, empowering them particularly to rate Charter-house in London. However, their books (there being eleven learned authors of English Carthusians)† contain much tending to mortification; and out of them Parsons the Jesuit hath collected a good part of his "Resolutions."

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* CHAUCER in the "Ploughman's Tale."

† Reckoned up by PITZÆUS *in Indice*, page 974.

10. *Monks and Friars, how they differ.*

So much of monks: come we now to friars; and it is necessary to premise what was the distinction betwixt them. For though some will say, "The matter is not much, if monks and friars were confounded together;" yet the distinguishing of them conduceth much to the clearing of history. Some make monks the *genus*, and friars but the *species;* so that all friars were monks, but *e contra* all monks were not friars: others, that monks were confined to their cloisters, whilst more liberty was allowed to friars to go about and preach in neighbouring parishes: others, that monks were in those convents who had a bishop over them, as Canterbury, Norwich, Durham, &c. but never any friars in such places, where the bishop was the supreme, and they in some sort had the power of his election. I see it is very hard just to hit the joint, so as to cleave them asunder at an hair's breadth, authors being so divided in their opinions. But the most essential difference, whereon we most confide, is this,—monks had nothing in propriety, but all in common; friars had nothing in propriety, nor in common, but, being mendicants, begged all their subsistence from the charity of others. True it is, they had cells or houses to dwell or rather hide themselves in; (so "the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests;") but all this went for nothing, seeing they had no means belonging thereunto. Yea, it hath borne a tough debate betwixt them, whether a friar may be said to be owner of the clothes he weareth: and it hath been for the most part overruled in the negative.

11, 12. *Objection to null the Distinction, answered.*

It will be objected, that "many convents of friars had large and ample revenues, (as will appear by perusing the Catalogue in SPEED's Tables,) amounting to some hundreds, though never thousands, by the year; some friars' barns well nigh as wealthy as some monks, (rather every pretended Lazarus a Dives,) holding, though not severally to themselves, jointly amongst themselves, most rich endowments. Here also it will be in vain to fly to the distinction of Ctesis and Chresis, of 'using and owning,' seeing the monks will lay a claim to that distinction, and challenge as great an interest therein as the friars themselves."

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* Some years before the dissolution of abbeys.

† PITZEUS *in Indice*, page 973.

I have nothing to return in answer hereunto, save only, that *olim verò non fuit sic*, "from the beginning," of the institution of friars, "it was not so." These additions of lands unto them are of later date, and, believe it, not of their seeking, but their benefactors' casting upon them.

13. *Criticism in this Subject not material.*

However, nothing more common than to make monks and friars both synonymous and reciprocal; and, for my own part, I pass not, if in this my History I have committed the same, and hereafter shall be guilty of greater mistakes. Foresters laughed at the ignorance of that gentleman who made this difference betwixt "a stag" and "a hart," that the one was a *red* the other a *fallow* deer, being both of a kind, only different in age,—and some other circumstances in venary. I may make the like sport to some popish reader, (and much good let it do him,) in differencing some Orders which are the same, and identifying other Orders which are distinct; but the matter is of no dangerous concernment. May we be but careful to order our conversations aright, that God may show us his salvation, Psalm l. 23; and it matters not much if we commit errors, and discover ignorance in ordering friars not in their exact number and seniority. These premised, we begin with their four elemental Orders.

14. *What meant by Wickliffe's CAIM.*

Wickliffe constantly inveigheth against friars, under the name of CAIM. Had it been Cain, I should have suspected his allusion to the words of the apostle, "They have gone in the way of Cain," Jude 11, but now am at a loss; and had so continued, had I not lighted on a railing hexastich of an uncharitable rhymer, (a base fellow may show an honest man the way,) who thus letteth fly at them:—

Per decies binos Sathanas capiat Jacobinas;
Propter et errores, Jesu, confunde Minores;
Augustienses, Pater inclyte, sterne per enses,
Et Carmelitas tanquam falsos heremitas
Sunt confessores dominorum, seu dominarum
Et seductores ipsarum sunt animarum.

C. Carmelites; A. Augustinians; I. Jacobines, or Dominican friars; M. Minorites, or Franciscan friars; and thus at last we have the great mystery unfolded, whom Wickliffe therein did intend.

15. *Dominican Friars.*

Of these, Dominicans were the first friars which came over into England, *anno* 1221, being but twelve, (an apostolical number,) with Gilbert de Fraxineto their prior, first landed at Canterbury, fixed at Oxford, but richly endowed at London, they were commonly called Black Friars, Preaching Friars, and Jacobine Friars. They took their name from St. Dominic, born at Calahorra in Spain; and Hubert de Burgo, earl of Kent, was their prime patron, bestowing his palace in the suburbs of London upon them, which afterwards they sold to the archbishops of York, residing therein, till, by some transactions betwixt king Henry VIII. and cardinal Wolsey, it became the royal court, now known by the name of Whitehall. Afterwards, by the bounty of Gregory Rocksly, lord mayor of London, and Robert Kilwarby, archbishop of Canterbury, they were more conveniently lodged in two lanes on the bank of Thames, in a place enjoying great privileges, and still retaining the name of Black Friars. No fewer than fourscore famous English writers are accounted of this Order.* At this day, as beyond the seas they are much condemned for being the sole active managers of the cruel Spanish Inquisition, so they deserve due commendation for their orthodox judgments in maintaining some controversies in divinity of importance against the Jesuits.

16. *Franciscan Friars.*

Franciscans follow, commonly called Grey Friars and Minorites, either in allusion to Jacob's words, *Sum minor omnibus beneficiis tuis*, Gen. xxxii. 10; or from some other humble expressions in the New Testament. They received their name from St. Francis, born in the duchy of Spoletum in Italy; canonized by pope Gregory IX. about two years after whose death the Franciscans came over into England; and one Digges, ancestor of Sir Dudley Digges, bought for them their first seat in Canterbury: who afterwards were diffused all over England. For skill in school-divinity they beat all other Orders quite out of distance; and had a curious library in London (built by Richard Whittington) in that age costing five hundred and fifty pounds, which quickly might be made up, if, as it is reported, a hundred marks were expended in transcribing the "Commentaries of Lyra."†

17. *Sub-reformations of Franciscans.*

We must not forget that one Bernard of Sienna, about the year 1400, refined the Franciscans into Observants; no distinct metal from the former, but different from them as steel from iron. King Edward IV. first brought them into England, where they had six famous cloisters; since which time there has been a new Order of Minims, begun beyond the seas. Conceiving the comparative of Minor too high, they have descended to Minimus, according to our Saviour's own words: "He that is" a minime or "*the least* among you, the same shall be greatest:" and I much admire that none have since begun an Order of Minor-Minimoes; the rather, because of the Apostle's words of himself: "Who am less than the least of all saints;" ’Εμοὶ τῷ ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ ϖάντων τῶν ἁγίων· as I may say, a subter-subterlative in his humility. As for other diminutives of Franciscans or Minorites beyond the seas, Recollects, Penitentiaries, Capuchins, &c. seeing they had their rise since the fall of abbeys in England, they belong not to our present inquiry. Sufficeth it that this Order, during the extent of our story, afforded in England an hundred and ten learned writers.

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* Pitzæus *in Indice*, page 981.

† Reyner. *in Ap. Benedict.* page 162.

18. *Carmelites, their first Coming into England.*

Carmelites, or White Friars, come next, so named from mount Carmel in Syria; brought over into England in the reign of king Richard I. by Ralph Freeborn; and placed at Alnwick in Northumberland in a wilderness *(sic canibus catulos)* most like unto Carmel in Syria: whose convent at their dissolution in the reign of king Henry VIII. was at low rates, in that cheap county, valued at one hundred ninety-four pounds and seven shillings per annum, to justify our former observation, that even Mendicant Friars had houses endowed with revenues.*

19, 20. *A great Privilege of English Carmelites; and Praise of their Industry.*

This soundeth something to the commendation of the English Carmelites, that their Order lost not the vigour thereof by being poured into cisterns mediately derived from other countries; but as our author telleth us,† *Hi cum primis monachis Britonum et Scotorum ex Ægypto et Palestinâ in Britannicas insulas monachatum intulerunt;* "that monkery and (Carmelite) Friary came out of Ægypt and Palestine into Britain." Thus they will allow us to have superstition immediately thence without any circle from Rome; but are highly offended, and stickle mainly to the contrary, that we should fetch true religion thence, with the ancient observation of Easter; but this, forsooth, we must receive at the second-hand from Rome, and be ordered according to her directions therein.

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* SPEED'S "Catalogue," page 795.

† REYNERUS *De Apostolatu Benedictinorum*, page 164.

Another thing also is alleged in the praise of our Carmelites,—that they were most careful in keeping the records of their Order, that, the list being lost of the Benedictines, Dominicans, &c. save here or there a broken link or two, Carmelites have preserved the successive series of their provincials. Let them thank John Bale herein, once one of them, (though they be pleased to jeer him as forsaking it for the love of his dear Dorothy,) who in his youth made the catalogue out of love to his Order, and in his old age preserved it out of his general affection to antiquity; and it will not be amiss here to represent it.

PROVINCIAL	HIS COUNTY	BEGAN	RULED	Lies buried in
1. Ralph Freburne	Northumberland	1240	14	Alnwick.
2. Henry de Hanna	Brumham	1254	17	Stanford.
3. Roger Grostwick	Norfolk	1272	5	Brumham.
4. William Hamberg	Surrey	1278	3	London.
5. William Ludlington	Lincoln	1289	5	Stanford.
6. William Newenham	Cambridge	1303	2	Cambridge.
7. Richard Wellwen	Hertford	1305	4	Hitchen.
8. William Pagham	Kent	1309	3	Meath, in Ireland.
9. John Barkemsted	Hertford	1312	7	London.
10. Richard Blyton	Lincoln	1319	6	Lincoln.
11. John Walsingham	Norfolk	1326	3	Avignon.
12. John Baconthorp	Norfolk	1329	4	London.
13. John Blexam	Oxford	1333	2	Oxford.
14. John Poleshed	Suffolk	1335	7	York.
15. John Folsham	Norfolk	1340	6	Norwich.
16. Walter Kelham	York	1345	5	Alverston.
17. William Lubbenham	Coventry	1353	1	Coventry.
18. John Counton	York	1359	3	London.
19. Thomas Broun	London	1362	17	London.
20. Robert Yvorie	London	1379	13	London.
21. John Kiningham	Suffolk	1393	5	York.
22. Stephen Patrington	York	1399	15	London.
23. Thomas Walden	Essex	1414	16	Roanne.
24. Jo. Keninghall	Norfolk	1430	13	Norwich.
25. Nicholas Kenton	Suffolk	1444	12	London.
26. Jo. Milverton	Bristol	1456	11	London.
27. John Sutton	Doncaster	1465	3	Doncaster.
28. Jo. Vinde	Lincoln	1482	14	Boston.
29. Robert Love	Norfolk	1505	7	Norwich.
30. Richard Ferris	Oxford	1513	3	Oxford.
31. John Bird	Warwick	1516	3	Chester.
32. Robert Lesbury	Northumberland	1519	3	Chester.

This Order was vertical; and, in the highest exaltation thereof, in the reign of king Edward IV. under Nicholas Kenton their twenty-fifth provincial, they reckoned no fewer than fifteen hundred of their Order.* But when John Milverton, his successor, began, in favour of Friary, furiously to engage against bishops and the secular clergy, the Carmelites' good masters and dames began to forsake them;† and they never recovered their credit, till they were utterly dissolved. John Bird, the one-and-thirtieth (some say, last) provincial of this Order, zealously impugned the pope's primacy in his sermons; for which he was made the first bishop of Chester, and was ejected that see in the reign of queen Mary, because he was married.‡

21. *The Legend of Simon Stock.*

We must not forget how the Carmelites boast very much of one Simon Stock of their Order, a Kentish-man, or rather Kentish-boy; which, being but twelve years of age, went out into the woods, and there fed on roots and wild fruit, living in the trunk of a hollow tree, whence he got the sirname of Stock,§ having a revelation,—that soon after some should come out of Syria, and confirm his Order; which came to pass when the Carmelites came here. He afterwards became master-general of their Order, (to whom the respective provincials are accountable,) and is said to be famous for his miracles. Let Syria, then, boast no longer of the sanctity of their Simon Stulites, so called, it seems, because constantly living about a stone-pillar; our Simon STOCK may mate their Simon STONE in all particulars of holiness; though, under the rose be it spoken, Mr. Richard Stock, the painful minister of St. All-hallows, Bread-street in London, for thirty-two years did advance God's glory more than both of them.||

22. *Augustinian Hermits.*

Augustinian Eremites [Hermits] lag last, of far later date than Augustinian monks, as who first entered England, *anno* 1252, and had, if not their first, their fairest habitation at St. Peter's the Poor, London; thence, probably, taking the denomination of poverty, (otherwise at this day one of the richest parishes in the city,) because the said Augustinian Hermits went under the notion of Begging Friars. Mean time, what a mockery was this, that these should pretend to be Hermits, who, instead of a wide wilderness, lived in Broad-street, London, where their church at this day belongeth to the Dutch Congregation! To give these Augustine Friars their due, they were good disputants; on which account they are remembered still in Oxford by an Act performed by candidates for Mastership, called "keeping of Augustines."

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* PITZÆUS *De Scriptoribus Anglicis*, page 659. † *Idem*, page 674. ‡ GODWIN in the Bishops of Chester. § REINERUS *in Apostolatu Benedict.* page 164. || STOW'S "Survey of London," page 821.

23. *Trinitarian Friars.*

So much for the four principal sorts of Friars; the following Orders being but additional descants upon them, with some variations of their founders; amongst whom were the Trinitarians, for whom Robert Rooksley built first a house at Mottingden in Kent. They were called also Robertines, and *de Redemptione Captivorum*, whose work was to beg money of well-disposed people for the ransoming of Christians in captivity with the Pagans: a charitable employment; and God himself in some sort may seem Sovereign of their Order, who "looseth the prisoner," and their "sighing cometh before him," Psalm lxxix. 11; cxlvi. 7. My author* telleth me, that he conceiveth them suppressed in England before the general dissolution of priories, though conjecturing at no cause thereof. Sure I am, it was not because *sublatâ causâ tollitur effectus*, plenty of Christian captives then and since remaining amongst the Pagans; nor will I be so uncharitable as to suspect some indirect dealings in their misapplying contributions; but leave the reason to the inquiry of others.

24. *Bons Hommes, or Good Men.*

The Bons Hommes or Good-men succeed them, being also Hermits, brought over into England by Richard earl of Cornwall, in the reign of king Henry III. his brother; so styled, not exclusively of other Orders, but eminently because of their signal goodness. Otherwise the conceit of the Epigrammatist,† admiring that amongst so many popes, there should be but five Pious, lies as strongly here, that amongst so many Orders of friars, there should be but one of Good-men. But, indeed, the apostle himself makes a good man a degree above a righteous man: "For scarcely for a *righteous* man will one die, yet peradventure for a *good* man some would even dare to die," Rom. v. 7.

25. *Their rich Revenues.*

These Bons Hommes, though Begging Friars, the poorest of Orders, and Hermits, the most sequestered of Begging Friars, had two (and I believe no more) convents in England; absolutely the richest in all the land, (monks only excepted,) the one in Ashridge in Buckinghamshire, now the mansion of the truly honourable earl of Bridgewater, where I am informed more of a monastery is visible this day than in any other house of England. It was valued at the Dissolution yearly at four hundred forty-seven pounds, eight shillings, halfpenny. The other at Edington in Wiltshire, now known for the hospitality of the lady Beauchamp dwelling therein; valued, when dissolved, at five hundred twenty-one pounds, twelve shillings, halfpenny. It seems that these friars, though pretending to have nothing *nec in proprio, nec in communi*, would not cast their caps (I should say their cowls) at rich revenues, if bestowed upon them, but contentedly (not to say cheerfully) embrace the same.

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* Weaver's "Funeral Monuments," page 143.

† John Owen.

26. *Crouched [Crutched] Friars.*

I am afraid I have wronged the Crouched [Crutched] Friars in their seniority, who, about the same time, if not before the Bons Hommes, namely 1244, came over into England, with the pope's authentic, and this unusual privilege,—that "none should reprove their Order, or upbraid them, or command them, under pain of excommunication."* They carried a cross, some say on their staves, others on their backs, called in French, a *crouch;* and justly might they be angry, if their properness were debased into deformity on the same mistake whereon Edmund Crouch-back, brother to king Edward I. (one of the comeliest men alive†) is misrepresented to posterity for crooked-backed, merely for assuming the cross on him in the Holy War. The place of Crouched Friars in London still retaineth their name.

27. *Friars of the Sack and Bethlemites.*

Soon after, one year, namely 1257, produced two new Orders; so that I know not how to martial their priority, except, to avoid contests, they will be pleased discreetly to use the expedient betwixt the Company of Merchant Taylors and Skinners in London,—to take their precedency yearly by turns. Both of them were fixed in Cambridge. The first, the brethren *de Pœnitentiâ Jesu*, (otherwise "brethren of the sack,") whose cell since is turned into Peter-house: the other, Bethlemites, dwelling somewhere in Trumpington-street,‡ and wearing a star with five rays on their backs. But their star proved but a comet, quickly fading away, and no more mention found of them in English authors.

28. 29. *Friars Robertines. Sweating Moisture out of Tombs no Miracle.*

I will conclude with the Robertines, confounded by some,§ distinguished by others,|| from Friars Trinitarians. These owe their

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* MATTHEW PARIS, in *anno* 1244.

† JO. HARDING.

‡ MATTHEW PARIS in *anno* 1257.

§ WEAVER'S "Funeral Monuments," page 143.

|| REINERUS *De Ben. Apost.* page 166.

original to one Robert Flower, son of Took Flower, who had been twice mayor of York, (the name lately remaining in that city,) who, forsaking the fair lands left him by his father, betook himself to a solitary life about the rocks in Nidsdale in Yorkshire; and, it seems, at Knaresborough the first and last house was erected for his Order. Matthew Paris * reports that his tomb abundantly cast forth a medicinal oil, which possibly might be the dissolving of some gums used about his body; and other natural causes may be assigned thereof.

For mine own eyes have beheld, in the fair church of Ilminster in Somersetshire, the beautiful tomb of Nicholas Wadham, of Myrefield, Esq. and Dorothy his wife, (founders of the uniform college of Wadham, in Oxford,) out of which in summer sweats forth an unctuous moisture with a fragrant smell, (which possibly an active fancy might make sovereign for some uses,) being nothing else than some bituminous matter, (as by the colour and scent doth appear,) used by the marbler in joining the chinks of the stones, issuing out chiefly thereabouts.

30. *Why so various the Number of Monks.*

So much of monks and friars, as great being the variety amongst historians about their number, as amongst critics in reckoning up the original languages; and the difference almost proceedeth on the same account. For, as the miscounting of dialects for tongues causelessly multiplieth the number of those languages; so many, mistaking gradual for specifical differences amongst Orders, have almost doubled their true number on that misprision. Master Fox in the reign of king Henry III.† reckoneth up no fewer than an hundred and two male Orders of monks and friars, no nuns being cast into the account; but therein he confineth not himself to such as only were extant in England, but taketh in the whole compass of Christendom therein to make up his catalogue. We have work enough upon our hands to insist upon such Orders as found footing in our land, especially the most principal of them. For other inferior Orders I purposely omit, (besides the grand ones of Templars and Hospitallers, because largely handled in my "Holy War,") as the Order of the Blessed Mary of Reward, which Mr. Lambert confounds with the Crouched and Trinitarian Friars; for which my author ‡ falls foul with his memory, affirming these to be three distinct Orders, *habitu, fine, et constitutionibus*, (distinctions enough of all conscience to diversify them,) and, therefore, greater the wonder that Mr. Lambert's pen should leap over this treble ditch to confound them into one Order.

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* In his "History," in *anno* 1239.

† "Acts and Monuments," page 260.

‡ REINERUS *De Apostolatu Benedict. in Angliâ*, page 162.

31, 32. *A Catholic's causeless Accusation of Mr. Lambert justly disproved.*

The aforesaid author * also chargeth him, as if he made his perambulation about Kent, as done merely out of spiteful design to disgrace the Romish religion, never mentioning any convent without mocking at them; adding, moreover, that his book contains *fabulas ineptas, et crassa mendacia.* Mean time he advances John Stow to the skies, (though confessing him far inferior to Mr. Lambert in learning,) for his sedulous distinguishing of those Orders, and concludeth that STOW'S "Antiquities of London," for the worth and truth thereof, have often passed the press, whilst the other, his "Description of Kent," underwent the hand of the printer no more than once. Nor stops he here, but useth so slovenly an expression, (it is well it is in Latin,) calling his book *Charta cacata*, which, saving reverence to the reader, may be returned on the foul mouth of him who first uttered it.

Now I conceive, not only "queen Elizabeth's poor people at Greenwich" (so are the alms-men there termed in a fair house, which this Mr. Lambert charitably founded for them)† engaged to assert their good patron, but also that all ingenious Englishmen are obliged in his just vindication from this unjust aspersion. Indeed, his book is a rare piece of learning, and he in age and industry the true successor to Leland in the studies of English antiquity, and the height thereof above common capacity the sole cause that his book (as also his worthy work on the Saxon laws) hath no oftener passed the impression. His labours are feasts for scholars, not (like Stow's works) daily fare for common people. Thus the draper may sooner sell forty ells of frieze and coarse cloth, than the mercer four yards of cloth of gold, as only for the wearing of persons of prime quality. Nor doth the slow-selling of a book argue it to be a drug, wanting real worth in itself, seeing this railing Reinerus's own book, (notwithstanding the pompous title thereof, *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Angliâ*,) though printed nine-and-twenty years since, viz. 1626, hath not, on my best inquiry, as yet been honoured with a second edition.

33—36. *Antipathy betwixt Friars and Parish-Priests, in Erasmus's jest-earnest Dialogue. Monks, why hating Friars.*

Before we take our farewell of friars, know there was a deadly antipathy betwixt them and parish-priests: For, the former slighted the latter, as good alone to take tithes, and, like hackney post-horses, only to run the stage in the mass-book, *secundùm usum Sarum*, ignorant and unable to preach. Wherefore the Friars, when invading the pulpit, would not say to the parson, "By your leave, sir," but, proudly presuming on their papal privileges, assumed it to themselves, as forfeited to them for the parson's want of skill or will to make use of it. But these vultures had the quickest sight and scent about corpses, flocking fastest to men of fashion when lying on their death-beds, whose last confessions were more profitable to the Friars, than half the glebe-land that year to the priest of the parish.

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* REINERUS *De Apostolatu Benedict. in Angliâ*, page 162. † CAMDEN'S *Brit.* in Kent.

This plainly appeareth out of Erasmus, in his "Dialogues," who, though perchance therein he doth Lucian it too much, yet truth may be discovered under the varnish of his scoffing wit. He, in his Dialogue entitled *Funus*, tells us how Sir George the rich knight being formerly confessed to the friars, the parochial pastor refused to bury him because he could not give an account to God of this his sheep, as unacquainted with his final estate; and this case commonly happened in England, the occasion of much heart-burning betwixt them.

Monks also hated friars at their hearts, because their activity and pragmaticalness made monks be held as idle and useless; yea, as mere ciphers, whilst themselves were the only figures of reckoning and account in the church.

Matthew Paris, a Benedictine monk of St. Alban's,* was a back-friend to friars, and on all occasions hath a good word in store for them; thus, speaking of the coming-in of the Brethren of the Sack, as also of the Order of Bethlemites, he welcomes them with this compliment, that "now there were so many Orders in England, that of them there was an inordinate confusion."

37. *Friars stinted to Four Orders.*

Indeed, the pope at last grew sensible that the world began to groan, as weary with the weight of friars; who, if multiplying proportionably in after-ages, would so increase, there would be more mouths to beg alms, than hands to relieve them; and therefore they were stinted to the aforesaid four cardinal Orders, of Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augustinian Eremites: these boasted themselves to be like the four Evangelists,† though (the number alone excepted) no conformity betwixt them; and they more like unto God's "four sore judgments," Ezek. xiv. 21, wherewith he useth to afflict a sinful nation.

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* *Hist. Angl.* in Henry III. page 949.

† ERASMUS'S "Dialogues" in Funus.

38, 39. *The Numerousness of Nuns. The ancientest and poorest Nuns. Bridgetteans the last Order of Nuns.*

Come we now to nuns, almost as numerous in England as monks and friars, as having (though not so many Orders) more of the same Order. The weaker sex hath ever equalled men in their devotion: often exceeded them in superstition, as in the one instance of Gilbertines may appear. These were an hermaphrodite Order, as is aforesaid, admitting both men and women under the same roof; and, during the life of Gilbert their first founder, for seven hundred brethren there were eleven hundred sisters* entered into that Order. None can be so exact in reckoning up the nuns as the friars, because that sex afforded no writers to acquaint us with the criticisms of their observances.

We will insist only on three sorts: 1. The ancientest: 2. The poorest: 3. The latest nuns in England. Of the first sort we account the she-Benedictines, commonly called "Black Nuns," but, I assure you, "penny white," being most richly endowed. The poorest follow, being the strict Order of St. Clare, a lady living in the same time, and born in the same town, with St. Francis; and her nuns did wear a like habit in colour with the Franciscans. I am charitably inclined to believe that these were the least bad amongst all the professions of virginity.

The Bridgettean nuns were the latest in England; first settled here in the second year of king Henry V. *anno Domini* 1415; dissolved, with the rest of all orders, *anno* 1538; so that they continued here only one hundred three-and-twenty years: an Order to be loved on this account,—that it was the last in England. Bridget, queen of Sweden, gave them their name and institution; men and women living under the same roof; the women above, the men beneath, and one church common to both. By their Order their House was to be endowed plentifully at the first, whereon they might live without wanting or begging, as well in dear as cheap years; and after their first foundation they were uncapable of any future benefactions: *Si postea totus mundus possessiones et prædia eis offerret, quicquam omninò recipere non liceret:*† "If afterwards the whole world should proffer them farms and possessions, it was utterly unlawful for them to accept any thing thereof;" as, indeed, additions to such who had plenty before is rather a burden than a benefit.

40. *The mystical Number of Bridgetteans.*

The mysterious number of Bridgetteans might not exceed the number of eighty-five; which, forsooth, was the number of Christ's apostles and disciples put together, and thus they were precisely to be qualified:—1. Sisters, sixty. 2. Priests, thirteen. 3. Deacons, four. 4. Lay-brethren, eight. In all, eighty-five.

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* WEAVER'S "Funeral Monuments," page 148.

† THOMAS WALSINGHAM in Henry V. in *anno* 1413.

Where, by the way, know we must reckon seventy-two disciples, (which the evangelist, Luke x. 1, makes but just seventy,) and also put in St. Paul for the thirteenth apostle, or else it will not make up the sum aforesaid: but it is all even with discreet persons, be it over or above it. This Order constantly kept their audit on All-Saints' eve, October 31st; and, the day after All-Souls, being the third of November, they gave away to the poor all that was left of their annual revenue; conceiving otherwise it would putrefy and corrupt if treasured up, and be as heinous an offence as the Jews' when preserving manna longer than the continuance of one day. These Bridgetteans had but one convent in England, at Sion in Middlesex, built by king Henry V. but so wealthy, that it was valued yearly worth, at the Dissolution, one thousand nine hundred forty-four pounds, eleven shillings, eight-pence farthing.*

41. *The Prioresses of Clerkenwell.*

No convents of nuns in England more carefully kept their records than the priory of Clerkenwell; to whose credit it is registered,—that we have a perfect catalogue of their prioresses,† from their foundation to their dissolution, (defective in all other houses,) according to the order following, viz.—1. Christiana; 2. Ermegard; 3. Hawisia; 4. Eleonora; 5. Alesia; 6. Cecilia; 7. Margery Whatvile; 8. Isabel; 9. Alice Oxeney; 10. Amice Marcy; 11. Denys Bras; 12. Margery Bray; 13. Joan Lewkenor; 14. Joan Fullham; 15. Catherine Braybroke; 16. Luce Attwood; 17. Joan Viene; 18. Margaret Blakewell; 19. Isabell Wentworth; 20. Margaret Bull; 21. Agnes Clifford; 22. Catherine Greene; 23. Isabel Hussey; 24. Isabel Sackville. Had the like care continued in other convents, it had contributed much to the clearness of ecclesiastical history.

42. *A good Exchange.*

Sir Thomas Chaloner (tutor, as I take it, to prince Henry) not long ago built a spacious house within the close of that priory; upon the frontispiece whereof these verses were inscribed, not unworthy of remembrance:—

Casta fides superest, velatæ tecta Sorores
Ista relegatæ deseruere licèt:
Nam verandus Hymen hic vota jugalia servat,
Vestalemque focum mente fovere studet.

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* THOMAS WALSINGHAM, *ut prius.*

† SPEED'S "Catalogue of Religious Houses," page 793.

"Chaste faith still stays behind; though hence be flown
Those veiled nuns, who here before did nest:
For reverend Marriage wedlock-vows doth own,
And sacred flames keeps here in loyal breast."

I hope and believe the same may truly be affirmed of many other nunneries in England, which now have altered their property on the same conditions.

43, 44. *Exactness in Dates not to be expected. A pleasant Story.*

So much for the several dates of monks and friars; wherein if we have failed a few years in the exactness thereof, the matter is not much. I was glad to find so ingenuous a passage in Pitzæus, so zealous a papist, with whom in this point I wholly concur. He, speaking of the different eras of the coming-in of the Augustinians into England, thus concludeth: *In tantâ sententiarum varietate veritatem invenire nec facile est, nec multùm refert.** The best is, though I cannot tell the exact time wherein every counter was severally laid down on the table; I know certainly the year wherein they were all thrown together and put up in the bag; I mean, the accurate date of their general dissolution, viz. *anno* one thousand five hundred thirty-and-eight,—on the same sign that Sanders observeth a grand providence therein, that Jesuits began beyond the seas at the very same time. We will not higgle with so frank a chapman for a few months under or over; but, taking his chronology herein *de bene esse*, one word of the name of that Order, first premising a pleasant story:—

A countryman, who had lived many years in the Hercynian woods in Germany, at last came out into a populous city, demanding of the people therein, what God they did worship. It was answered him, they worshipped Jesus Christ. Whereupon, the wild wood-man asked the names of the several churches in the city; which were all called by the sundry saints to whom they were consecrated. "It is strange," said he, "that you should worship Jesus Christ, and he not have one temple in all your city dedicated unto him." But it seems Ignatius Loyola, founder of this new Order, finding all other Orders consigned to some saint or other, whence they take their denomination, intended at last peculiarly to appropriate one to JESUS; that as "at that holy name every knee should bow;" so all other Orders should do homage and submit to this his new one of Jesuits.

45. *Jesuats different from Jesuits.*

Here, had not better eyes than mine own made the discovery, (being beholden to M. Chemnitius therein,) I had never noted the nice difference betwixt JESUATS and JESUITS so near in name, though not in time; but, it seems, in nature distinguished. The former began at Sienna in Italy, in the year 1366; of whom thus Sabellicus: *colligebantur ab initio domesticatim simplici habitu amicti, multâ innocentiâ et pietate viri, victum sibi labore et operâ quæritantes. APOSTOLICI ab initio CLERICI nuncupati. Hi neque sacris initiantur, neque celebrant missarum solemnia, tantùm orationi vacant, Jesuati ab eo dicti, quòd Jesu regis summi frequens sit nomen in illorum ore, &c.* "Men of much innocence and piety were gathered in the beginning from house to house, clothed in poor habit, and seeking their own livelihood with labour and pains, called from the beginning 'apostolical clerks.' These neither were entered into Orders, neither did celebrate the solemnity of masses, but only bestowed themselves in prayer, therefore called JESUATS, because the name of Jesus was so frequent in their mouths." But it seems these Jesuats sunk down in silence, when the Jesuits appeared in the world; the former counting it ill manners in likeness of name to sit so near to those who were so far their betters.

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* PITZÆUS *in Indice Illust. Angl. Script.* page 974.

46—48. *Jesuits the best Buttresses of the Romish Church. Jesuits' Policy. In England like Astrologers in Rome.*

All Orders may be said eminently extant in the Jesuits, to and above the kind,—the degree thereof; and, indeed, they came seasonably to support the tottering church of Rome. For when the protestants, advantaged with learning and languages, brought in the Reformation, monks and friars were either so ignorant as they could not—so idle as they would not—or so cowardly that they durst not—make effectual opposition, as little skilled in Fathers, less in Scripture, and not at all versed in learned languages. As for the Franciscans, I may say of them, they were the best and worst scholars of all friars:* THE BEST, as most sublime in School-divinity: WORST, for if before their entrance into that Order they knew not learning, they were enjoined not to study it. Besides, monks and friars were so clogged with the observances of their Orders, that it confined them to their cells, and rendered them useless in a practical way. Wherefore, to balance the protestants, the Jesuits were set on foot, obliged to these studies, (out of fashion with monks and friars,) wherein they quickly attained a great eminency, as their very adversaries must confess. And, as their heads were better furnished than other Orders, so their hands were left at more liberty, (not tied behind their backs in a large posture of canonical idleness,) whence they are become the most active and pragmatical undertakers in all Christendom.

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* See "Church History," vol. i. page 453.

I cannot but commend one policy in the Jesuits, which conduceth much to their credit; namely, whereas other Orders of monks and friars were after their first institution sifted (as I may say) through many other searches, still taking new names according to their sub-de-re-reformations; the Jesuits since their first foundation have admitted of no new denomination, but continue constant to their primitive constitution; chiefly, because sensible that such after-refinings fix an aspersion of (at leastwise a comparative) impurity on their first institution, and render their first founders cheaper in the world's valuation whilst the Jesuits still keep themselves to their foundation, as begun and perfected at once, and are ὁλόκληροι, "all of a lump, all of a piece," which unity amongst themselves maketh them the more considerable in their impressions on any other adversaries.

They had two most ancient and flourishing convents beyond the seas; Nola in Italy, as I take it, where their house it seems gives a bow for their arms; and La Flêche in France, where they have an arrow for their device; whereupon, a satirical witth us girded at them: and I hope I shall not be condemned as accessary to his virulency, if only plainly translating the same:—

Arcun Nola dedit, dedit his La-Fletcha Sagittam:
Illis, quis nervum, quem merûere, dabit?

"Nola to them did give a bow,
La Flêche an arrow bring:
But who upon them will bestow—
What they deserve—a string?"

I have done with these Jesuits, who may well be compared unto the astrologers in Rome; of whom the historian doth complain:—*Genus est hominum quod in civitate nostrâ et vetabitur semper et retinebitur*,* "There is a kind of men in our city who will always be forbidden, and yet always be retained therein." So, though many severe laws have been made against them, yet either such their boldness in adventuring, or our state-mildness in executing the statutes against them, that always they are driven hence, and always they stay here, to the great disturbance of ours, and advancement of their own religion.

49. *Leprous People not mentioned herein.*

Here I purposely omit the houses for leprous people, though indeed they deserved more charity than all the rest; and I may say, this only was an Order of God's making, when he was pleased to lay his afflicting hand on poor people in that loathsome disease. I take Burton-Lazars in Leicestershire to be the best-endowed house for that purpose. But as that disease came into England by the Holy

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* TACIT. *Hist.* lib. i.

War, so, as we have elsewhere observed, it ended with the end thereof.* And God of his goodness hath taken away the leprosy of leprosy in England.

SECTION II.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL

RALPH SADLEIR, OF STANDON, ESQ. AND ANNE,
HIS VIRTUOUS CONSORT.

It was enacted by a law made in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of king Henry VIII. that "whosoever retained abbey-lands, after the dissolution passed unto them from the crown, should keep a standing-house, or else forfeit every month twenty nobles, recoverable from them in any court of record."

True it is, king James was graciously pleased (in the twenty-first of his reign) to repeal this Act and burn this rod; for which many under the lash, who will not pay, still owe thanks to his memory. But suppose this penal statute still in force, you may defy all informers for any advantage they may get against you for the same.

Indeed, you are possessed of the fair convent of Westbury in Gloucestershire, and that on as honourable terms as any lands in England of that nature are enjoyed; bestowed on your grandfather Sir Ralph Sadleir by king Henry VIII. partly in reward of the good service he had done to him the father, partly in encouragement to what he might do to his three children, to all which he was privy counsellor.

Yet no danger of penalty to you, whose house is known to be the centre of hospitality; whence even abbots themselves, and they best skilled in that lesson, might learn to keep a bountiful table, where all are welcomed; the rich for courtesy, when their occasions bring them; the poor for charity, when they bring their occasions to pass by your habitation.

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* In my "Holy War."

Indeed, the inn-holders of London give for the motto of the arms of their company, "I was a stranger, and ye took me in." But, seeing our Saviour chiefly intended such who did not sell, but give, entertainment to strangers; more properly are the words applicable to yourself, and other self, whose house is so the inn-general to all poor people, that the neighbourhood of a great and good common is not so advantageous as their vicinity thereunto.

I doubt not but as you often have relieved Christ in his poor members, he will in due time receive you both into his house, wherein there be many mansions of everlasting happiness.

I. ABBEYS ENGROSSED TRADE, IMPOVERISHED PARISH-PRIESTS, ENCOURAGED OFFENDERS.

1. *Abbots, Farmers, Tanners, Brewers.*

THE specious pretences of[*] piety and contempt of the world, abbots and monks, were notoriously covetous, even to the injury of others: witness their renting and stocking of farms, keeping of tan-houses and brewhouses in their own hands. For, though the monks themselves were too fine-nosed to dabble in tan-fats, yet they kept others (bred in that trade) to follow their work. These convents, having bark of their own woods, hides of the cattle of their own breeding and killing, and (which was the main) a large stock of money to buy at the best hand, and to allow such chapmen they sold to, a long day of payment, easily ate out such who were bred up in that vocation. Whereupon, in the one-and-twentieth of king Henry VIII. a statute was made, that "no priest, either regular or secular, should on heavy penalties hereafter meddle with such mechanic employments."

2, 3. *Abbots rob Parish Vicars, by Appropriations; and other Priests from Exemption from Tithes.*

Secondly. They impoverished parish-priests, by decrying their performances, and magnifying their own merits. Alas! what was the single devotion of a silly priest, in comparison of a corporation of prayers (twisted cables to draw down blessings on their patrons' heads) from a whole monastery? And, suppose (which was seldom done) the parson in the parish preaching to his people; yet sermons in a church once constituted were needless, as ministering matter of schisms and disputes, and, at the best, only profiting the present; whilst prayers benefited as well the absent as the present, dead as living. But especially prayers of monasteries commanded heaven, pleased with the holy violence of so many and mighty petitioners. By these and other artifices they undermined all priests in the affections of their own people, and procured from pope and prince, that many churches presentative, with their glebes and tithes, were appropriated to their convents, leaving but a poor pittance to the parish-vicar; though the pope (as styling himself but a vicar) ought to have been more sensible of their sad condition.

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[*] Query—"Pretenders to?"—EDIT.

Besides appropriation of such churches, abbeys also wronged parish-priests, by procuring from the pope Paschal II. A. D. 1100, in the council of Mentz, that their demesnes, farms, and granges, (anciently paying tithes like the lands of other laymen,) should hereafter be free from the same. But this exemption was afterwards, by pope Adrian IV. about the year 1150, justly limited and restrained; religious Orders being enjoined the payment of tithes of whatsoever increase they had in their own occupation, save of new improvements by culture of pasture of their cattle, and of garden-fruits.* Only three Orders, namely, the Cistercians, Templars, and Knights-Hospitallers, (otherwise called "of St. John's of Jerusalem,") were exempted from the general payment of all tithes whatsoever.

4—6. *Freedom from Tithes goeth by Favour; confined to Lands given before the Lateran Council. Offend none in a captious Age.*

"And why Cistercians, rather than any other Order?" Give me leave to conjecture three reasons thereof:—1. Adrian IV. our none countryman, was at first a Benedictine monk of St. Alban's; and these Cistercians were only Benedictines refined. 2. They were the Benjamins, one of the youngest remarkable Orders of that age, and therefore made darlings (not to say wantons) by the holy father the pope. 3. It is suspicious, that, by bribery in the court of Rome, they might obtain this privilege, so beneficial unto them. For I find, that king Richard I. disposed his daughter Avarice to be married to the Cistercian Order, as the most grasping and griping of all others. I leave it others to render reasons why Templars and Hospitallers, being mere laymen, and divers times of late adjudged in the Court of Aids in Paris "no part of the clergy, should have this privilege to be exempted from tithes."† But we remember they were sword men, and that aweth all into obedience.

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* *Vide* ALEX. IV. *in* 6, *de dec. c.* 2, *Statuto et Innoc. VIII.* tom. ii. page 4, *Editio decima Coloniens.*

† LE BRET. *Advoc. ex la dicte cour. Playdoie* 27.

However, the Lateran council, holden *anno* 1215, ordered, that this privilege of tithe-freedom to the aforesaid three Orders should not extend to postnates, (as I may term them,) to convents erected since the Lateran council, nor to lands since bestowed on the aforesaid Orders, though their convents were erected before that council. Therefore when the covetous Cistercians, contrary to the canons of that council, purchased Bulls from the pope to discharge their lands from tithes, Henry IV. pitying the plea of the poor parish-priest, by statute nulled such Bulls,* and reduced their lands into that state wherein they were before.

Once it was in my mind to set down a catalogue (easy to do, and useful when done) of such houses of Cistercians, Templars, and Hospitallers, which were founded since the Lateran council, yet going under the general notion of tithe-free, to the great injury of the church. But since, on second thoughts, I conceived it better to let it alone, as not sure, on such discovery, of any blessing from those ministers which should gain, but certain of many curses from such laymen who should lose, thereby.

7. *A Prize in the Hand, but no Heart.*

Now, when king Henry VIII. dissolved monasteries, there was put into his hand an opportunity and advantage to ingratiate himself and his memory for ever; namely, by restoring tithes, appropriated to abbeys, to their respective parishes. But, whether he wanted mind, or minding, or both, God would not do him so much honour that he should do so much honour to God and his church; being now passed, like lay-fees, with the rest of the abbey-land, to the great impairing of the just maintenance of ministers.

8, 9. *Sanctuaries Sewers of Sin. The conscientious Abbot of Crowland.*

Lastly. One grand mischief (to omit many others) done by monasteries, was by the privileges of sanctuaries; whereby their houses became the sink and centre of sinners, to the great dishonour of God and obstruction of justice.

And here I commend the memory of Turketill, once abbot of Crowland, being confident that the reader will join with me in his commendation. Such vast immunities were bestowed on that convent by Witlaffe, king of Mercia, that if any officer did follow an offender of what nature soever, to fetch him out of that liberty, he was to have his right foot cut off.† Strange exchange! when a legal prosecutor is made a malefactor, and the malefactor an innocent;

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* *Anno* 2 Henry IV. cap. 4.

† INGULPHI *Historia*, page 856.

such the converting power of a monkish asylum. But in process of time, and depredation of the Danes, this privilege was lost, and proffered afterwards by some Saxon kings to be restored; which Turketill would never consent unto: and take it in the author's own words: *Antiquam verò loci impunitatem vel immunitatem nullo modo consensit acquirere, ne sceleratis et impiis refugium a publicis legibus videretur in aliquo præbere, et cum hujusmodi maleficiis compelleretur, vel in aliquo contra conscientiam suam cohabitare, seu consentire.*[*] This privilege other churches of St. Alban's, Beverley, Westminster, did accept. Such sanctuaries were grievances constantly complained of in parliaments, till Richard II. first began, Henry IV. and VII. proceeded, to regulate them as abused and usurping, and Henry VIII. utterly abolished them as useless and unlawful.

II. OF THE PRIME OFFICERS AND OFFICINES OF ABBEYS.

1—6. *The Abbot; the Prior; the Sub-Prior; the Secretary; the Chamberlain; the Cellarer.*

THE officers in abbeys were either supreme, as the abbot; or, to use a canonical term, obediential,[†] as all others under him. The abbot had lodgings by himself, with all offices thereunto belonging. The rest took precedences according to the topical statutes of their convents; but, for the generality, they thus may be marshalled:—

First. The prior, who, like the president (under the master) in our Colleges in Cambridge, was next to the abbot. Note, by the way, that in some convents, which had no abbots, the prior was principal, as the president in some Oxford foundations;[‡] and, being installed priors, some voted as barons in parliament, whereof formerly, as the prior of Canterbury, and Coventry. But, when the abbot was superintendent, there the person termed "prior" was his subordinate, who in his absence, in mitred abbeys, by courtesy was saluted "the lord prior."

Secondly. The sub-prior, as Hugo Balciam, sub-prior of Ely, founder of Peter-house. Query—Whether any compliment descended so low as to lord the sub-prior in the absence of the prior and abbot? As for the third prior, and fourth prior, (for such diminutives appear,[§]) they come not within the suspicion of so much favour.

Thirdly. The secretary, who was the register, auditor, and chancellor of the convent; it being proper to his place to write and return letters, and manage the most learned employments in the monastery.

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[*] INGULPHI *Historia*, page 879.

[†] *In Vitis viginti-trium Abbatum St. Alban*, page 170.

[‡] Magdalen, Corpus Christi, Trinity, and St. John's.

[§] In the subscriptions of the Chron. of the Augustinians of Canterbury, page 2294.

With him the *camerarius* or "chamberlain" may seem to contest for precedency, as keeping the keys of the treasury, issuing out and receiving in all considerable sums of money: in which notion the chamberlain of London holdeth his name.

Fifthly. The *cellarius*, or *cellerarius*, a place of more power and profit than the name may seem to import. He was the bursar who bought in all provisions, and appointed the pittances for the several monks; and in some Houses he was *secundus pater in monasterio*,* as in the abbey of Bury, where a large part of the buildings was assigned for his residence, and lands for his maintenance. These cellarers were brave blades, much affecting secular gallantry. For, I find it complained of, that "they used to swagger with their swords by their sides like lay-gentlemen."†

7—15. *The Gate-House; the Refectory; the Parlour; the Oriol; the Dormitory; the Laundry; the Library; the Kitchen.*

The remaining officers are best reckoned up by the canonical rooms (as I may term them) in an abbey; each giving denomination to him who had the inspection thereof. I begin with the gate-house, and its relative, the porter; an office, I assure you, of some trust in an abbey, to know what guests, and when (especially at the postern) are to be admitted thereunto.

The next room is the *refectorium;* and *refectorius* the controller thereof.‡ It was "the hall" wherein the monks dined together; and sometimes the abbot on great solemnities graced them with his presence, when he had *vastellum*,§ that is, not common bread, but wastel bread or simnels, for his diet.||

Adjoining to it was the *locutorium*, or "parlour," because there leave was given for the monks to discourse, who were enjoined silence elsewhere. Thus we read how Paul, the fourteenth abbot of St. Alban's, made it penal for any to talk in the cloister, church, refectory, or dormitory.

Oriolium, or "the oriol,"¶ was the next room: why so called some of the name-sake college in Oxford are best able to satisfy. Sure I am, that small excursion out of gentlemen's halls in Dorsetshire, (respect it east or west) is commonly called "an oriel." The use hereof is known for monks, who were, *in latitudine morbi*, rather distempered than diseased to dine therein; it being cruelty to thrust such into the infirmary, where they might have died with the conceit of the sickness of others.

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* JOHN BRAKELAND. † BURCHARD, *Index Cas.* 8, *Gal.* ‡ *Chron. August. Cant.* page 2294. § *In Vitis*, page 141. || See "Glossary" of WILL. SOMNER. ¶ *In Vitis*, page 100.

Dormitorium, "the dormitory," where they all slept together; it being ordered in the council of Aquisgrane,* [Aix-la-Chapelle,] *Nisi in dormitorio cum cæteris, absque causâ inevitabili, nemo dormire præsumpserit.*

Lavatorium succeeds, generally called "the laundry," where their clothes were washed. Haply, it was also the place (such in the west side of Westminster cloisters) where all the monks at the conduit washed their hands; there being as much good fellowship in washing as eating together.

Scriptorium remains, a room where the *chartularius* was busied in writing, especially employed in the transcribing of these books: 1. Their ordinals, containing the rubric of their missal, and directory of their priests in service. 2. Their consuetudinals, presenting the ancient customs of their convents. 3. Their troparies. 4. Their collectaries, wherein the ecclesiastical collects were fairly written.

Next this, the library; which most great abbeys had exactly furnished with variety of choice manuscripts.

All is marred if the kitchen be omitted, so essential a requisite in an abbey, with the larder and pantry, the necessary suburbs thereof.

16. *The several Parts in the Church.*

Come we now to their abbey-church, where we first meet their, 1. Cloisters, consecrated ground, as appears by their solemn sepultures therein. 2. *Navis ecclesiæ*, or "body of the church." 3. *Gradatorium*, a distance containing the ascent out of the former into the choir. 4. *Presbyterium*, or "the choir," on the right side whereof was the stall of the abbot, and his [moiety of monks]; on the left side the prior, and his moiety of monks, who alternately chanted the responsals in the service. 5. *Vestiarium*, "the vestiary," where their copes and clothes were deposited. 6. *Vaulta*, "a vault,"† being an arched room over part of the church; which, in some abbeys (as St. Alban's) was used to enlarge their dormitory, where the monks had twelve beds for their repose. 7. *Concameratio*, being an arched room betwixt the east end of the church and the high altar;‡ so that in procession they might surround the same, founding their fancy on David's expression: "And so will I compass thine altar, O Lord," Psalm xxvi. 6.

As for the other rooms of the church; *cerarium*, "where their wax candles were kept;" *campanile*, their "steeple;" *polandrium*, "the church-yard," and sometime "the charnel-house;" let such be consulted with who have written large volumes on this subject, who will also inform them of the dignities and duties of the præcentor, sacrist, sub-sacrist, capellane, ostiary, vestiary, ceroferary, &c. belonging thereunto.

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* *Sub Ludovico Imperatore, anno* 816, cap. 134. † *In Vitis*, page 225. ‡ *Idem*, page 521.

The remaining rooms of an abbey stood a distance from the main structure thereof. To begin with the best first: *Eleëmosynaria*, or the "almonry," being a building near or within the abbey, wherein poor and impotent persons did live maintained by their charity.

17—21. *The Century; the Firmory; the Stables; the Gaol; the Grange.*

Secondly. *Sanctuarium*,* or the "century," [sanctuary,] wherein debtors taking refuge from their creditors, malefactors from the judge, lived (the more the pity!) in all security.

Thirdly. *Infirmarium*, or the "firmory," [infirmary,] the curator whereof *infirmarius;* wherein persons downright sick (trouble to others, and troubled by others, if lodging in the dormitory) had the benefit of physic, and attendance private to themselves. No lent or fasting-days came over the threshold of this room; sickness being a dispensation for the eating of flesh. It was punishable for any to eat therein except solemnly designed for the place.

At distance stood the stables, where the *stallarius*, or "master of the horse," did command; and under him the *provendarius*,† who, as his name imports, provided provender for the horses. These were divided into four ranks; and it would puzzle all the jockeys in Smithfield to understand the meaning of their names:—1. *Manni*, being "geldings for the saddle" of the larger size. 2. *Runcini*, "runts," small pad-nags,‡ like those of Galloway or Goonehely. 3. *Summarii*, "sumpter-horses." 4. *Averii*, "cart or plough-horses." This was the quadripartite division of the horses of William, the two-and-twentieth abbot of St. Alban's, on the token that he lost a hundred horses in one year.

One room remains, last named, because least loved,—even a prison for the punishment of incorrigible monks, who, otherwise, would not be ordered into obedience. It was a grand penance imposed on the delinquents,§ to carry about the lantern,—though light, a heavy burden: but such contumacious monks as would not be amended therewith, the abbot had *tetrum et fortem carcerem*, "a strong and hideous prison," where their obstinacy was corrected into reformation.

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* Old Adam Littleton says, "A centry or sanctuary, *sanctuarium*." This is the only trace which I can find of our author's word "century" in this sense.—EDIT.

† *In Vitis*, page 97.

‡ WATS in Glossary at the end of Matthew Paris.

§ *In Vitis*, page 52.

We omit other rooms, as *vaccisterium*, "the cow-house;" *porcarium*, "the swine-sty;" as having nothing peculiar therein, but concurrent with those offices in other houses. As for granges, being farms at distance, kept and stocked by the abbey, and so called (as it seemeth) *a grana gerendo*, (the overseer whereof was commonly called "the prior of the grange,") because sometimes many miles from the monastery, they come not within the reach of our present discourse. Only I add, in female foundations of nunneries, there was a correspondency of all the same essential officers and offices.

22—25. *Barbarous Names and Offices. Rooms in small, Houses in great Abbeys. The Use of Cells. The Honours in Canterbury Priory.*

Expect not of me a list of those mean officers in the abbey, whose employment was not so base, as their names barbarous, and of English extraction. Such were, 1. *Coltonarius*, "Cutler." 2. *Cupparius*. 3. *Potagiarius*. 4. *Scutellarius Aulæ*. 5. *Salsarius*. 6. *Portarius*. 7. *Carectarius Cellerarii*. 8. *Pelliparius*, "parchment-provider." 9. *Brasinarius*, "maltster." All these appeared at the hali-mote, or holy court of the cellarer;* and it is the degrading the soul of a scholar, (best-pleased in a progressive motion to attain elegancy,) to stoop to the understanding of such base and unlearned etymologies.

Note, that the offices aforesaid in the smaller abbeys were but one fair entire room, which in greater monasteries were a distinct structure, with all under-offices attendant thereupon. Thus the firmory in the priory of Canterbury had a refectory thereto belonging; a kitchen; a dortour [dorture] distributed into several chambers, that one might not disturb another; and a private chapel, for the devotions of the diseased. Their almonry also was accommodated with all the aforesaid appurtenances, and had many distinct manors, consigned only to their maintenance.

It were alien from our present purpose to speak of cells, which were *aut pars, aut proles*, of all great abbeys; sometimes so far off that the mother-abbey was in England, the child-cell beyond the seas, and so reciprocally. Some of these were richly endowed, as that of Windham in Norfolk; which, though but a cell annexed to St. Alban's, yet was able at the Dissolution to expend, of its own revenues, seventy-two pounds *per annum*. These were colonies into which the abbeys discharged their superfluous numbers, and whither the rest retired when infections were feared at home.

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* Littleton says, "Halimot or halmot, *conventus aulæ sive curiæ*."—EDIT.

Thus have we run through the main rooms in all great abbeys; though, beside the same, particular abbeys had particular houses known to those of their own convent by peculiar denominations. It were endless for one to instance in all these, and impossible to render a reason of their names, except he were privy to the fancies of the founders. Thus we meet with a pile of building in the priory of Canterbury, called, "the honours;" but, why so termed, my good friend and great antiquary * is fain to confess his own ignorance.

III. SOME GENERAL CONFORMITIES OBSERVED IN ALL CONVENTS.

Rules calculated for the Benedictines without any grand Error will serve all Orders.

SUNDRY Orders were bound to observe several canonical constitutions. However the rule of the ancient Benedictines, with some small variations according to time and place, hold true through most monasteries. Some general heads whereof (the under-branches being infinite) we will here insert; it being hard, if, amongst much dross, some gold be not found, to repair the pains of the reader. We will contrive them into canons, collected out of authors, before or in the days of Dunstan.

"1. Let monks, after the example of David, praise God seven times a day," Psalm cxix. 164. *Seven times*—some difference in reckoning them up, but the following computation is generally embraced:—

(1.) At cock-crowing: Because the Psalmist saith, "At midnight will I praise the Lord," Psalm cxix. 62; and most conceive that Christ rose from the dead about that time.

(2.) Matutines: At the first hour, or six of the clock, when the Jewish morning sacrifice was offered; and at what time Christ's resurrection was by the angels first notified to the women.

(3.) At the third hour, or nine of the clock before noon: When, according to St. Mark, Christ was condemned and scourged by Pilate.

(4.) At the sixth hour, or twelve of the clock at high noon: When Christ was crucified, and darkness over all the earth.

(5.) At the ninth hour, or three of the clock in the afternoon: When Christ gave up the ghost, and which was an hour of public prayer in the temple, Acts iii. 1. and privately in his closet with Cornelius, Acts x. 30.

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* MR. WILLIAM SOMNER in his "Antiquities of Canterbury," page 196.

(6.) Vespers: At the twelfth hour, or six of the clock in the afternoon: When the evening sacrifice was offered in the temple, and when Christ is supposed taken down from the cross.

(7.) At seven of the clock at night, or the first hour beginning the nocturnal twelve: When Christ's agony in the garden was conceived begun.

The first of these was performed at two of the clock in the morning:* When the monks (who went to bed at eight at night) had slept six hours, which were judged sufficient for nature. It was no fault for the greater haste to come without shoes, or with unwashen hands, (provided sprinkled at their entrance with holy water,) to this night's service. And I find no express to the contrary but that they might go to bed again, but a flat prohibition after Matutines; when, to return to bed, was accounted a petty apostasy.

"2. Let all at the sign given leave off their work, and repair presently to prayers."

Sign—This, in England, (commonly called "the ringing island,") was done with tolling a bell; but in other countries with loud strokes, as noblemen's cooks knock to the dresser, at which time none might continue their work. Yea, the canon was so strict, that it provided *scriptores literam non integrent*, "that writers" (a great trade in monasteries) "having begun to frame and flourish a text-letter, were not to finish it," but to break off in the middle thereof.

"3. Let those, who are absent in public employment, be reputed present in prayers."

Absent—Hence it was, that anciently, at the end of prayers, there was a particular commemoration made of them, and they by name recommended to Divine protection.

"4. Let no monk go alone, but always two together.

Two—That so they might mutually have, both *testem honestatis*, and *monitorem pietatis*. And this was done in some imitation of Christ's sending his disciples to preach "two and two before his face," Luke x. 1, that so they might alternately ease one another.

"5. From Easter to Whitsunday, let them dine always at twelve, and sup at six of the clock."

Dine—The primitive church forbade fasting for those fifty days, that Christians might be cheerful for the memory of Christ's resurrection. *Immunitate jejunandi a die Paschæ Pentecosten usque gaudemus*; and therefore more modern is the custom of fasting on Ascension-Eve.†

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* This whole chapter is the abridgment of *Concordia Regularum*, collected by St. Benet, the Arian abbot; but printed with a comment, A. D. 1638, set forth by friar Ænard.

† TERTULLIAN, *Libro de Coronâ Militis*.

"Let them at other times fast on Wednesdays, and Fridays, till three a-clock in the afternoon."

Three of the clock—So making but one meal a-day; but know that the twelve days in Christmas were in this canon excepted.

"Let them fast every day in Lent till six of the clock at night."

Six a-clock—Stamping a character of more abstinence on that time. For though all a monk's life ought to be a Lent, yet this, most especially, wherein they were to abate of their wonted sleep and diet, and add to their daily devotion; yet so, that they might not lessen their daily fare without leave from the abbot; all things done without whose consent will be accounted presumption, and not redound to reward; so that, in such cases, obedience to their superiors was better than the sacrifice of their own free abstinence.

"8. Let no monk speak a word in the refectory, when they are at their meals."

Speak a word—Whilst their mouths are open to eat, their lips must be locked to speak. For proof whereof they corruptly cite the apostle's words, to eat "their own bread with silence," 2 Thess. iii. 12; whereas indeed it is, "work with quietness," and therein a contented mind enjoined. Such might also remember Solomon's rule, "Eat thy bread with joy."

"9. Let them listen to the lecturer reading Scripture to them, whilst they feed themselves."

Listen—This was St. Austin's rule, *Ne solæ fauces sumant cibum, sed et aures percipiant Dei verbum.*[*]

"10. Let the Septimarians dine by themselves after the rest."

Septimarians—These were weekly officers, (not as the abbot, porter, &c. for term of life,) as the lecturer, servitors at the table, cook, who could not be present at the public refection; as the Bible-Clerks in Queen's-College, in Cambridge, (waiting on the Fellows at dinner,) have a table by themselves, their stomachs being set to go an hour after all the rest.

"11. Let such who are absent about business observe the same hours of prayer."

Absent—Be it by sea or land, on ship, in house or field, they were to fall down on their knees, and though at distance, and very briefly, yet in some sort to keep time and tune with the convent in their devotions.

"12. Let none, being from home about business, (and hoping to return at night,) presume *foris mandicare*, 'to eat abroad.'"

Eat abroad—This canon was afterwards so dispensed with by the abbot on several occasions, that it was frustrate in effect, when monks became common guests at laymen's tables.

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[*] *In Regulâ, capite quinto.*

“13. Let the Completory be solemnly sung about seven a-clock at night.”

Completory—Because it completed the duties of the day. This service was concluded with that versicle of the psalmist, “Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth, and keep the door of my lips,” Psalm cxli. 3.

“14. Let none speak a word after the Completory ended, but hasten to their beds.”

Speak a word—For, they might express themselves by signs, and in some cases whisper, but so softly that a third might not overhear it. This silence was so obstinately observed by some, that they would not speak, though assaulted with thieves, to make discovery in their own defence.

“Let the monks sleep in beds singly by themselves, but all (if possible) in one room.”

Singly by themselves—To prevent that sin of Sodomy, whereof many were detected, and more suspected in after-ages. *One room*—For the comfort of their mutual society.

“16. Let them sleep in their clothes, girt with their girdles, but not having their knives by their sides, for fear of hurting themselves in their sleeps.”

In their clothes—Is slovenliness any advantage to sanctity? This was the way, not to make the monks to lie alone, but to carry much company about them.

“17. Let not the youth lie by themselves, but mingled with their seniors.”

Seniors—That their gravity may awe them into good behaviour. Thus husbandmen couple young colts with staid horses, that both together may draw the better.

“18. Let not the candle in the dormitory go out all the night.”

Candle—In case some should fall suddenly sick; and that this standing candle might be a stock of light, to recruit the rest on occasion.

“19. Let infants, incapable of excommunication, be corrected with rods.”

Infants—Such all were accounted under the age of fifteen years, (of whom many in monasteries,) whose minorities were beneath the censures of the church.

“20. Let the offenders in small faults, (whereof the abbot is sole judge,) be only sequestered from the table.”

Small faults—As coming after grace to dinner, breaking (though casually) the earthen ewer wherein they wash their hands, being out of tune in setting the Psalm, taking any by the hand, (as a preface, forsooth, to wantonness,) receiving letters from or talking with a friend without leave from the abbot, &c. *From the table*—Such were to eat by themselves, and three hours after the rest, until they had made satisfaction.

"21. Let the offenders in greater faults be suspended from table and prayers."

Greater faults—Namely, theft, adultery, &c. *And prayers*—This in effect amounted to the greater excommunication, and had all the penalties thereof.

"22. Let none converse with any excommunicated, under the pain of excommunication."

None—Yet herein his keeper, deputed by the abbot, was excepted. *Converse*—Either to eat or speak with him. He might not so much as bless him, or his meat if carried by him. Yet, to avoid scandal, he might rise up, bow, or bare his head to him, in case the other did first with silent gesture salute him.

"23. Let incorrigible offenders be expelled the monastery."

Incorrigible—Whom no correption with words, nor correction with blows, nor censures of excommunication would amend. Abscission is the only plaster for such an incurable gangrene.

"24. Let an expelled brother, being re-admitted on promise of his amendment, be set last in order."

Last—He was to lose his former seniority, and begin at the bottom. Know, that whosoever willingly quitted the convent thrice, or was thrice cast out for his misdemeanours, might not any more be received.

"25. Let every monk have two coats, and two cowls," &c.

Two—Not to wear at once, (except in winter,) but for exchange whilst one was washed. And when new clothes were delivered them, their old ones were given to the poor.

"26. Let every monk have his table-book, knife, needle, and handkerchief."

Needle —To mend his own clothes when torn. *Handkerchief*—Which they wore on their left side to wipe away rheum, or, as we may charitably believe, tears from their eyes.

"27. Let the bed of every monk have a mat, blanket, rug,[*] and pillow."

Mat—In Latin *matta*, the liers whereon are termed by St. Austin *mattarii*.[†] *A blanket*—*Lœna*, in Latin, *quasi de lanâ*, saith Varro, made of thick wool.[‡] No down, feathers, nor flocks used by them: yea, no linen worn on their bodies. The abbot also every Saturday was to visit their beds, to see if they had not shuffled in some softer matter, or purloined some prog for themselves.

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[*] *Sagum*, properly "the lower coat of a soldier."

[†] Lib. v. *contra Faustum*, cap. 5.

[‡] *De Linguâ Latinâ*, lib. iv.

"28. Let the abbot be chosen by the merits of his life and learning."

Merits—Though he were the last in degree, and though he had the fewest voices, the better were to carry it from the greater number. But in after-ages, to avoid schism, upon a parity of deserts, the senior was generally chosen by plurality of votes.

"29. Let him never dine alone; and, when guests are wanting, call some brethren unto his table."

Alone—Such as were relieved by his hospitality are by canonical critics sorted into four ranks:—(1.) *Convivæ*, "guests," living in or near the city, where the convent stood. (2.) *Hospites*, "strangers," coming from distant places, yet still of the same country. (3.) *Peregrini*, "pilgrims," of another nation, and generally travelling for devotion. [These three] invited or inviting themselves into the abbey. (4.) *Mendici*, "beggars," who received their alms without at the gate.

"30. Let the cellarer be a discreet man, to give all their meat in due season."

Discreet—He needed to be a good mathematician in the guages of men's bellies; not allowing all food alike, but proportioning it to their several ages, labour, (for ancient monks did work,) appetites, &c. For this they allege the primitive practice, when all goods kept in common were divided, though unequally, for the sums equally, as to their personal necessities: "And they parted them to all men, as every man had need," Acts ii. 45.

"31. Let none be excused from the office of the cook, but take his turn in his week."

None—The abbot is excepted, and the cellarer in great convents. But know, this was only anciently used in primitive poor monasteries; our English abbeys having afterwards cooks and under-cooks of lay-persons, able to please the palate of Apicius himself.

"32. Let the cook each Saturday, when he goeth out of his office, leave the linen and vessels clean and sound to his successors."

Clean and sound—Severe one canon which I read; that is, "to receive twenty-five claps on the hand for every default on this kind:"[*] and still more harsh what another rule enjoineth, "that the cook might not taste what he dressed for others, not permitted to lick his own fingers."[†] Understand it thus, though he might eat his own pittance, or *dimensum*, yet he must meddle with no more, lest the tasting should tempt him to gluttony and excess.

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[*] *XXV palmarum percussionibus emendetur.* *Regula magis*, cap. xv. sect. 10.

[†] *Regula S. Pachomii*, artic. xxi.

"33. Let the porter be a grave person, to discharge his trust with discretion."

Grave—Whose age might make him resident in his place. *Discharge*—In listening to no secular news, and (if casually hearing it) not to report it again; in carrying the keys every night to the abbot, and letting none in or out without his permission.

We leave this porter in the peaceable possession of his lodge; and, by his leave, are let out of this tedious discourse. Only I will add, as the proverb saith, "The lion is not so fierce as he is painted." So monastical discipline was not so terrible in the practice as in the precepts thereof. And as it is generally observed in families, that the eldest children are most hardly used, who, as yet being but few, and their parents in full strength, are taught, and tutored, and nurtured with much chiding and correction; whilst more liberty is allowed to the younger brood, age abating their parents' austerity, and sometimes turning their harshness into fondness unto them: so those fatherly rules fell most heavily on the monks of the first foundation, their rigour being remitted to such who succeeded them; insomuch that, in process of time, monks turned very wantons, through laziness and luxury; as hereafter, God willing, shall appear.

IV. OF SUCH ABBOTS WHO ATTAINED TO BE PARLIAMENTARY BARONS.

1, 2. *Numerous Abbots summoned to Parliament; who afterwards decline their troublesome Service.*

The highest civil honour the English abbots arrived at was, that some were selected to be barons in parliament, and called to be assistants to the king in his great council. To begin at the reign of king Henry III. before whose time the footsteps of solemn summons to parliament are almost worn out: In his time all abbots and priors of quality were summoned thither. Alas! this king lived a long time on abbeys, (the patron fed by his chaplains,) the most of his maintenance issuing out of the purses of priories. It was but fitting, therefore, they should be consulted with, who were so much concerned in all public payments. In the forty-ninth of his reign, no less than sixty-four abbots,* and thirty-six priors, (a jolly number,) with the Master of the Temple, were voluntary *summoniti*, out of the king's free-will and pleasure, (no right that they could claim themselves,) summoned to parliament.

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* *Dors.* Clause 49, Henry III. m. 11, *in schedulâ.*

But in after-parliaments the number of abbots summoned thither was fluctuating, and uncertain; sometimes forty, as the twenty-seventh of Edward I. sometimes seventy-five, as the twenty-eighth of the same king; fifty-six in the first of Edward II. and yet but fifteen in the second of his reign. Indeed, when parliaments proved frequent, some priories far from the place where they were summoned, the way long, the weather (especially in winter) tedious, travelling on the way costly, living at London chargeable; some priors were so poor they could not, more so covetous they would not, put themselves to needless expenses: all so lazy and loving their ease, that they were loath to take long journeys, which made them afterwards desire to be eased of their honourable but troublesome attendance in parliament.

3, 4. *Their Number contracted to twenty-six. Doubtful Barons amongst the Abbots.*

At last king Edward III. resolved to fix on a set number of abbots and priors, not so many as with their numerousness might be burdensome to his council; yet not so few but that they should be a sufficient representation of all Orders therein concerned, which, being twenty-six in number, are generally thus reckoned up:—1. St. Alban's; 2. Glastonbury; 3. St. Austin's, Canterbury; 4. Westminster; 5. Edmund's-Bury; 6. Peterborough; 7. Colchester; 8. Evesham; 9. Winchelcombe, [Winchcomb]; 10. Crowland; 11. Battle; 12. Reading; 13. Abington; 14. Waltham; 15. Shrewsbury; 16. Gloucester; 17. Bardney; 18. Bennet-in-the-Holm; 19. Thorney; 20. Ramsey; 21. Hyde; 22. Malmesbury; 23. Cirencester; 24. St. Mary's, York; 25. Selby; 26. With the prior of St. John's of Jerusalem, first and chief baron of England. None of these held of mean lords by frank-almonage, but all of the king, *in capite per baroniam*, having an entire barony, to which thirteen knights' fees at least did belong.

Yet even after this fixation of parliamentary abbots in a set number, the same was eftsoons subject to variety. The prior of Coventry played at in and out, and declined his appearance there. So did the abbot of Leicester, who may seem to have worn but half a mitre on his head. So also the abbot of St. James by Northampton may be said to sit but on one hip in parliament; he appears so in the twilight betwixt a baron and no baron, in the summons thereunto. But, afterwards, the first of these three was confirmed in his place; the two last, on their earnest request, obtained a discharge; partly, because they were summoned only *interpolatis vicibus*, and not constantly; partly, because they made it to appear, that they held not of the king a whole barony-in-chief.

5. *A short-lived Barony made by King Henry VIII.*

To these twenty-six regular barons, king Henry VIII. added one more for a casting voice; namely, the abbot of Tavistock in Devonshire, on this token,—that, being created in the eighth of his reign, he enjoyed not his barony full twenty years, and acted so short a part on the stage of parliament, that, with Cato, he might seem only *ingredi ut exiret*, "to come in, that he might go out." And, because some may be curious to know the manner of his creation, take here the form thereof:—

Henricus, &c. Sciatis quod certis considerationibus nos specialitèr moventibus et ob specialem devotionem, quam ad beatam Virginem Mariam matrem Christi, sanctumque Rumonum in quorum honore abbatia de Tavistoke, quæ de fundatione nobilium progenitorum nostrorum, quondam regum Angliæ et nostro patronatu dedicata existit, gerimus et habemus, hinc est quod de gratiâ nostrâ speciali ac ex certâ scientiâ, et mero motu nostris, volumus eandem abbatiam, sive monasterium nostrum gaudere honore, privilegio, ac libertatibus spiritualium dominorum Parliamenti nostri hæredem, et successorum nostrorum, ideò concessimus, et per præsentes concedimus pro nobis, hæredibus, et successoribus nostris quantum in nobis est, dilecto nobis in Christo, Richardo Banham abbati de Tavistoke prædicto et successoribus suis, ut eorum quilibet qui pro tempore ibidem fuerit abbas, sit et erit unus de spiritualibus et religiosis dominis Parliamenti nostri hæredem, et successorum nostrorum, gaudendo honore, privilegio ac libertatibus ejusdem: Et insuper, de uberiori gratiâ nostrâ, affectando utilitatem, dicti nostri monasterii, considerando ejus distantiam, ita quod si contingat aliquam abbatem qui pro tempore fuerit, fore vel esse absentem propter prædicti monasterii utilitatem in non veniendo ad Parliamentum prædictum hæredem, vel successorum nostrorum, quam quidem absentiam eidem abbati perdonamus per præsentes; ita tamen quod tunc solvet pro hujusmodi absentiâ cujuslibet Parliamenti integri in nostro scaccario, suum per attornatum quinque marcas nobis hæredibus sive successoribus nostris, toties, quoties, hoc in futurum contigerit. In cujus, &c. Teste, &c. Vicesimo tertio die Januarii, &c.

Whereas this charter affirmeth Tavistock founded by king Henry's noble progenitors, some will wonder thereat, and the rather, because Ordulph, the son of Orgar earl of Devonshire,* is notoriously known for the founder of this monastery before the Conquest, and no English king appeareth eminently a benefactor thereunto. Yet because the English kings successively confirmed the charters thereof, they were in a loyal compliment acknowledged as the interpretative founders of that abbey. And as little children, whose parents decease in their infancy, innocently own their fathers and mothers-in-law for their natural parents; so many monasteries, whose first founders were in a manner forgotten, as time out of mind, applied themselves to the present kings (though but the favourers) as to the founders of their corporations.

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* *Pat.* 5, *Henrici VIII.* part 2, m. 22. CAMDEN'S *Brit.* in Devonshire.

6. *Abbesses no Baronesses, though holding Baronies.*

Know that, beside these abbots, there were four abbesses; namely, of Shaftesbury, Barking in Essex, St. Mary's in Winchester, and Wilton, who held from the king an entire barony, yet never were summoned as baronesses to parliament; because that honour (frequent in lay-persons) was never conferred on any ecclesiastical female. Yet were they, and almost all other abbesses of any quality, saluted "ladies," as earls' daughters are, by the courtesy of England; which custom hath made such a right, that they are beheld not only as unmannerly, but unjust, who in common discourse deny the same. However, the aforesaid four abbesses, though not called to parliament, were solemnly summoned by special writs *ad habendum servitium suum*;* that is, "to have their full number of knights in time of war," where the ladies' personal presence was not expected, but their effectual appearance, by the proxies or their purses, to supply the king's occasions.

7, 8. *Prior of Jerusalem Chief Baron. Next, the Abbot of St. Alban's.*

Of all these, the prior of St. John's in Jerusalem took the precedence, being generally of noble extraction, and a military person. Yea, not content to take place of all regular barons, *Primus Angliæ baro haberi voluit*, saith my author:† "He would be counted" simply and absolutely "the first and chief baron in England;" though the expression speaks rather his affectation, than peaceable possession, of such priority.

Next him, the abbot of St. Alban's took place above all of his Order, to the no small grief and grudge of Glastonbury, seeing Joseph of Arimathea was two hundred years senior to St. Alban. But, who shall deny the patriarch Jacob the privilege of crossing his own hands, to prefer the younger before the elder? Gen. xlviii. 14. The same power (but on what pretence, let others inquire) the pope assumeth to himself, whereby Adrian IV. once a monk of St. Alban's, gave that convent the precedence.

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* *Pat.* 5, *Edwardi I. Dors. in* 11. *Rot. Scutagii ejusdem anni* m. 7.

† CAMDEN'S *Brit.* page 123.

9—12. *The careless Order of the Rest. Seniority not observed in the Summons; nor ranked by their Wealth. Tewkesbury to be added to the Catalogue.*

As for the remaining abbots, we may observe a kind of a careless order observed in their summoning to (and consequently their sitting in) parliament. Now, seeing it will not enter into a rational belief, that their methodizing was merely managed by the will of the clerk of the writs, it must descend on the disposal of the king, calling them in what order he pleaseth.

Sure I am, these abbots were not summoned according to their personal seniorities of their several instalments, nor according to the antiquity of their respective foundations. For, Waltham abbot being *ante-penultimus*, as but founded by king Harold, is commonly fourteenth or fifteenth in the summons. Battle abbey, which, in this body of abbeys, should be beneath the ancle, (as last of all save Selby,) is commonly about the breast, the eighth or ninth in number.

Nor are they ranked according to the richness of their annual revenues; for then, according to their valuation at the Dissolution, they should be marshalled according to the method here ensuing, when first I have premised a note concerning the abbey of Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire.

This abbot appeareth parliamentary neither in any summons exhibited by Master Selden,[*] most curious in this point; nor yet in the catalogue of them presented by Master Camden;[†] and reverence to these worthy authors hath prevailed with me so much that I durst not insert him. However, since I am convinced in my judgment, he must be entered in the list;—partly, moved by the greatness of revenues; partly, because I find him registered by bishop Godwin,[‡] no less critical than the former in historical matters;—yet, to please all parties, we will only add him in the margin, and not enter him in the body of the catalogue.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*	*ob.*	*q.*
1. St. Peter's, Westminster............	3977	6	4	1	1
2. Glastonbury, Somersetshire	3508	13	4	1	1
3. St. Alban's, Hertfordshire	2510	6	1	1	1
4. St. John's of Jerusalem, Middlesex	2385	19	8	0	0
5. St. Edmund's-Bury, Suffolk.........	2336	16	0	0	0
6. Reading, Berkshire	2116	3	9	0	1
7. St. Mary's nigh York	2085	1	5	1	1
8. Abington, Berkshire	2042	2	8	1	1

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[*] "Titles of Honour," page 728.

[†] *Britannia*, page 170.

[‡] In his "Annals of king Henry VIII." A. D. 1539.

		£.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
9.	Ramsey, Huntingdonshire	1983	15	3	0	1[*]
10.	Peterborough, Northamptonshire	1972	7	0	1	1
11.	Gloucester	1550	4	5	1	0
12.	St Austin's, Canterbury	1412	4	7	1	1
13.	Evesham, Worcestershire	1268	9	9	0	0
14.	Crowland, Lincolnshire	1217	5	11	0	0
15.	Waltham, Essex	1079	12	1	0	0
16.	Cirencester, Gloucestershire	1051	7	1	0	0
17.	Battle, Sussex	987	0	11	1	1
18.	Tavistock, Devonshire	902	5	7	1	1
19.	Hyde, nigh Winchester	865	1	6	1	1
20.	Selby, Yorkshire	819	2	6	0	0
21.	Malmesbury, Wiltshire	803	17	7	0	0
22.	Wivelscombe,[†] Gloucestershire	756	11	9	0	0
23.	Middleton, Dorsetshire	720	4	1	0	0
24.	St. Bennet's-in-the-Holm, Norfolk	677	9	8	0	1
25.	Shrewsbury	615	4	3	1	0
26.	Thorney, Cambridgeshire	508	2	5	0	0
27.	Bardney, Lincolnshire	429	7	0	0	0[‡]

The valuations of Coventry and Colchester, I cannot find; and in all these sums we have trusted Harpsfield and Speed, both subject to many mistakes; those standing on slippery ground, who, in point of computation, tread only on figures, and not on numbers at length. The auditors in these accounts pretend to much exactness, descending to the fractions of half-pence and farthings, though much partiality was used therein; many of the raters at the Dissolution, being ranters for the present, proved purchasers for the future, of the lands. The abbey of Ramsey, commonly called "the rich,"[§] is here but the ninth in number, according to the wealth thereof; whereby it plainly appears, that much favour was used in the undervaluing of that foundation.

13. *Some Abbots not Barons richer than those that were.*

We must know there were other abbeys, who, though not so high in dignity, were richer in endowments than many of these parliamentary barons; namely,

		£.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
1.	Fountain's, Richmondshire	1173	0	7	1	0
2.	Lewes, Sussex	1691	9	6	0	1

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[*] Tewkesbury valued at £1598. 1*s.* 3*d.*

[†] This must be a misprint for Winchcomb; as Wivelscomb is a town in Somersetshire.—EDIT.

[‡] All these valuations are taken out of SPEED'S "Catalogue of Religious Houses," page 787.

[§] SIR ROBERT COTTON, (under the name of SPEED,) in the Description of Huntingdonshire.

	£.	s.	d.	ob.	q.
3. St. Werburgh's, Cheshire	1073	17	7	1	0
4. Leicester	1062	0	4	1	1
5. Marton, Surrey	1039	5	3	0	0
6. Fourness, Richmondshire	969	7	1	0	0

These had more lands, at best, were more highly-valued, though not so honourable a tenure, as holding of mean landlords in frankalmonage. And probably the parliamentary barons had more old rents, though these (as later foundations) greater incomes by improved demesnes.

14. *Shaftesbury the richest Nunnery.*

There also were nunneries corrival in revenues with parliamentary abbeys, whereof Shaftesbury the chieftest, valued at £1329. 11*s.* 3*d.* So that the country-people had a proverb, that "if the abbot of Glastonbury might marry the abbess of Shaftesbury, their heir would have more land than the king of England." Barking in Essex, and Sion in Middlesex, fell not much short of Shaftesbury, being severally endowed with above a thousand pounds *per annum.*

15—17. *A profane Proverb. No Country free from Monks. Query, What meant by four Abbots peculiarly exempt?*

Of all counties in England, Gloucestershire was most pestered with monks, having four mitred abbeys beside St. Austin's in Bristol, (who sometimes passed for a baron,) within the compass thereof; namely, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Cirencester, and Wivelscombe [Winchcomb]. Hence the topical wicked proverb, deserving to be banished out of that country, being the profane child of superstitious parents: "As sure as God is in Gloucestershire;" as if so many convents had certainly fastened his gracious presence to that place.

As Gloucestershire was the fullest of, so Westmoreland the freest from, monasteries. It seemeth the monks did not much care for that cold country, nestling themselves but in one place, called "Sharp," which they found so answering the name, that they sought warmer places elsewhere. As for the boasting of the men of the Isle of Wight, that they never had hooded monks therein,[*]—were it so, (their soil being so fruitful and pleasant,) it would merit more wonder, than that Ireland hath no venemous creatures therein. But their brag hath more of mirth than truth in it, seeing the priory at Carisbrook and nunnery at Quarr evidence them sufficiently stocked with such cattle.

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[*] CAMDEN'S *Brit.* in the Isle of Wight.

I have done with this subject of mitred abbeys when we have observed that they were called "abbots general," *aliàs* "abbots sovereign,"[*] as acknowledging in a sort no superior, because exempted from the jurisdiction of any diocesan, having episcopal power in themselves. And here I would be thankful to any who would inform me, that, seeing all these abbots were thus privileged, how it came to pass that four of them were especially termed "abbots *exempti*,"[†] namely, Bury, Waltham, St. Alban's, and Evesham. I say, seeing they were so called κατ' ἐξοχὴν, exempt, as it were, out of the exempted, I would willingly be satisfied what extraordinary privileges these enjoyed by themselves above others of their own Order.

V. OF THE CIVIL BENEFITS, AND TEMPORAL CONVENIENCES, ACCRUING TO THE STATE BY THE CONTINUANCE OF ABBEYS.

1—3. *Give Abbeys their Due; they convenient to dispose youngest Children in; an eminent Instance thereof.*

So much of the greatness, somewhat of the goodness, of abbeys, if possibly it may be done without prejudice to truth. Surely, some pretences (plausible at least) did ingratiate them with the politicians of that age; otherwise prince and people in those days, though blinded with ignorant zeal, yet worldly-wise, would never have been gulled into so long a toleration, yea, veneration, of them.

They were an easy and cheap outlet for the nobility and gentry of the land, therein to dispose their younger children. That younger son who had not mettle enough to manage a sword, might have meekness enough to become a cowl; which cowl in a short time might grow up to be a mitre, when his merits presented him to be abbot of his convent. Clap a veil on the head of a younger daughter, (especially if she were superannuated, not over handsome, melancholy, &c.) and instantly she was provided for in a nunnery; where, without cost or care of her parents, she lived in all outward happiness, wanting nothing except (perhaps) it were a husband. This was a great cause of the long continuance of the English nobility in such pomp and power, as having then no temptation to torture their tenants with racking of rents, to make provision for their younger children. Indeed, sometimes noblemen gave small portions with their children to the convent, not such as would prefer them in marriage to one of their own quality; but generally abbeys were glad to accept them with nothing, thereby to engage the parents and brothers of such young men and maidens to be the constant friends to their convent, on all occasions at court, and chiefly in all parliaments.

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[*] Sir H. Spelman *in Glossario, verbo "Abbas."*

[†] "Titles of Honour," p. 727.

One eminent instance hereof we have in Ralph Nevill, first earl of Westmoreland, of that family; whom I behold as the happiest subject of England since the Conquest, if either we count the number of his children, or measure the height of the honour they attained.

He had by MARGARET, his first wife—1. John, his eldest son, lord Nevill, &c. 2. Ralph, in the right of Mary his wife, lord Ferrers of Ously. 3. Maud, married to Peter lord Mauley. 4. Alice, married to Sir Thomas Gray. 5. Philip, married to Thomas lord Dacre of Gillesland. 6. Margaret, married to the lord Scrope of Bolton. 7. Anne, married to Sir Gilbert Umfreville. 8. Margery, abbess of Barking. 9. Elizabeth, a nun.

He had by JOAN, his second wife—1. Richard, earl of Salisbury. 2. William, in the right of Joan his wife, lord Faulconbridge [de Fauconberge]. 3. George, lord Latimer. 4. Edward, lord Abergavenny. 5. Robert, bishop of Durham. 6. Thomas, in right of his wife, lord Seymour.* 7. Catherine, married to Thomas duke of Norfolk. 8. Eleanor, to Henry earl of Northumberland. 9. Anne, to Humphrey, duke of Buckingham. 10. Jane, a nun. 11. Cicely, to Richard duke of York, and mother to king Edward IV.

See we here the policy of that age, in disposing of their numerous issue. More than the tithe of them was given to the church; and, I trow, the nuns, and abbess especially, were as good madams as the rest, and conceived themselves to go in equipage with their other lady-sisters. And, no wonder if an earl preferred his daughters to be nuns; seeing no king of England, since the Conquest, had four daughters living to woman's estate, but he disposed one of them to be a votary. And Bridget, the fourth daughter to king Edward IV. a nun at Dartford in Kent, was the last princess who entered into a religious Order.

4, 5. *Children taught therein. Conveniency of She-Colleges.*

They were tolerable tutors for the education of youth, there being a great penury of other grammar-schools in that age; and every convent had one or more therein, who, generally gratis, taught the children thereabouts. Yea, they who were loose enough in their own lives, were sufficiently severe in their discipline over others. Grammar was here taught, and music, which in some sort sung her own dirge, (as to the general use thereof,) at the dissolution of abbeys.

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* MILLS, page 393.

Nunneries also were good she-schools, wherein the girls and maids of the neighbourhood were taught to read and work; and sometimes a little Latin was taught them therein. Yea, give me leave to say, if such feminine foundations had still continued, provided no vow were obtruded upon them, (virginity is least kept where it is most constrained,) haply the weaker sex (beside the avoiding modern inconveniences) might be heightened to a higher perfection than hitherto hath been attained. The sharpness of their wits, and suddenness of their conceits, which their enemies must allow unto them, might by education be improved into a judicious solidity, and that adorned with arts, which now they want, not because they cannot learn, but are not taught them. I say, if such feminine foundations were extant now of days, haply some virgins of highest birth would be glad of such places; and, I am sure, their fathers and elder brothers would not be sorry for the same.

6. *Monks the sole Historians, and why.*

They were the sole historians, in writing to preserve the remarkable passages of church and commonwealth. I confess, I had rather any than monks had written the Histories of our land; yet rather than the same should be unwritten, I am heartily glad the monks undertook the performance thereof. Indeed, in all their Chronicles one may feel a rag of a monk's cowl; I mean, they are partial to their own interest. But in that age there was a choiceless choice,—that monks, or none at all, should write our English Histories. Swordmen lacked learning, statesmen leisure, to do it: it was therefore devolved to monks and friars, who had store of time, and no want of intelligence, to take that task upon them. And surely that industrious Bee * hath in our age merited much of posterity; having lately, with great cost and care, enlarged many manuscripts of monks, (formerly confined to private libraries,) that now they may take the free air, and, being printed, publicly walk abroad. Mean time, whilst monks' pens were thus employed, nuns with their needles wrote histories also; that of Christ's passion for their altar-cloths, and other Scripture- (and more legend-) stories in hangings to adorn their houses.

7, 8. *Abbots excellent Landlords, and admirable Housekeepers.*

They were most admirable good landlords; and well might they let and set good pennyworths, who had good pounds-worths freely given unto them. Their yearly rent was so low, as an acknowledgment rather than a rent, only to distinguish the tenant from the landlord. Their fines also were easy; for, though every convent, as a body politic, was immortal, yet because the same consisted of mortal monks for their members, and an old abbot for the head thereof, they were glad to make use of the present time for their profit, taking little fines for long leases. As for rent-beeves, sheep, poultry, &c. reserved on their leases, tenants both paid them the more easily, as growing on the same, and the more cheerfully, because at any time they might freely eat their full share thereof, when repairing to their landlord's bountiful table. Insomuch, that long leases from abbeys were preferred by many before some tenures of freeholds, as less subject to taxes and troublesome attendance.

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* An able stationer in Little-Britain, London.

Their hospitality was beyond compare; insomuch that Ovid, (if living in that age,) who feigned famine to dwell in Scythia, would have fancied feasting an inhabitant of English abbeys. Especially in Christmas-time, they kept most bountiful houses. Whosoever brought the face of a man, brought with him a patent for his free welcome, till he pleased to depart. This was the method: Where he brake his fast, there he dined; where he dined, there he supped; where he supped, there he brake his fast next morning: and so in a circle;—always provided, that he provided lodging for himself at night; abbeys having great halls and refectories, but few chambers and dormitories, save for such of their own society.

9, 10. *Objection against their Hospitality. The same answered.*

Some will object, that "this their hospitality was but charity mistaken, promiscuously entertaining some who did not need, and more who did not deserve it. Yea, these abbeys did but maintain the poor which they made. For, some vagrants, accounting the abbey-alms their own inheritance, served an apprenticeship, and afterwards wrought journey-work, to no other trade than begging; all whose children were, by their father's copy, made free of the same company. Yea, we may observe, that generally such places wherein the great abbeys were seated, (some few excepted, where clothing began when their convent did end,) swarm most with poor people at this day; as if beggary were entailed on them, and that laziness not as yet got out of their flesh, which so long since was bred in their bones."

All this is confessed; yet, by their hospitality, many an honest and hungry soul had his bowels refreshed, which otherwise would have been starved; and better it is, two drones should be fed, than one bee famished. We see the heavens themselves, in dispensing their rain, often water many stinking bogs and noisome lakes, which moisture is not needed by them, (yea, they the worse for it,) only because much good ground lies inseparably intermingled with them;

so that, either the bad with the good must be watered, or the good with the bad must be parched away.

11. *Ely puts all Abbeys down for Feasting.*

Of all abbeys in England, Ely bare away the bell for bountiful feast-making, the vicinity of the Fens affording them plenty of flesh, fish, and fowl, at low rates. Hereupon the poet:—

Prævisis aliis, Eliensia festa videre,
Est, quasi prævisâ nocte, videre diem.

"When other feasts before have been,
If those of Ely last be seen,
'T is like to one who hath seen night,
And then beholds the day so bright."

But, with the leave of the poet's hyperbole, other abbeys, as Glastonbury, St. Alban's, Reading, spurred up close to Ely; which, though exceeding them in feasts, (the evidence oft of a miser,) yet they equalled Ely in the constant tenor of house-keeping. The mention of Reading minds me of a pleasant and true story; which, to refresh my wearied self and reader, after long pains, I here intend to relate.

12, 13. *A pleasant Story of King Henry VIII. He proves a good Physician.*

King Henry VIII. as he was hunting in Windsor Forest, either casually lost, or (more probable) wilfully losing himself, struck down about dinner-time to the abbey of Reading; where, disguising himself, (much for delight, more for discovery to see unseen,) he was invited to the abbot's table, and passed for one of the king's guard, a place to which the proportion of his person might properly entitle him. A sirloin of beef was set before him, (so knighted, saith tradition, by this king Henry,) on which the king laid on lustily, not disgracing one of that place for whom he was mistaken. "Well fare thy heart!" quoth the abbot, "and here, in a cup of sack, I remember the health of his Grace your master. I would give a hundred pounds on the condition I could feed so heartily on beef as you do. Alas! my weak and squeasy stomach will hardly digest the wing of a small rabbit or chicken." The king pleasantly pledged him, and heartily thanking him for his good cheer, after dinner departed, as undiscovered as he came thither.

Some weeks after, the abbot was sent for by a pursuivant, brought up to London, clapped in the Tower, kept close prisoner, fed for a short time with bread and water. Yet not so empty his body of food, as his mind was filled with fears, creating many suspicions to himself, when and how he had incurred the king's displeasure. At last a sirloin of beef was set before him, on which the abbot fed as the farmer of his grange, and verified the proverb, that "two hungry meals makes the third a glutton." In springs king Henry out of a private lobby, where he had placed himself, the invisible spectator of the abbot's behaviour. "My lord," quoth the king, "presently deposit your hundred pounds in gold, or else no going hence all the days of your life. I have been your physician to cure you of your squeasy stomach; and here, as I deserve, I demand my fee for the same." The abbot down with his dust; and, glad he had escaped so, returned to Reading, as somewhat lighter in purse, so much more merrier in heart than when he came thence.

VI. PRESAGES OF THE APPROACHING RUIN OF ABBEYS.

1, 2. *Oldham's Prophecy of the Friars' Fall; seconded by Abbot Whitgift.*

THE wisest and most religious amongst the Romanists presaged and suspected a downfall of these convents some years before it came to pass. For, when it was in the intention and design of Richard Fox, bishop of Winchester, to have built a monastery; Hugh Oldham, bishop of Exeter, dissuaded him, affirming that "such convents possessed more already than they would long enjoy."* He advised him rather to bestow his bounty on founding some college in the university, as which was likely to last longer, and certain to do more good; promising also his own utmost assistance in so pious an undertaking. This was done accordingly; Fox being the first founder of, and Oldham a liberal benefactor to, Corpus Christi College in Oxford.

Add to this a speech of Robert Whitgift, abbot of Wellow, nigh Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, uncle to archbishop Whitgift, who was wont to say, that "they and their religion (chiefly in relation to monasteries) could not long continue; because" said he, "I have read the whole Scripture over and over, and could never find therein that our religion was founded by God."† And, for proof of his opinion, the abbot would allege that saying of our Saviour: "Every planting which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up." And, that he proved a true prophet herein, the next book will sufficiently evidence.

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* GODWIN in the Bishop of Winchester.

† SIR GEORGE PAUL in Whitgift's Life, page 3.

3, 4. *Ominous Burning of Abbeys, often by Lightning. Bells no effectual Charm against Lightning.*

We will conclude with their observation, as an ominous presage of abbeys' ruin, that there was scarce a great abbey in England, which (once at the least) was not burned down with lightning from heaven. 1. The monastery of Canterbury [was] burned *anno* 1145; and afterward again burned *anno* 1174.[*] 2. The abbey of Croyland twice burned.[†] 3. The abbey of Peterborough twice set on fire.[‡] 4. The abbey of St. Mary's in York burned. 5. The abbey of Norwich burned. 6. The abbey of St. Edmond's-Bury burned, and destroyed.[§] 7. The abbey of Worcester burned. 8. The abbey of Gloucester was also burned. 9. The abbey of Chichester burned. 10. The abbey of Glastonbury burned. 11. The abbey of St. Mary in Southwark burned. 12. The church of the abbey of Beverley burned. 13. The steeple of the abbey of Evesham burned.

I will not, with Master Fox, infer from such casualties, that God was more offended with abbeys than other buildings; a natural cause presenting itself of such accidents; namely, because the highest structures (whatever they are) are the fairest marks for lightning and thunder; as if those active meteors took the usurpation of such aspiring buildings in distaste, for entering their territory, and for offering, without leave, to invade the marches of the middle region of the air. And, if mountains of God's own advancing thither, and placing there, pay dear for their honour, and frequently feel the weight of thunder-bolts falling upon them, *feriunt summos fulmina montes;* no wonder if artificial buildings of men's making (whatsoever they be,—palaces, or castles, or churches, or convents) have their ambition often humbled with thunder and lightning, which casually melt and consume them.

Only we will add, that such frequent firing of abbey-churches by lightning confuteth the proud motto, commonly written on the bells in their steeples, wherein each bell entitled itself to a sixfold efficacy:—

1. *Funera plango,*	"Men's deaths I tell, By doleful knell."
2. *Fulmina*[‖] *frango,*	"Lightning and thunder, I break asunder."
3. *Sabbata pango,*	"On Sabbath, all To church I call."
4. *Excito lentos,*	"The sleepy head I raise from bed."

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[*] *Ex Hist.* Gervasii.

[†] *Ex Hist.* Ingulphi.

[‡] *Ex Chron. Peterb.* Walteri Weeks, Hovedeni, Gualteri, Coventr. Fabiani.

[§] *Ex Chronico St. Edmond.* Guil. Malmesbur.

[‖] *Vel, Fulgura.*

5. *Dissipo ventos,*	"The winds so fierce I do disperse."
6. *Paco cruentos,*	"Men's cruel rage I do assuage."

Whereas, it plainly appears, that these abbey-steeples, though quilted with bells almost *cap-à-pie,* were not of proof against the sword of God's lightning. Yea, generally, when the heavens in tempests did strike fire, the steeples of abbeys proved often their tinder, whose frequent burning portended their final destruction; which now, God willing, we come to relate.

VII. OF THE ESSAYS AND OFFERS TO OVERTHROW ABBEYS BEFORE THEY TOOK EFFECT.

1—3. *Orders of Friars alterable according to the Pleasures of their Founders. Particular Convents, on Misdemeanour, dissolvable. Whole Orders routed out by the Pope for their Faults.*

GREAT buildings commonly crack before they fall, to give the dwellers therein warning to depart; so was it here in abbeys. But may we here, first, premise, as an introduction, that it was placed in the power and pleasure of princes and great persons, their founders, to displace and exchange particular Orders, as sometimes monks for nuns, and reciprocally nuns for monks; white for gray friars, and gray for white, as their fancy directed them: whereof we have plenty of instances. But all this made nothing to the loss of monkery in general; though sexes or colours of friars were altered, the same bells did hang still in the steeple, though rung in changes to content several people.

Secondly. Particular convents might be wholly dissolved upon their misdemeanour, as in Berkeley nunnery. Here a young man, left out of design by earl Godwin, dissembled himself to be sick, who, in short space, so acquitted himself amongst the votaries there, that all of them, with their abbess, (whose age might have been presumed a protection for her honesty,) were got with child:* upon complaint and proof whereof unto king Edward the Confessor, they were all driven out; and their nunnery, with large revenues, bestowed upon earl Godwin, by the aforesaid king, who was then accounted patron of all abbeys, which, now fallen into his hands by this foul lapse, he bestowed as a lay-fee, upon this new owner, wholly altering the property thereof.

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* *De honestis onustas, de agnis lupus.*—CAMDEN'S *Brit.* in Gloucestershire, out of Walterus Mapæus.

Thirdly. Whole religious Orders might by order from the pope be totally and finally extirpated. Here I pass by the *fratres flagelliferi*, or "scourging friars," religious bedlams, who used publicly to whip themselves in the market-place, making vellum of their own skins, thereon to write their follies in legible characters. I say, I omit them; afterwards put down by the pope himself: the rather, because I find them not in England, or elsewhere, endowed with considerable revenues. I will insist on the Templars, whose numerous and wealthy fraternity was, for their viciousness, by the pope, in the council of Vienne, dissolved all over Europe, and in England all or most of their land was given to the Knights Hospitallers.* This was a great shaking of all religious Orders, the plucking out of these chief threads, made a ——— in the whole cloth; men conceiving that in process of time the whole sheaf may be broken as well as the single arrows, seeing, perchance, other societies led lives not more religious, but less examined.

4, 5. *The first Stroke at the Root of Abbeys. The Objection of Covetousness against Abbeys (though not answered) evaded by Archbishop Chicheley.*

But the first terrible blow in England given generally to all Orders, was in the lay parliament, as it is called, which did wholly Wickliffize, kept in the twelfth year of king Henry IV. wherein the nobles and commons assembled signified to the king,† that the temporal possessions of abbots, priors, &c. lewdly spent within the realm, would suffice to find and sustain one hundred and fifty earls, one thousand five hundred knights, six thousand two hundred esquires, one hundred hospitals, more than there were. But this motion was mauled with the king's own hand, who dashed it, personally interposing himself, contrary to that character which the jealous clergy had conceived of him, that, coming to the crown, he would be a great enemy to the church.‡ But though Henry Plantagenet, duke of Lancaster, was no friend to the clergy, perchance to ingratiate himself with the people; yet the same Henry king of England, his interest being altered, to strengthen him with the considerable power of the clergy, proved a patron, yea, a champion, to defend them. However, we may say, that "now the axe is laid to the root of the tree" of abbeys; and this stroke for the present, though it was so far from hurting the body that it scarce pierced the bark thereof, yet bare attempts in such matters are important, as putting into people's heads a feasibility of the project, formerly conceived altogether impossible.

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* See Supplement of the "Holy War," chap. i.—iii.

† THOMAS WALSINGHAM.

‡ Being heard to say, that princes had too little, and religious men too much.—HOLINSHED, page 514.

Few years after, namely, in the second year of king Henry V. another shrewd thrust was made at English abbeys, but it was finely and cleverly put aside by that skilful state-fencer Henry Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury. For the former bill against abbeys in full parliament was revived when the archbishop minded king Henry of his undoubted title to the fair and flourishing kingdom of France. Hereat, that king, who was a spark in himself, was inflamed to that design by this prelate's persuasion: and his native courage ran fiercely on the project, especially when clapped on with conscience and encouragement from a churchman in the lawfulness thereof: an undertaking of those vast dimensions, that the greatest covetousness might spread, and highest ambition reach itself, within the bounds thereof. If, to promote this project, the abbeys advanced, not only large and liberal, but vast and incredible sums of money, it is no wonder if they were contented to have their nails pared close to the quick, thereby to save their fingers. Over goes king Henry into France, with many martial spirits attending him; so that putting the king upon the seeking of a new crown kept the abbots' old mitres upon their heads; and monasteries, tottering at this time, were (thank a politic archbishop) refixed on the firm foundations; though this proved rather a reprieve than a pardon unto them, as will afterwards appear.

VIII. OF THE SUPPRESSION OF ALIEN PRIORIES.

1, 2. *The Original of Priories Aliens.*

NEXT followed the dissolving of alien priories, of whose first founding and several sorts something must be observed. When the kings of England by conquest or inheritance were possessed of many and great territories in France, (Normandy, Aquitaine, Picardy, &c.) many French monasteries were endowed with lands in England. For an English kitchen or larder doth excellently well with a French hall. And whilst foreigners' tongues slighted our island, (as barren in comparison of their own country,) at the same time they would lick their lips after the full fare which our kingdom afforded.

Very numerous were these cells in England relating to foreign abbeys, scattered all over the kingdom. One John Norbury erected two for his part, the one at Greenwich, the other at Lewisham in Kent. Yea, Roger de Poictiers,* founded one in the remotest corner of the land, in the town of Lancaster. The richest of them all for annual income was that which Tuo Talbois built at Spalding in Lincolnshire,† giving it to the monks of Angiers in France, valued at no less than £878. 18*s.* 3*d.* of yearly revenue.* And it is remarkable, that as one of these priories was granted before the kings of England were invested with any dominion in France; (namely, Deerhurst in Gloucestershire,† assigned by the testament of Edward the Confessor to the monastery of St. Denys near Paris;) so some were bestowed on those places in foreign parts, where our English kings never had finger of power, or foot of possession. Thus we read how Henry III. annexed a cell in Threadneedle-street in London to St. Anthony in Vienne;‡ and near Charing-cross there was another annexed to the lady Runciavall in Navarre. Belike, men's devotion, in that age, looked on the world as it lay in common, taking no notice how it was sub-divided into private principalities, but proceeded on that rule: "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof," 1 Cor. x. 28; and charity, though wandering in foreign parts, counted itself still at home, because dwelling on its proper pious uses.

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* CAMDEN'S *Brit.* in Lancashire.

† *Idem*, in Lincolnshire.

3, 4. *Alien Priories of two Natures.*

These alien priories were of two natures: Some had monks with a prior resident in them, yet not conventual, but dative and removable *ad nutum* of the foreign abbey, to which they were subservient: Others were absolute in themselves, who, though having an honorary dependence on, and bearing a subordination of respect unto, French abbeys, yet had a prior of their own, being an entire body of themselves to all purposes and intents:—the former not unlike stewards, managing profits for the behoof of their master, to whom they were responsible: the latter resembling the retainers at large, acknowledging a general reference, but not accountable unto them for the revenues they received. Now, both these kinds of priories peaceably enjoyed their possessions here, even after the revolt of those principalities from the crown of England; yet so that, during open hostility and actual war betwixt England and France, their revenues were seized and taken by the king, and restored again when amity was settled.

But king Richard II. and king Henry IV. not so fair as their predecessors herein, not only detained those revenues in time of peace, but also diverted them from their proper use, and bestowed them on some of their lay-servants. So that the crown was little enriched therewith; especially if it be true what Arundel archbishop of Canterbury averred in the House of Commons to the face of the Speaker, that these kings § were not half a mark the wealthier for those rents thus assumed into their hands. And a synod of the clergy in the last of

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* HARPSFIELD *in Catal. Religiosarum Ædium,* fol. 762.

† CAMDEN'S *Brit.* in Gloucestershire.

‡ HARPSFIELD, *ut prius,* page 763.

§ *Antiq. Brit.* page 274.

Henry IV. petitioned the king, that laymen might not invade the possessions of alien priories,[*] but those foundations might be furnished, native English substituted in their rooms: whose request, by reason of the king's death ensuing, took no effect. But this doth intimate, (though I had rather learn than teach in so dark a point,) that those alien priories still stood undissolved by Act of State, with a possibility to revert to their former use; and though the king had fastened upon their profits by his absolute power, yet as yet they were not settled and established in the crown by Act of Parliament.

5, 6. *Their Dissolution. The dangerous Influence of this Precedent.*

But in the fourth year of king Henry V. in the heat and height of his wars with France, all such priories alien as were not conventual were by Act of Parliament dissolved and bestowed on the king;[†] it being conceived unsafe, that men, moving according to a foreign interest, having their affections leading them beyond the seas, and their actions following, (when befriended with secrecy,) should be maintained in this kingdom. Besides, it tended to the manifest detriment of the state, that such should transport our coin and commodities into an enemy's country, without returning a proportionable profit to the commonwealth. Other alien priories, which were conventual, survived until the general mortality of English monasteries. These alien priories were not conceived to have such a temptation to disloyalty as the others, having their absolute subsistence here; and though the monks therein were strangers in respect of their birth, they were counted naturalized in a manner, in regard of their education and livelihood.

The dissolving of these priories made a dangerous impression on all the rest. Say not that "English abbeys were unconcerned, because these strangers being rather suckers than branches of their tree, their growing was a burthen, and their pruning off a benefit thereunto;" for, though aliens in their country, they were allies in their cause, there being an affinity betwixt all religious foundations. And now here was an Act of State for precedent, that without sin of sacrilege such donations might be dissolved. Use was made hereof, beyond the king's intention, who in this act not covetous, but politic, aiming rather to secure than enrich himself: whereas now some courtiers by his bounty tasting on the sweet of abbey-lands, made their breakfasts thereon in the time of Henry V. which increased their appetites to dine on the same in the days of king Henry VIII. not so glutted, but they could sup on the reversions left in the reign of king Edward VI.

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[*] HARPSFIELD *Hist. Ang. sæculo decimo quinto*, cap. 8.

[†] Parliament Rolls *Rastall. titul.* monasteries.

SECTION III.

TO THE HONOURABLE, THE LADY MARY FOUNTAINE.

MADAM,

THOUGH none can expect courtship, many will require congruity, from me. Such will charge me with a great impropriety for dedicating a discourse of monks and friars to your ladyship; where some passages of their wantonness may occasion your blushing for them, who never blushed for themselves. But, know it done by design, that you may plainly perceive how far marriage-chastity transcended forced and pretended virginity: or, if you please, how much a springing Fountain is better than a standing pool soon subject to putrefaction.

Your family, though not a nunnery, may be a religious house; seeing God hath multiplied you into a whole convent;—I mean, the fourteen children which you have at this present: I say "have;" for this reason is rendered, why the children of Job, after his restitution, were not doubled unto him as his cattle were,—because they were utterly foregone, his children only gone before: on which account those six removed from you into a better world still remain yours. God in due time translate you, and your worthy husband, in a good old age, into the same place of happiness.

I. OF CARDINAL WOLSEY'S OMINOUS SUPPRESSING OF FORTY LESSER MONASTERIES, THEREWITH, TO BUILD TWO COLLEGES.

1, 2. *Wolsey's Wealth and Want. Wolsey's Act justly censured.*

VAST were the revenues of cardinal Wolsey, if we account both his wives and concubines, I mean, the place whereon he resided, and churches he held *in commendam;* being at the same time, the pope's legate *a latere*, archbishop of York, chancellor of England, bishop of Winchester, abbot of St. Alban's, beside other meaner preferments. Yet he found Solomon's observation true, "When goods increase, they are increased that eat them," Eccles. v. 11: insomuch, that his magnificent mind was poor in his plenty; and, in the midst of his wealth, wanted means to compass his vast designs. Wherefore, intending to erect two fair colleges, one, where he was born, in Ipswich; the other, where he was bred, in Oxford; and finding himself unable to endow them at his own charges, he obtained license of pope Clement VII. *anno* 1525, to suppress forty smaller monasteries in England, and to lay their old land to his new foundations; which was done accordingly. For the cardinal thought, that these petty Houses, like little sparks of diamonds, were inconsiderable in themselves; whereas they would make a fair show, if all were put together into two jewels only, (his two colleges,) and he carry away all the credit thereof.

An action condemned by the conscientious in that age, accounting it essential to charity, that the thing given be the proper goods of the donor. "Cast thy bread," saith Solomon, "upon the waters," Eccles. xi. 1. It must be THY bread, otherwise, though stolen bread may be pleasant to men, Prov. ix. 17, it is nauseous and distasteful to the God of heaven; who in such cases will not be the receiver, though man be the thief; solemnly disavowing the acceptance of such donations. Witness his own words: "I hate robbery for burnt-offering," Isaiah lxi. 8.

3, 4. *Fig-Leaves to cover it, in vain. The miserable Ends of the Cardinal's Instruments herein.*

Plead not in the cardinal's excuse, that the Houses by him suppressed were of small value; it being as great, yea, greater sacrilege to invade the widow's mite, than the large gifts which the rich priests cast into *corban*: because their bounties were but superfluous wens, whilst hers was an essential limb; yea, as our Saviour observes, the whole body of her estate, Luke xxi. 4; as, probably, some of those poor foundations were erected by founders, like those of Macedonia, "to their power, and beyond their power, willing of themselves," 2 Cor. viii. 3. As for the poor people, formerly living in these then-dissolved Houses, they may be presumed more religious than others that were richer; poverty being a protection for their piety, and they unable to go to the cost of luxurious extravagancies. I find not what provision was afterward made for these helpless souls, thrust out of house and home; so that it is suspicious, that the cardinal, notwithstanding his prodigious hospitality, made more beggars than ever he relieved.

Others allege, that these Houses were still continued to the general end of pious uses. However, it was not fair to alienate them from the primitive intention of the founders; yea, God himself seemed not well-pleased therewith. I know, that "no man knoweth either love or hatred by all that is before them. All things come alike to all: there is one event to the righteous, and to the wicked," &c. Eccles. ix. 1, 2. However, God's exemplary hand ought to be heeded in the signal fatality of such as by the cardinal were employed in this service. Five they were in number; two whereof challenging the field of each other, one was slain,* and the other hanged for it. A third, throwing himself headlong into a well, perished wilfully. A fourth, formerly wealthy, grew so poor, that he begged his bread. The fifth, Dr. Allen, one of especial note, afterward archbishop of Dublin, was slain in Ireland. What became of the cardinal himself, is notoriously known; and, as for his two colleges, that in Ipswich—the emblem of its builder, soon up, soon down—presently vanished into private houses; whilst the other, Christ Church in Oxford, was fain to disclaim its founder; and, being adopted the issue of the bounty of king Henry VIII. at this day owns not him for father who first gave it life, but who afterwards kept it from dying. In a word, this dissolution of forty small Houses caused by the cardinal, made all the forest of religious foundations in England to shake, justly fearing the king would finish to fell the oaks, seeing the cardinal began to cut the underwood.

II. OF THE FIRST PRIORY WHICH WAS SOLEMNLY SUPPRESSED BY KING HENRY VIII.

1, 2. *Christ-Church Priory near Aldgate first and solely dissolved. The Antiquity, Wealth, and Dignity thereof.*

Some six years after, whilst as yet all other abbeys flourished in their height and happiness, as safe and secure as ever before; king Henry VIII. for reasons best known to himself, singled out the priory of Christ-Church nigh Aldgate in London, and dissolved the same. This he bestowed as a boon on Thomas Audley,† Speaker in the Parliament; and, indeed, it was an excellent receipt to clear his voice, to make him speak shrill and loud for his master. This shrewdly shook the freehold of all abbeys; seeing now, two such great men, Wolsey and Audley, both in their times lord chancellors of England, (and, therefore, presumed well versed in cases of conscience,) the one a divine first took, the other a common lawyer first received, such lands into their possession.

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* Godwin's "Annals of Henry VIII." *anno* 1525. Yet Mr. Fox maketh the lord Cromwell the principal person employed by the cardinal therein.

† Hall's "Chronicle," *anno* 1525.

A word of the antiquity, wealth, and dignity of this convent, because in each respect it was remarkable. It was founded, *anno* 1108, by queen Matilda,* wife to king Henry I. dedicated to the Holy Trinity, for black canons or canons-regular; and one Norman (by name and nation) was first prior thereof. In process of time it became rich in land and ornaments, and passed all the priories in London or Middlesex, especially in this particular,—that the prior thereof was always an alderman of London,† namely, of Portsoken ward, (though otherwise their convent standeth in Aldgate ward,) and used to ride amongst the alderman in a livery like the rest, save that his habit was in the shape of a spiritual person. In the year 1264, Eustathius‡ the eighth prior of this convent, because he himself was loath to deal in temporal matters, instituted Theobald Fitz-Ivo alderman in his place. They were most bountiful housekeepers, relieving all comers and goers, and got themselves much reputation for their hospitality.

3—5. *A Guess at King Henry's Design. The Priory taken by Composition; the Effect thereof upon the People.*

Some conjecture this was king Henry's design in dissolving this priory,—thereby to make a discovery in people's affections how they resented the same. He dispatched this convent first, as the forlorn hope is sent out before the body of the army; which, if meeting with unsuspected dangers, may give timely notice to the rest, to advance no farther. And, if he had found the people much startled thereat, he could quickly knock off, retrench his resolutions, and (dexterous to decline envy for himself) handsomely cast the same on his instruments employed therein. Others think, the king as yet had no such project in intention, but did it merely to gratify Sir Thomas Audley, whom he loved the better for hating cardinal Wolsey, now beginning to fall; against whom he had bitterly inveighed in the parliament.

As for the manner of the dissolving thereof: Whereas all other abbeys afterwards were stormed by violence, (whatsoever is plausibly pretended to the contrary,) this only was fairly taken by composition. For ——— the prior thereof, was sent for by the king, commended for his hospitality, promised preferment as a man worthy greater dignity; which promise surely he performed, though the particulars of the agreement are not to be known. Whereupon,

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* HARPSFIELD in his Catalogue of Abbeys.

† STOW'S "Survey of London," page 145.

‡ *Idem, ibidem.*

anno 1531, the twenty-third year of the king's reign, in the month of July, he surrendered the same to the king's use. As for the canons, they were sent to other Houses of the same Order; who now, being severally disposed in other convents, they might serve them as monitors to warn all the rest, seasonably to prepare for the time of their dissolution.

The rooting out of this priory wrought a middle effect in people: for they were neither dumb nor clamorous thereat, but grumbled out their discontentment for a time, and then returned to their former temper. However, at first they were so abstemious, that, whereas the priory church, and steeple was proffered to whomsoever would take it down, no man would undertake the offer. Whereupon, Sir Thomas Audley was fain to be at more charges than he could make of the materials; the workmen with great labour beginning at the top, loosed stone from stone, and throwing them down, most part of them were broken in the fall, and remained useless.*

6, 7. *This the ancientest of all Priories; at this Day called the Duke's Place.*

What might move the king to single this priory out of all the rest, to lead this sad dance, is variously conjectured. Indeed, this was the ancientest of all England of that Order since the Conquest; I mean, of canon-regulars, as our author telleth us.† And therefore it was but reasonable, the oldest should go first, the first-born should be first buried. But, surely, no such consideration moved king Henry to this choice, who was not so methodical in his deeds of undoing.

As for the lord Audley, on whom this priory was bestowed, Margaret his sole daughter and heir was married to Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, who dwelt therein, and which from him was called the Duke's Place. No ingenuous soul will envy so honourable a person the accommodation of so handsome a habitation; only some, perchance, will bemoan that the Lord's Place, (for so, in their and Jacob's language, Gen. xxviii. 17, they called the church,) whither alone the numerous neighbour-inhabitants repaired for public service, should be so destroyed that the people were for many years left churchless, till their wants very lately ‡ were supplied by the re-edifying thereof out of the ruins, by the charity of others; I am sure, none of the heirs of him who demolished the same.

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* Stow, *ut prius.*

† *Idem, ut prius.*

‡ Namely, *anno Domini* 1621.

III. OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE ORDER OF OBSERVANT FRIARS, AND A PREPARATORY FOR THE DISSOLUTION OF ALL THE REST.

1, 2. *Observant Friars, why first falling under King Henry's Displeasure: totally and finally dissolved.*

It is the practice of advised physicians, in purging of long-corrupted bodies, (where the ill humours may prescribe peaceable possession for many years,) to proceed not violently, all at once; but gently, by degrees. The same course was embraced by king Henry in dissolving of abbeys, gradually (and therefore the less visibly) to work their subversion, so to avoid the danger of a sudden and extreme alteration. And first he began with the Minorites, or Franciscan Observant Friars, whose chief seats were Greenwich and Canterbury. Two motives mainly incensed him against this Order: One, because two of their most eminent fathers, Hugh Rich, prior of a convent in Canterbury, and Richard Risby, had tampered with Elizabeth Barton, *aliàs* the holy maid of Kent, and were convicted, and executed with her for high treason: A second, because this Order generally manifested most contumacy and contempt against the king, in the matter of queen Catherine's divorce, inveighing both in their sermons and disputations against the unlawfulness thereof,* especially Elston and Payton, two famous friars in London. A great papist beholds it as ominous,† and a prognostic of sad success, that the lady (afterward queen) Elizabeth, just eleven months before, had been christened in these friars' church at Greenwich; as if her baptizing therein portended, that those friars should soon after be washed away from this their convent.

Hereupon, in the year of our Lord 1534, the aforesaid whole Order of Friars Observant were suppressed, and Augustine Friars substituted in their places. Nor were these Observants (like the canon-regulars in the last chapter) disposed of in other foundations, but totally and finally banished out of all religious societies. For, king Henry's smiles complimented the former out of their Houses, by their own willing condescension; whilst his frowns outed these, as delinquents, by a violent expulsion. Yea, probably, some of them had been expelled their lives, as well as their livings, (two hundred of them being at once imprisoned,) had not Sir Thomas Wriothesley, their great friend and favourer, seasonably interceded for them to the king, on hopes of some of their future conformity to his majesty's desires.‡

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* SANDERS *De Schis. Anglic.* lib. i. page 81. † *Idem,* page 80. ‡ *Idem,* page 89.

3, 4. *The Supplication of Beggars, with the Sense thereof. The Geometry, Arithmetic, and Chronology of the Author thereof.*

Immediately after, a famous petition, called "the Supplication of Beggars," came into public view. It was made some years before by one Mr. Simon Fish,* a gentleman of Gray's-Inn, and solemnly presented by George Eliot, an English merchant, and entertained by king Henry for a great rarity: though indeed the same long since had been tendered him by queen Anna Boleyn,† and the king acquainted with the passages therein. So that possibly this supplication might first come from some near his majesty, as contrivers thereof. And, as Moses was sent to be nursed unto her who, though generally unknown, was indeed his own mother which bare him, Exod. ii. 8; so petitions may sometimes be recommended back to the same power that first framed them; great ones delighting, not only for the greater solemnity, but also for their better security, to transfer their intentions to be others' entreaties; their private designs finding more acceptance, when passing under the notion of a public desire. The effect thereof was to complain, how a crew of strong, puissant, counterfeit-holy, idle beggars and vagabonds, by their luxury starved a number of needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick people, which otherwise might comfortably be maintained; as also to discover the foul enormities and filthy conversation used amongst those pretended pious fraternities, as the same is set forth at large in "the Book of Martyrs," whither we remit the reader.

Only a word of the geometry, arithmetic, and chronology, used by the author of this supplication. For his geometry: I conceive he faileth not much in proportion, when, in measuring the content of this kingdom, he affirmeth, that they had got into their hands more than the third part of all the realm. But, whereas he auditeth the revenues of the friars in England, beside their lands, to amount yearly to four hundred thirty thousand three hundred thirty-and-three pounds, allowing their quarterage to arise out of fifty-two thousand parishes, he highly over-reacheth their number, not completing ten thousand.‡ Indeed, the papists tell us of ten thousand churches in England destroyed all in one year: *Millia dena unus templorum destruit annus.* Yet these, being conventual not parochial churches, add nothing to the former computation. Yea, should all the chapels-of-ease in this land be admitted to take a new degree, and to commence churches in this catalogue, it would not make up the number. But it is given to beggars sometimes to hyperbolize, to make their case the more pitiful; and, indeed, if we defalk a third part of that sum, yet still vast was the remainder of such friars' revenues. But, whereas the said author of this Supplication saith, that, four hundred years past, these friars had not one penny of this money; query, Whether he be not mistaken in his chronology, and whether some of the same profits accrued not to the Benedictines before the Conquest?.

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* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," vol. ii. page 279. † *Idem, ibidem.* ‡ See Camden's *Brit.* in his Division of Brit. page 162.

5. *The Anti-supplication of the Souls in Purgatory.*

In answer to this, an anti-supplication was made, and set forth by Sir Thomas More, (extant amongst his other works,) called, "the Supplication of the Souls in Purgatory." The scope whereof is, to press the continuation of those lands, given to pious uses, for the good of the deceased, and that they might not be aliened without danger of sacrilege. In this Supplication, pleasant dallying and scoffing are so intermixed with complaints, that the author thereof discovereth himself more satirist than saint in his expressions. So hard it is for an actor so to divest himself of himself, as not to vent some of his own humours, with the property of that person whom he is to represent! And, seeing Sir Thomas More would have his own jests when dying, no wonder if he makes others to jeer when dead.

6. *The first Supplication best received.*

These two Supplications pressing both together for audience and reception, that of the beggars on earth found the best entertainment: whether because it came first, which we know is great advantage in beggars,—"first come, first served:" or, because these terrestrial beggars were nearer at hand, (and so best able to manage their own suit,) whilst those in Purgatory were conceived at a greater distance; or, chiefly, because their Supplication suggested matter of profit to the king and his courtiers; and such whispers sound loud, and commonly meet with attentive ears. And as an introduction to the Dissolution of all abbeys, spies were sent forth to make strict discovery of men's behaviours therein. Indeed, the lord Cromwell, scout-master-general in this design, stayed at the court, whilst his subordinate emissaries, men of as prying eyes as afterwards they proved of gripple hands, sent unto him all their intelligence, in manner and form as in due time shall ensue.

IV. THE LESSER MONASTERIES BESTOWED ON THE KING.

1—3. *A gainful Motion made for the King: reported, by Mistake, opposed by Bishop Fisher; easily passed in Parliament.*

Now, because some months were employed in that service before a perfect account was returned to the lord Cromwell, the suppressing of the smaller monasteries may here seasonably be inserted. For in the twenty-seventh of the king's reign, *anno* 1539, a motion was made in parliament, "that to support the king's states, and supply his wants, all religious Houses might be conferred on the crown, which were not able clearly to expend above two hundred pounds a-year."

Some may report, that John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, earnestly, though pleasantly, opposed the motion, by alleging an apologue out of Æsop, that the helve of the axe craved a handle of the wood of oaks, only to cut off the sere-boughs of the tree; but when it was a complete instrumental axe, it felled down all the wood: applying it, that the grant of these smaller Houses would in fine prove destructive to all the rest. But Fisher being now in his grave, this could not be spoken in this Parliament; which, with more probability, was formerly urged by him against cardinal Wolsey, in dissolving the forty Houses; whereof before.

This proposition found little opposition in either House. Henry VIII. was a king, and his necessities were tyrants; and both suing together for the same thing, must not be denied. Besides, the larger thongs they cut out of other men's leather, the more entire they preserved their own hide, which made the parliament to ease their own purses by laying the load on those lesser Houses, which they accordingly passed to the crown.

4. *A Preamble of Importance restored out of the Records to the printed Statute. Two Principles which must not be questioned.*

The lord Herbert in his "History"* complaineth, and that justly, that "this statute for dissolution of the lesser monasteries doth begin very bluntly; without any formal preamble in the printed books they are published." It seemeth that herein he never searched the record itself, (otherwise industrious in that kind,) to which a solemn preface is prefixed, showing some reasons of the Dissolution, and pious uses to which they were attained, in form as followeth: The preamble is this:—"Forasmuch as manifest sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living, is daily used and committed commonly in such little and small abbeys, priories, and other religious Houses of monks, canons, and nuns, where the congregation of such religious persons is under the number of twelve persons, whereby the governors of such religious Houses and their convent, spoil, destroy, consume, and utterly waste as well the churches, monasteries, priories, principal houses, farms, granges, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, as the ornaments of the churches, and their goods and chattels, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, slander of good religion, and to the great infamy of the king's Highness and the realm, if redress should not be had thereof: And albeit that many continual visitations hath been heretofore had by the space of two hundred years and more, for an honest and charitable reformation of such unthrifty, carnal, and abominable living, yet nevertheless little or no amendment is hitherto had, but their vicious living shamefully increaseth and augmenteth, and by a cursed custom so grown and infested, that a great multitude of the religious persons in such small Houses do rather choose to rove abroad in apostasy, than to conform themselves to the observation of good religion; so that without such small Houses be utterly suppressed, and the religion therein committed to the great and honourable monasteries of religion in this realm, where they may be compelled to live religiously for reformation of their lives, there can else be no redress nor reformation in that behalf. In consideration whereof, the king's most royal Majesty, being supreme head in earth, under God, of the church of England, daily studying and devising the increase, advancement, and exaltation of true doctrine and virtue in the said church, to the only glory and honour of God, and the total extirping and destruction of vice and sin, having knowledge that the premises be true, as well by the compts of his late visitations, as by sundry credible informations; considering also that divers and great solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein, thanks be to God, religion is right well kept and observed, be destitute of such full numbers of religious persons as they ought and may keep, have thought good that a plain declaration should be made of the premisses, as well to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, as to other his loving subjects, the Commons in this present Parliament assembled.

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* Of Henry VIII. page 376.

"Whereupon the said Lords and Commons by a great deliberation finally be resolved, that it is and shall be much more to the pleasure of Almighty God, and for the honour of this his realm, that the possessions of such small religious houses, not being spent, spoiled, and wasted for increase of maintenance of sin, should be used and converted to better uses; and the unthrifty religious persons so spending the same, to be compelled to reform their lives. And hereupon most humbly desire the king's Highness, that it may be enacted by authority of this present Parliament, that his Majesty shall have to him and to his heirs for ever, all and singular such monasteries.

"His majesty shall have and enjoy," &c. as it followeth in the printed statute.*

In this preamble two principles are laid down of infallible truth, and posterity must not be so presumptuous as to question them: 1. The smallest convents were the greatest sinners, and they who had the least lands led the lewdest lives. 2. It was harder to reform little convents than those that were greater. It seems such small Houses, like little fishes, could not be caught with the net of reformation, as slipping through the holes thereof; and, therefore, no way to repress their faults except by suppressing their foundation. All I will add is, God first punished great Sodom, and spared little Zoar, though, probably, also in fault. Here Zoar was first punished; let great Sodom beware, and the larger monasteries look to themselves.

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* Cap. xxviii.

5—8. *Exact Measuring to the Standard of Dissolution. Many aged Persons at a Loss for Livelihood. Abbey-Lands politicly scattered among many Purchasers. The Number of the lesser Monasteries.*

And now adieu all religious Houses in England that could not clearly spend above two hundred pounds *per annum*; and we must not believe any sinister dealing was used by favour to rack the revenues of some above, and out of dislike to shrink the rents of others beneath, the standard of dissolution, when twenty shillings a year, under or over the aforesaid sum, might save or destroy a small monastery. As for such (if any in that posture) who had just two hundred pounds and no more, they were obnoxious to the statute; whilst five shillings more saved all, as that is a fair ball in the tennis-court which toucheth the line, yet goeth over it.

Ten thousand persons were by this Dissolution sent to seek their fortunes in the wide world. Some, indeed, had fathers or friends to receive them, others none at all. Some had twenty shillings given them at their ejection, and a new gown, which needed to be of strong cloth to last so long till they got another. Most were exposed to want. I see no such certainty for a comfortable livelihood as a lawful calling; for monkish profession was no possession, and many a young nun proved an old beggar. I pity not those who had hands and health to work; but, surely, the gray hairs of some impotent persons deserved compassion; and I am confident such, had they come to the doors of the charitable reader hereof, should have had a meal's meat and a night's lodging given unto them.

A clear revenue of thirty thousand pounds *per annum* was here advanced to the crown, besides ten thousand pounds in plate and movables; though the king enjoyed it but a short time, as passing it away by grant, sale, and exchange to his subjects. This was done by the politic counsel of the wise lord Cromwell; not hoping that these small morsels to so many mouths should satisfy their hunger, but only intending to give them a taste of the sweetness of abbey-lands. And here papists plentifully rail upon him in scattering these lands all abroad, that if any should be so scrupulous as to find fault with the fact, a general guiltiness should amount unto innocence. "Thus," say they, "there is no fear that a man shall be condemned for felony, who hath so many receivers in the county; that scarcely a judge can sit, and surely no jury can be empanneled upon him, saving such who had been parties with him."

No fewer than three hundred seventy-five convents (as Sanders doth account them) were dissolved at this time. Sure I am, none was left standing in the whole diocess of Bangor, where no foundation was valued at full seventy pounds *per annum.**

9—12. *Why the King cajoleth the great Monasteries. Specious Uses pretended on heavy Penalties. Such Penalties graciously repealed by King James. Some grudge at so great a Grant.*

We must not forget how, in the foresaid preamble, the king fairly claweth the great monasteries; wherein, saith he, "religion, thanks be to God, is right well kept and observed;" though he clawed them soon after in another acceptation. The truth is, king Henry could not suppress the lesser abbeys but by the consent of the greater abbots, whereof twenty-six (as barons) voted in the parliament, who mollified them by this commendation into a concurrence with his desire.

However, most specious uses were pretended, (though few perchance had faith firm enough to believe their full performance,) "that all should be done to the pleasure of Almighty God, and for the honour of the realm." And particular care is taken in the statute, as it is printed, "for the reservation of many rents and services, corrodies, and pensions to founders, donors, and benefactors." Order also was taken, "that those to whom abbey-lands were passed, should keep, or cause to be kept, a continual house and household in the same site or precinct." They were also "to occupy yearly as much of the domains in tillage as the abbots did, or their farmers under them, within the time of twenty years next before this Act, otherwise forfeiting to the king's Highness for every month so offending £6. 13*s.* 4*d.* to be recovered to his use in any of his courts of record." The arrears whereof, if rigorously exacted, would amount to a vast sum from such offenders, whose hospitality was contracted to a shepherd and his dog; neither relieving those that would work, by industry; nor such who could not work, by their charity.

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* See SPEED's "Catalogue of Valuations."

These penalties stood in full force above eighty years; namely, until the twenty-first of king James, when by Act of Parliament they were repealed. Indeed, such who are obnoxious to penal statutes are only innocent by courtesy, and may be made guilty at their prince's pleasure. And though such statutes may be dormant as disused, they are never dead till revoked, seeing commonly princes call on such statutes when themselves are called on by their necessities. Many of the English gentry knew themselves subject to such penalties, when, instead of maintaining tillage, [they] had converted the granges of abbeys into inclosures; and, therefore, provided for their own safety, when they wrought the king to a revocation of those statutes.*

But the courtiers grudged at this grant and great indulgence given by the king without any valuable compensation, some sticking not to say, that hereby the king at once gave his subjects more than ever they gave him in subsidies, benevolences, contributions, or any other way whatsoever, all the time of his reign; which if so, let no man's eye be evil, because the king's was so good to his subjects.

V. THE NORTHERN REBELLION OCCASIONED BY THIS DISSOLUTION.

1—4. *Northern Rebellion, begun, suppressed, punished; excused by Sanders unjustly.*

WHEN all in the school are equally guilty, and the master beginneth at the bottom to correct the least boys first, no wonder if those in the highest form begin to shake; as here no doubt the bigger abbeys did, except some few, who, to follow the metaphor, like sturdy striplings, counting themselves above correction, began to prepare themselves to make resistance; hence presently arose the northern rebellion, wherein all the open undertakers were in the North of England; though, no doubt, many secret compliers south of Thames were engaged.

This commotion began first in Lincolnshire, where the rebels presented Six Articles to the king; in the last whereof they complained, that divers bishops of England, of his Grace's late promotion, had subverted the faith of Christ, as they thought; which is, the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Rochester, Salisbury, St. David's, and Dublin.

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* See the Statutes the twenty-first of king James, cap. 28.

This Lincolnshire commotion being quickly suppressed, and a right understanding begotten betwixt the king and his subjects, the rebellious humour removed into Yorkshire; where no fewer than fifty thousand, saith Sanders, were assembled in a body under Robert Aske (a mean gentleman) their captain, and one Diamond, though a knave of another suit, who termed himself the Earl of Poverty. Yet this distemper also was seasonably cured by the King's pardon and their submission; till soon after a great part of them fell into a relapse of rebellion, carrying in their ensigns the five wounds of our Saviour, the chalice, with the host, and the name of Jesus betwixt them; who, being vanquished by the king's forces, under the command of the earl of Shrewsbury, were condignly executed for the same.

Indeed, Sanders (to whom it is as natural to defame, as for a stone to descend) complaineth that the king executed those whom formerly he had pardoned for the same offence, contrary to God's proceedings, with whom *peccata remissa non recurrunt;* yea, contrary to equity, and all common justice. But our Chronicles make it plain, that they ran on the score of a new rebellion, (their faults specifically not numerically the same,) and justly suffered for their offences therein.

5, 6. *Persons executed.*

Thomas lord Darcy, and the lord Hussey, (first and last baron of his family,) were beheaded on this account: the first of these being much bemoaned both for what he had been, (a martial man of merit by sea and land,) and for what he was: (decayed, being almost eighty, with old age:) Insomuch that there goeth a tradition, that he had the king's pardon in his pocket, and slept while the sentence of condemnation was passed on him, and then produced it too late: such (it seems) were the rigorous proceedings against him.

Aske and Diamond were executed in this rebellion, and so also were six abbots, namely, of Sawley, Barling, Gerveaux, Whaley, Rivers, with the prior of Burlington,* besides many gentlemen of prime account, whereof these the chief: Robert Constable, Thomas Piercy, Francis Bigot, Nicholas Musgrave, Nicholas Temple, Stephen Hamilton, Thomas Gilby, William Lumley, John Bulmer and his wife. However, some pity may seem proper to these persons, as ignorantly zealous, and grieved to behold the destruction of the old religion before they had received any competent instruction for a new. And thus was there a rout of the most ancient of the northern gentlemen of the Romish persuasion, who in the next generation had scarcely rallied themselves again but they were routed the second time in the rebellion of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland.

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* In BURNET'S "History of the Reformation," the names of the rebellious abbots are thus given: "The abbots of Walley, Jerveux, Bridlington, Lenton, Woburn, and Kingstead, and Mackrall the monk, that first raised the Lincolnshire rebellion."—EDIT.

VI. THE RETURN OF THE VISITORS OF ABBEYS.

1, 2. *The Return of the Lord Cromwell's Agents. The principal Commissioners.*

By this time, the instruments employed, by the lord Cromwell, to make discovery of the vicious lives of monks and friars, were all returned in their persons, or in their intelligence sent unto him. They were men who well understood the message they went on, and would not come back without a satisfactory answer to him that sent them, knowing themselves were likely to be no losers thereby. And now they had found out water enough to drive the mill, (besides what ran by,) a sufficient detection to effect the business. Of these, some were put in commission to visit abbeys; others moving in a lower (but no less needful) sphere of activity.

Of these commissioners the principal were, Richard Layton, Thomas Legh, William Peters, doctors of the law; Doctor John London, dean of Wallingford.* Of the three former I can say nothing; but find the latter, though employed to correct others, no great saint himself; for afterwards he was publicly convicted of perjury,† and adjudged to ride with his face to the horse-tail at Windsor and Oakingham with papers about his head; which was done accordingly.

3, 4. *Their two-edged Sword. Monks weary of their Lives.*

Their power was partly inquisitive, to search into the former lives of religious persons; partly impositive, to enjoin them stricter rules for their future observation. It is hard to say whether their eyes were more prying for what was past, or hands more heavy for the time to come; and most true it is, that, betwixt both, many monks formerly lazy in, were now weary of, their present profession.

Some counted their convents their prisons, being thus confined; for, once out of the House, (without lawful cause and leave obtained,) and never in again. It was a fine thing when they might, but sad case when they must, live in their monasteries; the eighty-six articles of the visitors (looking with Janus partly backward, partly forward) did so vex them, that many who had hopes of others' subsistence cast off the cowls and vails, and quitted their convents.

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* Lord Herbert in "the Life of Henry VIII." page 398.

† Fox's "Acts and Monuments," page 1221, where is a picture thereof.

VII. THE SECOND SORT OF INSINUATING EMISSARIES.

1, 2. *Others undone by their own Dissensions. A charitable Censure.*

THESE visitors were succeeded with a second sort of public agents, but working in a more private way, encouraging the members in monasteries to impeach one another: for, seeing there was seldom such general agreement in any great convent, but that factions were found, and parties did appear therein, these emissaries made an advantageous use thereof. No abbey could have been so soon destroyed, but by cunning setting it against itself, and secret fomenting of their own divisions. Whereupon, many, being accused, did recriminate their accusers; and, hopeless to recover their own innocency, pleased themselves by plunging others in the like guiltiness. Others, being conscious to themselves, prevented accusing, by confessing their faults, and those very foul ones. Insomuch that some have so much charity as to conceive, that they made themselves worse than they were, though it was a needless work for a Black-Moor to besoot his own face.

Yea, some hold that as witches, long-tortured with watching and fasting, and pinched when but ready to nod, are contented causelessly to accuse themselves to be eased of the present pain; so some of these poor souls, frighted with menaces, and fearing what might be the success, acknowledged all, and more than all, against themselves; the truth whereof none on earth can decide.

VIII. SOLICITING AND TEMPTING EMISSARIES COMPLAINED OF BY THE PAPISTS.

1—4. *A Devilish Design, if true. A memorable Story: Sin plot, Sin pay for. Application as far as concerns the Matter in Hand.*

THE papists do heavily complain, (how justly, God alone knoweth,) that a third sort of agents were employed, to practise on the chastity of the nuns, so to surprise them into wantonness. Some young gallants were on design sent to some convents, with fair faces, flattering tongues, store of gold, and good clothes, youth, wit, wantonness, and what else might work on the weaker sex. These having with much craft screwed themselves into the affections of nuns, and brought them to their lure, accused them afterwards to the king's commissioners for their incontinence: a damnable act, if true, and which mindeth me of the ensuing story, here not impertinently inserted.

Some sixty years since, an English gentleman had the chastity of his wife in suspicion, jealous of a particular person, who kept her company. To put it to trial, this her husband so contrived the matter, a private place was appointed, with all accommodations for such a deed of darkness, whither the woman, with her suspected paramour, were, by set design, (but wearing to them the visage of a seeming casualty,) brought, and left together. Mean time her husband made himself master of a secret inspection out of the next room, where, with some of his friends, he was the witness of his wife's dishonesty and his own disgrace. Soon after he entered his action, sues for a divorce, and the court seemed generally inclined to the granting thereof.

But a reverend judge, there present, refused to consent thereunto, alleging it the duty of every husband, by his prayers, counsel, and all other lawful means, to save and secure the chastity of his wife; and not to tempt temptations to tempt her; who, otherwise, might charitably be presumed honest, if such a fore-plotted occasion had not debauched her, and this not the detecting, but first causing, of her disloyalty. Seeing therefore in some sort he had been a pander to his wife, let him satisfy himself in the assurance of what was doubtful before, and bear the burthen of his own betraying her.

How just this judge's sentence was, (all circumstances considered,) I will not interpose. Only in application to the present purpose, though I confess the relation betwixt husband and wife the nearest, (and therefore most obliging to their mutual preservation,) the general principles of religion, and the communion of saints, tieth all Christians, as they tender the honour and glory of God, to preserve the consciences of others undefiled. It was therefore a mere satanical trick, who is commonly called "the tempter," in Scripture, Matt. iv. 3, and 1 Thess. iii. 5, first to solicit souls to sin, and, after the committing thereof, to be an "accuser of the brethren," Rev. xii. 10; and seeing the tempter is deeper guilty than the tempted, as more active and voluntary, no reason that he should escape, and the other be punished. But all this discourse sinketh, the foundation failing; namely, if the premisses cannot be (which as yet are not) proved,—that such indirect dealing was used in surprising of any votaries into uncleanness.

5—7. *A Complaint of the Papists; a sad Story, if true. The Pedigree of this Tradition.*

But still the papists go further, complaining of false returns, that many of these inveiglers of nuns met with impregnable pieces of chastity, neither to be battered by force, nor undermined by fraud, who, despairing to lie with their bodies, did lie on their reputations, making their fames to suffer in those false reports which they returned to the king's commissioners. And the following story is, I assure you, traditioned with very much credit amongst our English catholics :—

Two young gentlemen, whose names for just cause I forbear, went to a nunnery within twelve miles of Cambridge, in the nature of travellers on the highway ; who, being handsomely habited, and late at night, were admitted into some out-lodgings of that nunnery. Next day their civil addresses to the abbess were returned with such entertainment as became the laws of hospitality. Afterwards producing or pretending a commission to visit their convent, they abode there certain days ; and, how bad soever they were, met with no counterpart to embrace their wanton proffers. However, at the return, they gave it out, that nothing but their weariness bounded their wantonness, and that they enjoyed those nuns at their own command.

One of the aforesaid gentlemen, with great grief and remorse of heart, did in private confess the same to Sir William Stanley, knight, afterwards employed in the Low Countries ; avowing that nothing in all his life lay more heavy on his conscience than this false accusation of those innocents : and the said Sir William told this passage to a noble catholic still alive. All I will say to this story is this, that if this Sir William Stanley was he, who, contrary to his solemn oath to the earl of Leicester and the United States, betrayed the strong city of Daventer to the Spaniards,* and lived many years after in a neglected, forlorn condition,† one so faithless in his deeds may be presumed false in his words, and the whole credit of the relation may justly at least be suspected.

IX. SOME CONVENTS ON EXAMINATION APPEARING VERY VIRTUOUS.

1, 2. *Some Convents retaining their primitive Piety ; but too few to preserve the Rest.*

It is confessed by unpartial people, that some monasteries of both sexes, being put to the test, appeared very commendable in their behaviour ; so that the least aspersion could not justly be cast upon them. I read in one author, that " some societies behaved themselves so well, that their lives were not only exempt from notorious faults, but their spare times bestowed in writing books, painting, carving, engraving; so that their visiters became intercessors for them."* Amongst these, the nunnery of Godstow near Oxford must not be forgotten, which, as it hath a good name, (being a Bethel, that is, "God's house or habitation,") well answered thereunto, in the conditions of the people living therein.

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* CAMDEN'S " Elizabeth " *in anno* 1587, page 507.

† *Idem, ibidem.*

But there were few such black swans; and these innocent convents, being inconsiderable in number, could not preserve the rest from ruin. Eight and one pious persons are insufficient to save Sodom from destruction, if ten be the lowest number to which Divine mercy will descend, Gen. xviii.

X. THE GENERALITY OF MONASTERIES NOTORIOUSLY VICIOUS.

1, 2. *Charitable Premisses. Read, and blush, and sigh.*

I SAY, "the generality;" otherwise take any numerous society, and where there be many people, there will be many offenders; there being a Ham amongst the eight in the ark, Gen. vii. 7; yea, a Cain amongst the four primitive persons in the beginning of the world, Gen. iv. 1. I add also, "notoriously vicious," for "in many things we offend all," James iii. 2. Yea, if the visitors had been visited, they were conscious to themselves of many failings, which might make them more favourably to reflect on the infirmities of others.

Here I shall present the reader with a black bill of some eminent malefactors, as I find them in my author† in the same nature:—

IN BATTLE ABBEY:—John Abbot, Richard Salchurst, Thomas Cuthbert, William March, John Hasting, Gregory Champion, Clement Westfield, John Cross, Thomas Erambrook, Thomas Bayll, John Hamfield, John Jherom, Clement Grigge, Richard Tovey, John Austine, Sodomites.

IN CANTERBURY:—Richard Gomershan, William Liechfield, John Goldingston, Nicholas Clement, William Cawston, John Ambrose, Thomas Farley, Thomas Morton, Sodomites: Christopher James kept three married whores.

IN ST. AUGUSTINE'S:—Thomas Barham, a whoremonger and a Sodomite.

IN CHICHESTER:—John Champion and Roger Barham, both of them natural Sodomites.

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* LORD HERBERT in "Henry VIII." page 399.

† JOHN SPEED'S "History of Great Britain," page 791, col. 1.

In Cathedral Church :—John Hill had no less than thirteen whores.

In Windsor Castle :—Nicholas Whyden had four whores; George Whitehorn kept five whores; Nicholas Spoter kept five whores; Robert Hunne had five whores; Robert Danyson kept six whores.

In Shulbred Monastery :—George Walden, prior of Shulbred, had seven whores; John Standney had at his command seven whores; Nicholas Duke, to supply his venery, had five whores.

In Bristol :—William, abbot of Bristow, kept four whores.

In Mayden-Bradley :—Richard, prior of Mayden-Bradley, kept five whores.

In Bath Monastery :—Richard Lincombe had seven whores, and was also a Sodomite.

In Abingdon Monastery :—Thomas, abbot of Abingdon, kept three whores, and had two children by his own sister.

In Bermondsey Abbey :—John White, prior (or rather bull) of Bermondsey, had twenty whores.

I find this catalogue only in the third edition of Speed, proving it a posthume addition after the author's death, attested in the margin with the authority of Henry Stephens's "Apology for Herodotus;"* who took the same out of an English book, containing "the Vileness discovered at the Visitation of Monasteries." Thus this being but the report of a foreigner, and the original at home not appearing, many justly abate in their belief of the full latitude of this report. Indeed, tradition is the only author of many stories in this nature, amongst which the ensuing story entitleth itself to as much probability as any other.

3—5. *A coltish Trick served upon the Monks of Waltham. More Talk than Truth of under-ground Vaults.*

One Sir Henry Colt, of Nether-Hall in Essex, much in favour with king Henry VIII. for his merry conceits, suddenly took his leave of him late at night, promising to wait on his Grace early the next morning. Hence he hastened to Waltham-Abbey, being informed by his setters, that the monks thereof would return in the night from Cheshunt nunnery, where they had secretly quartered themselves: Sir Henry pitched a buckstall, (wherewith he used to take deer in the forest,) in the narrowest place of the marsh where they were to pass over, leaving some of his confederates to manage the same.

The monks, coming out of the nunnery, hearing a great noise made behind them, and suspecting to be discovered, put out the light they had with them, whose feet without eyes could find the way home in so used a path. Making more haste than good speed, they ran themselves all into the net. The next morning Sir Henry Colt brought and presented them to king Henry, who had often seen sweeter, but never fatter, venison.

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* Cap. xxi. fol. 183.

Here I cannot believe what is commonly told of under-ground vaults leading from friaries to nunneries, confuted by the situation of the place, through rocks improbably, and under rivers impossible, to be conveyed. Surely, had Waltham monks had any such subterranean contrivances, they would never have made use of so open a passage; and such vaults extant at this day in many abbeys extend but a few paces, generally used for the conveyance of water, or sewers to carry away the filth of the convent.

6, 7. *Provision made for their Lust. Charity best in doubtful Evidence.*

More improbable it is (what is generally reported,) that abbots made provision for their lusts on their leases, enjoining their tenants to furnish them, as with wood and coals, so with fuel for their wantonness. A reverend divine * hath informed me, that he hath seen such a passage on a lease of the abbey of Essex, where the lessee was enjoined yearly to provide *unam claram et lepidam puellam, ad purgandos renes domini abbatis.*

It was never my hap to behold any instrument with such a lustful clause or wanton reservation therein, and I shall hardly be induced to believe it. First. Because such *turpis conditio* was null in the very making thereof. Secondly. Because it was contrary to the *charta magna*, as I may call it, of monastical practice, *Si non castè, tamen cautè*; wherefore what private compact soever was by word of mouth made betwixt them upon their leases parole, sure, all abbots were, if not so honest, so discreet, that no act *in scriptis* should remain, which on occasion might publicly be produced against them.

8. *A Sodom in Sion Nunnery.*

As for the instances of their private incontinence, they are innumerable. I will insist but in one, happening just at this juncture of time; and which may be presumed very operative to the ruin of such religious Houses.

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* Mr. Stephen Marshall.

"*A Lettore certefying the incontynense of the nuns of Syon with the friores; and, aftore the acte done, the friores reconsile them to God: endorsed,*

"To the right honourable Master THOMAS CROMWELL, chief secretary to the king's Highness.

"IT maye please your goodnesse to understand, that Bushope * this day preched, and declared the kynge's tytelle very well, and hade a grete audyense, the chorche full of people: one of the Focaces † in his said declaration only called him 'false knave,' with other foolish words; it was the foolish fellow with the corled head, that kneeled in your waye when you came forth of the confessore's chamber. I can no lesse doe but set him in prisone, *ut pœna ejus sit metus aliorum.* Yesterday I learned many enormous thinges against Bushope, in the examination of the lay brederen; first, that Bushope perswaded towe of the brederene to have gone theire wayes by night, and he himselfe with them; and to the accomplishment of that, they lacked but money to buy them seculere apparell. Further, that Bushope would have perswaded one of his lay-brederen, a smithe, to have made a keay for the doare, to have in the night-time received in wenches for him and his fellowes, and especially a wiffe of Uxebridge, now dwelling not farre from the old lady Derby, nigh Uxebridge: which wiffe his old customer hath byne many times here at the grates communing with the said, and he was desirous to have her convoyed in to him. The said Bushope also perswaded a nunne to whom he was confessor, *ad libidinem corporis perimplendam.* And thus he perswaded her in confession, making her believe, that whensoever and as ofte as they should medle together, if she were, immediately after, confessed by him, and tooke of him absolution, she shold be cleere forgeven of God, and it shold be none offence unto her before God. And she writte diveres and sundrye lettores unto him of such their foolishnesse and unthriftynesse, and wold have had his broden the smithe to have polled out a barre of iron of the window, whereas the examyned the ladye abbas, that he might have gone in to her by night. And that same window was their commoning-place by night.‡ He perswaded the sextene that he would be in his contemplacion in the chorche by night, and by that meanes was many nightes in the chorche talking with her at the saide gate of the nunnes quire, and there was their meeting-place by night besides their day-communications, as in confession: it were too long to declare all thinges of him that I have heard, which I suppos it true. This afternoone I intend to make forder serche, both of some of the brederen, and some also of the sisters, of such like matteres; if I fynde any thing apparent to be true, I shall, God willing, thereof sertefy your mastorshipe to-morow by vij in the mornyng. And after this daye I suppos there will be no other thinges to be knowne as yet here; for I have already examined all the brederen; and many of them wold gladly departe hense, and be ryghte weary of their habbyte; such religion, and fained sanctetye, God save me froe. If Master Bedle had byne here a frior, and of Bushope's counsell, he wold righte welle have helped him to have broghte his mattores to passe, without brekyng uppe of any grate, or yet counterfetting of keayes, such capassetye God hath sent him.*

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* He was one of friars who, according to the constitution of your Order, lived here with the Bridgettian nuns.

† I conceive this two proper names.

‡ This copy was taken out of the MS. letters in the library of Sir Simon Dewes.

"From Syone this Sondaye xij. Decembere. By the speedy hand of your assured poor priest, RICHARD LAYTON."†

We will conclude this discourse with one observation, how through ignorance the true meaning of that word "recluse" was in that age abused: for in pure Latin it signifieth, "one set open," or "let loose to their own liberty." *Quid non ebrietas designat, operta recludit?*‡ Whereas "recluse" was taken in that age for "one close shut up;" so that many monks and friars were "recluses" indeed, not in the common acceptation, but true notation, of that name.

XI. ABBOTS WILLINGLY-UNWILLING RESIGNED THEIR MONASTERIES TO THE KING.

1, 2. *Monks, persuaded into a Resignation, strive who should be the foremost.*

SANDERS saith, that king Henry sent a large instrument to every monastery, fairly engrossed in parchment, enjoining them all to subscribe, sign, and seal the same, with their seal conventual, upon the pain of his displeasure. It is not probable, that such a formal writing was sent unto them, drawn up beforehand by the king's officers; but most certain it is, (which amounts almost to as much in effect,) a general intimation was given to all Houses, how acceptable such an act would be to the king. It was also pressed upon the said monks, friars, and nuns, that they, through their viciousness, being obnoxious to the king's answer, this might and would be done without their consent; so that it was better for them, *rebus sic*

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* In this letter and the two succeeding forms of surrender, the ancient mode of spelling is observed and retained.—EDIT.

† This was one of the prime visitors aforementioned.

‡ HORATIUS, lib. i. epist. 5.

stantibus, to make a virtue of necessity; the rather, because this compliment conduced nothing to the king's right, (on whom the parliament had already bestowed those abbey-lands,) but might add much more to their own advantage, as being the way whereby their pensions might the more easily be procured, largely allotted, and surely satisfied unto them.

The premisses made such impression on the parties concerned therein, that fearing the lag would be looked on with bad eyes, they ran, as it were, a race, in their resignations, who should be first and foremost therein. However, they used several forms therein, some only condemning their lives for superstitious, but not confessing themselves personally vicious; as by the following instrument may appear.

*The Surrender of the Warden and Friars of St. Francis in Stanford.**

"For as moche as we, the warden, and freers, of the howse of Saynt Frances in Stanforde, comenly callyd the Gray Freers in Stanforde, in the countey of Lincolne, doo profoundly consider that the perfeccion of Christian lyving dothe not conciste in the dome ceremonies, weryng of the grey cootte, disgeasing our selffe after straunge fashions, dokyng, and beckyng, in gurding owr selffes wyth a gurdle full of knots, and other like papisticall ceremonies, wherein we have byn moost principally practysed, and misselyd in tymes past; but the very tru waye to please God, and to live a tru Christian man, wythe owte all ypocrasie, and fayned dissimulation is sinceerly declaryed unto us by owr Master Christe, his evangelists, and apostles. Being mindyd hereafter to folowe the same; conformyng owr selffe unto the will and pleasure of owr supreme hedde undre God in erthe the kinges majestye; and not to follow hensforth the superstitious tradicions of ony forincyall potentate, or poore, withe mutuall assent, and consent, doo submytt owr selffes unto the mercye of owr said soveraygne lorde. And withe like mutuall assent, and consent, doo surrender, and yelde upe unto, the hands of the same, all owr saide howse of Saynt Frances in Stanforde, comenly callyd the Grey Freers in Stanforde, withe all lands, tenements, gardens, medowes, waters, pondyards, feedings, pastures, comens, rentes, revershons, and all other our interest, ryghtes, or tytles, aperteying unto the same; mooste humbly besechyng his mooste noble Grace, to disspose of us, and of the same as best schall stonde wythe his mooste graciouse pleasure. And farther, freely to graunt unto every one of us his licens undre wretyng and seall, to change our abites into seculer fashion, and to receive such maner of livyngs, as other seculer priestes comenly be preferryd unto. And we all faythfully schall pray unto Almighty God long to preserve his moost noble Grace, wyth encrease of moche felicitie and honor.

---

* Out of the records of the Court of Augmentation.

"And in witnes of all and singuler the premisses, we the saide warden, and covent of the Grey Freers in Stanforde, to these presents have put owr covent sceall the yeght day of Octobre, in the thyrtythe yere of the raygne of owr moost soverayne king Henry the yeght.

"*Factum* JOHANNIS SCHEMY, Gardian,
Per me fratrem JOHANNEM ROBARDS,
Per me fratrem JOHAN. CHADWHORT,
Per me fratrem RICARDUM PYE,
Per me fratrem JOHANNEM CLARKE,
Per me fratrem JOHANNEM QUOYTE,
Per me fratrem JOHANNEM JARMAN,
Per me fratrem JOHANNEM YONG,
Per me fratrem JOHANNEM LOVELL,
Per me fratrem WILLIELMUM TOMSON."

3. *A more humble Form of surrender.*

Other resignations were far more humble and submissive, with an acknowledgment of their vicious and voluptuous lives. Such was the surrender made by the prior and convent of St. Andrew's in Northampton; which because very tedious, we shall only transcribe so much thereof as concerneth our present purpose.

"But as well we as others our predecessors, called religiouse persons within yowr said monastery, taking on us the habite of owtward vesture of the said rule, onely to the intent to lead owr liffes in the ydle quyetnesse, and not in virtuose exercyse, in a stately estimation, and not in obedient humylyte, have undre the shadowe or colour of the saide rule and habite, vaynely, detestably, and also ungodly, employed, rather devowred, the yerely revenues yssuing and comyng of the saide posseshion, in continuall ingurgitations and farcyngs of owr carayne bodyes, and of others, the supportares of owr voluptuose and carnal appetyte, with other vayne and ungodly expensys; to the manyfest subvertion of devocion, and clennes of lyvyng; and to the moost notable slaunder of Christ's holy evangely, which in the forme of owr profeshyon, we did ostentate, and openly devaunt to kepe moost exactly: withdrawyng thereby from the symple and pure myndys of yowr Grace's subjectes, the onely truth and comfort, which they oughte to have by the true faith of Christe. And also the devyne honor, and glory, onely due to the glorious majesty of God Almyghty, steryng them with all perswasions, ingynes, and polyce, to dedd images, and counterfett reliques, for owr dampnable lucre. Which our moost horrible abominacions, and execrable persuacions of yowr Grace's people, to detestable errours, and our long coveryd ipocrysie cloked with fayned sanctite; we revolving dayly, and continually ponderyng in owr sorrowfull harts, and therby perseyving the botomlas gulf of everlasting fyre, redy to devowre us, if, persysting in this state of lyving, we shulde depart from this uncertayn and transytory liffe, constrayned, by the intollerable anguysh of owr conscience, callyd as we trust by the grace of God, who wold have no man to perysh in synne: with harts moost contrite, and repentante, prostrate at the noble feet of yowr moost royall majestye, most lamentably doo crave of yowr Highnes, of yowr abundant mercy, to grant unto us moost greevous against God, and yowr Highnes, your most gracious perdon, for owr saide sondry offences, omyssyons, and negligences, comytted as before by us is confessed agaynst yowr Highnes, and yowr most noble progenitors. And where yowr Hyghnes, being supreme hedd, immedately aftre Christ, of his Church, in this yowr roialme of England, so consequently generall and onely reformator of all religious persons, there, have full authority to correct or dyssolve at yowr Grace's pleasure, and libertye, all covents and religious companyes abusing the rewles of their profession. And moreover to yowr Highnes, being owr soveraygn lord, and undoubted fownder of yowr said monastery, by dissolucion whereof apperteyneth onely the oryginall title, and propre inherytance, as well of all other goods moveable and unmoveable, to the said monastery in any wyse apperteyning or belonging, to be disposed, and imployed, as to yowr Grace's most excellent wysdeme shall seme expedyent and necessary.

"*Per me* FRANCISCUM, *Priorem.*
Per me JOHANNEM, *Sub-Priorem.*
Per me THO. SMYTH.
Per me THO. GOLSTON.
Per me ROB. MARTIN.
Per me JACOB. HOPKINS.
Per me RIC. BUNBERY.
Per me JOHANNEM PETTE.
Per me JO. HARROLD.
Per me THO. BARLY.
Per me WILL. WARD.
Per me THO. ATTERBURY.
Per me WILL. FOWLER."

Other resignations varying in their words met (for the main) in the matter, and were with all speed presented to the king's visitors. As school-boys hope to escape with the fewer stripes, for being the first in untying their points; those convents promised to themselves the kindest usage, which were forwardest in their resignations, though all (on the matter) fared alike.

4, 5. *Betwixt first and last no great Difference.*

Yea, John de Warboise, so called from the place of his nativity in Huntingdonshire, (where my worthy friend Mr. William Johnson is well beneficed,) though the first,* with his sixty Benedictine monks, who with solemn subscription renounced the pope's supremacy, and now as officious as any in surrendering his convent to the king's visitors, met with no peculiar and extraordinary civility above others of his Order.

Such resignations sealed and delivered, the visitors called for the seals themselves, which now had survived their own use, having passed the last effectual act; and these, generally made of silver, were by the king's officers presently broken in pieces. Such material stamps being now abolished, it will be charity to preserve their impressions, and exhibit them to posterity; which here we shall endeavour, rendering some probable reason how most of them refer to the founders, or situation, or some remarkable action therein.

XII. THE SEAL OF ARMS OF THE MITRED ABBEYS IN ENGLAND.

1—28. *The Design of the Work. The Arms of Tavistock, of Glastonbury, of Middleton, of Malmsbury, of Abingdon, of Reading, of Hide, of Battle, of St. Augustine, of Gloucester, of Tewkesbury, of Winchcomb, of Cirencester, of St. Alban's, of St. John's of Jerusalem, of Waltham, of Colchester, of Bury, of St. Benet's, of Thorney, of Ramsey, of Peterborough, of Crowland, of Bardney and Evesham, of Shrewsbury, of Selby, of York.*

In presenting of them, I will not be confined to the strict terms of blazonry; the rather, because some of their arms may be presumed so ancient, as fitter to give rules to, than take them from, our modern heraldry: and what my pen cannot sufficiently describe, therein the reader may satisfy himself by his own eye: to which these coats are presented in the last sheet of this volume after the history of Waltham abbey.†

I will make a method of my own, beginning (where the sun ends) in the west: Tavistock in Devonshire gave *Varrey Or* and *Azure*, on a *Chiefe Or*, two *Mulletts*, *Gules.*

---

* Speed in his "Description of Huntingdonshire."

† In the present edition this heraldic plate is here inserted, as most suitable to accompany the description in the text.—Edit.

Glastonbury gave *Vert* (as I conjecture the colour) a *Crosse Bottone Argent.* In the first quarter the woman with a *Glory* holding a babe (radiated about his head) in her arms, because, forsooth, by the direction of the angel Gabriel their church was first dedicated to the Virgin Mary.*

Middleton, in Gloucestershire, gave *Sable*, three *Baskets*, *Argent*, replenished with loaves of bread, *Gules.* Had the number of the baskets been either seven or twelve, some would interpret therein a reference to the reversions preserved by Christ's command of the loaves miraculously multiplied; whereas now they denote the bounty of that abbey in relieving the poor.

What Malmsbury in Wiltshire gave, I cannot yet attain.

Abingdon gave a *Crosse flurt* betwixt *Martelletts Sable*, much alluding to the arms of our English kings before the Conquest; who, it seems, were great benefactors thereunto.

The abbey of St James's in Reading, gave *Azure*, *three Scallop Shells Or.* Here I know not what secret sympathy there is between St. James and shells; but sure I am, that all pilgrims that visit St. James of Compostella in Spain, (the paramount shrine of that saint,) returned thence *obsiti conchis*,† "all beshelled about" on their clothes, as a religious donative there bestowed upon them.

The abbey of Hide, *juxta Winton.* gave *Argent* a *Lyon rampant Sable*, on a *Cheiff* of the second, four *Keyes Argent.*

Battle abbey in Sussex, gave *Gules* a *Crosse* betwixt a *Crown Or*, in the first and third quarter; a *Sword (bladed Argent, hilted Or)* in the second and fourth quarter thereof. Here the arms relate to the name, and both arms and name to the fierce fight hard by, whereby duke William gained the English crown by conquest, and founded this abbey. Nor must it be forgotten that a text ☧ pierced through with a dash, is fixed in the navel of the Crosse. Now, though I have read letters to be little honourable in arms,‡ this cannot be disgraceful, partly because church-heraldry moveth in a sphere by itself, partly because this was the letter of letters, as the received character to signify *Christus.*

St. Augustine's in Canterbury gave *Sable* a *Cross Argent.*

Cross we now the Thames, where westward we first fall on St. Peter's in Gloucester, whose dedication to that apostle sufficiently rendereth a reason for the arms thereof; namely, *Azure two Crosse Keyes* (or *two Keys Saltire) Or.*

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* See the first century of this "Church History," vol. i. page 13, paragraph 11.

† ERASMUS in his Dialogue called *Peregrinatio Religionis ergó.*

‡ "Accidence of Arms."

Tewkesbury gave *Gules*, a *Cross* of an antique form *Or*, a border *Argent*.

I will not adventure on the blazoning of the arms of Winchcomb, (having much conformity therein with Mortimer's coat,) but leave the reader to satisfy his own eyes in the inspection thereof.

I should be thankful to him who would inform me of the arms of Cirencester, which hitherto I cannot procure.

St. Alban's gave *Azure*, a *Cross Saltire Or*.*

Westminster abbey gave *Azure*, a *Cross flurt* betwixt five *Marteletts Or*; and this I humbly conceive were anciently the entire arms of that abbey, being in effect the same with those of king Edward the Confessor, the first founder thereof. But afterwards their conventual seal was augmented with the arms of France and England on a *Chiefe Or* betwixt two *Roses Gules*, plainly relating to king Henry VII. enlarging their church with his chapel.

The prior of St. John of Jerusalem gave *Gules* a *Cross Argent*, which the lord prior sometimes impaled with (but before) his own coat,† and sometimes bare it in a *Cheife* about it.‡

The arms of Waltham abbey in Essex appear at this day neither in glass, wood, nor stone, in or about the town or church thereof. At last we have recovered them *(Unus homo nobis!)* out of a fair deed of Robert Fuller's, the last abbot, though not certain of the metal and colours; namely, *Gules*, (as I conjecture,) two *Angels* (can they be less than *Or?)* with their hands (such we find of them in Scripture, Matt. iv. 6) holding betwixt them a *Cross Argent*, brought hither, saith our antiquary,§ by miracle out of the west, whence Waltham hath the addition of "Holy Cross."

The arms of St. John's in Colchester, I leave to the eye of the reader.

Bury gave *Azure*, three *Crowns Or*; the arms of the kings of the East Angles, assumed in the memory of king Edmund, (to whom this abbey was dedicated,) martyred by the Danes, when his crown of gold, through a crown of thorns, (or arrows rather,) was turned into a crown of glory.

St. Benet's-in-the-Holme, in Norfolk, gave *Sable*, a *Pastorall Staffe Argent picked* below, and *reflexed* above, (intimating the abbot's episcopal jurisdiction in his own precincts,) betwixt two *Crowns Or*, pointing at England and Norway, the two kingdoms of Canutus, the founder thereof. The aforesaid staff was *infulated;* that is, adorned with a holy lace or label, carelessly hanging down, or cast across, such with which their mitres used formerly to be fastened.

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* St. Mary's in Coventry had no arms in their seal, as my good friend Mr. Dugdale informed me.

† Thus SIR THOMAS TRESSAM.

‡ Thus SIR THOMAS DOCKWRAY.

§ CAMDEN'S *Brit.* in ESSEX.

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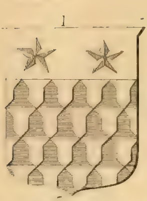

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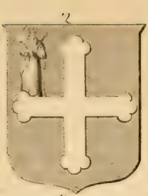

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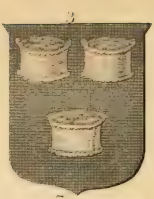

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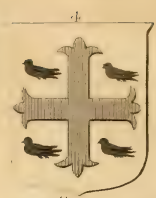

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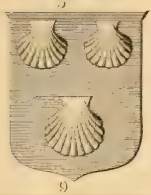

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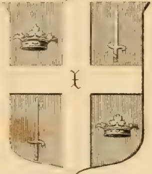

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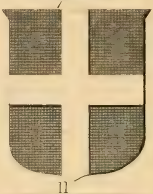

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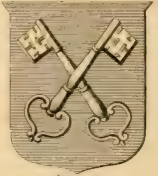

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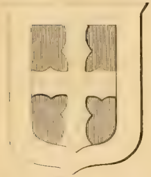

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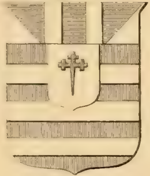

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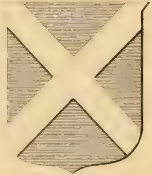

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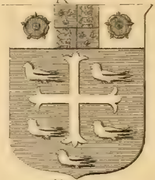

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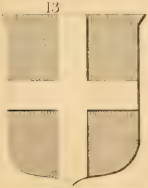

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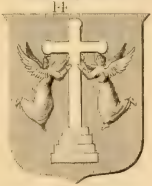

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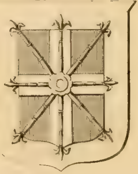

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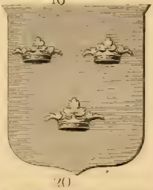

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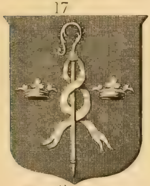

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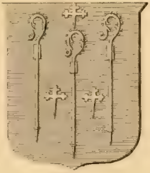

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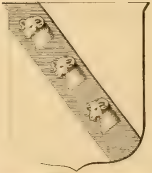

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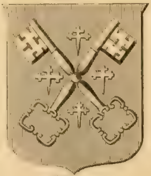

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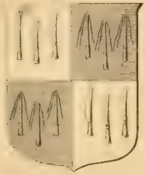

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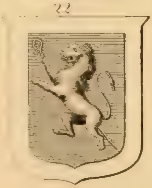

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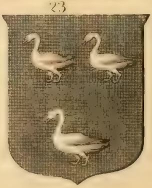

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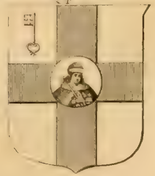

Thorney abbey in Cambridgeshire gave *Azure three Crosses, crossed fitchee*, betwixt three *Pastoral Staves Or.*

Ramsey in Huntingdonshire gave *Or* three *Rams' Heads couped Argent*, on a *Bend Azure.* The rest of the Rams must be supposed in the *blue sea*, the Fens appearing such when overflown. Besides, such changes were common here; whereof Melibæus complaineth in the marshes of Mantua:—[*]

Non bene ripæ
Creditur, ipse Aries etiam nunc vellera siccat.

"There is no trusting to the found'ring bank,
The Ram still dries his fleece so lately dank."

But, since, the draining of the Fens hath (I hope) secured their cattle from casualties.

The very name of Peterborough unlocks the reason why that abbey gave *Gules*, two *crosse Keyes* betwixt four *Crosses crossed fitchee, Or.*

Crowland abbey gave quarterly three (call them long *knives*, or short) *swords bladed Argent hafted* or *pomelled Or*, *Azure three whips stringed and knotted Or*, the second like the third, the fourth like the first; instruments of cruelty relating to their monks massacred by the Danes, *anno* 870, whereof their historian gives us this account,—that first they were *examinati*, "tortured," see there the whips; and then *exanimati*,[†] "killed," see there the swords. But if any will have those whips to relate to the whip of St. Bartholomew, the most remarkable relique of that monastery, I will not oppose.

The arms of Bardney in Lincolnshire, and Evesham abbey in Worcestershire, I cannot recover, but possibly may before the conclusion of this work.

Shrewsbury gave *Azure*, a *Lyon Rampant* over a *Pastorall Staffe bendwayes*, so that both the ends thereof are plainly discovered.

Cross we now north of Trent, where only two remain: Selby, (founded by William the Conqueror,) which gave *Sable, three Swans Argent, membred Or*; alluding, as I believe, to the depressed situation of the place, where the neighbouring river of Ouse affordeth such birds in abundance.

St. Mary's in York gave *Argent* a *Crosse, Gules*, and a *Key*, in the first quarter of the same in the midst of the *Crosse* a *King* in a *Circle* in his *robes of state*, with his *sceptre and mound.* Yet hath he only a ducal cap (and no crown) on his head, I humbly conceive under favour of better judgment, this king-duke's picture to relate partly to king William Rufus, partly to Alan duke of Britain and Richmond, the principal co-founders of that monastery.

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[*] VIRGILII *Eclog.* 9.

[†] INGULPHUS, page 866.

XIII. THE LORD DARCY'S EXTRACTION JUSTLY VINDICATED.

1. *A causeless Aspersion grounded on Passion.*

AMONGST the principal persons who suffered for their zeal in defending of abbeys, was the lately-mentioned Thomas lord Darcy,* whose extraction I find foully aspersed by the pen of that passionate prince, king Henry VIII. For when the rebels boasted of the many noblemen who sided with them, in confutation thereof king Henry returned a letter to them, interlined with his own hand, wherein this passage: "Others, as the lord Marney and Darcy, are but mean, scarce well-born gentlemen, and yet of no great lands till they were promoted by us, and so made knights."† It cannot be denied but that king Henry too much consulted his choler, (now swelling high, because opposed by the rebels,) more than his judgment, in this his expression; and seeing a historian should *suum cuique tribuere*, give me leave a little to enlarge in this subject.

2. *What the Lord Marney was.*

Of the lord Marney I can say but little, finding him, whilst as yet but a knight, (Sir Henry,) servant, and one of the executors, to the lady Margaret, countess of Derby; at which time he was chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. It seemeth he rose by the law, being the first and last baron of his name, whose sole daughter was married to Thomas Howard viscount Bindon.

3—5. *Three noble Branches of the Darcyes in the North.*

Longer must we insist on the parentage, performances, and posterity of Thomas lord Darcy, finding in the north three distinct branches thereof, whereof the first was

BEGUN in Norman de Adrecy or Darcy, possessed, under king William the Conqueror, of many manors in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire,‡ where Normanby his prime seat seemeth so named by him.

CONTINUED for ten generations, most of them buried in Noketon priory in Lincolnshire, by them founded and endowed; namely, 1. Robert, 2. Thomas, 3. Thomas, 4. Norman, 5. Norman, 6. Philip, 7. Norman, 8. Philip, 9. Norman, 10. Philip.

EXTINGUISHED, in Philip Darcy, dying issueless; whose two sisters and co-heirs were married, the one to Roger [de] Pedwardine, the other, to Peter of Limbergh [Sir Philip Limbury].

The first male line of the Darcyes being thus determined, a second race succeeded, derived from Norman Darcy, the penultim lord in the last pedigree:—

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* *Vide supra*, page 213, parag. 5.

† SPEED's "Chronicle," in his first edition, page 776.

‡ Domesday book, chap. xxxii. in Lincolnshire.

Begun in John Darcy, (son to the aforesaid Norman,) steward to the king's household, Justice of Ireland.

Continued for five descents, being barons of Knaith and Meinill; namely, 1. John, 2. John, 3. Philip, 4. John, 5. Philip.

Extinguished in Philip, the fifth baron; who, though dying under age, left two daughters, Elizabeth married to Sir James Strangewayes of Hartley-castle, and Margaret to Sir John Coigniers [Conyers] of Hornbey-castle.

Thus expired the second male stem of the Darcyes, styled barons of Knaith, long since aliened from their family, and for this last hundred years the habitation of the lord Willoughby of Parham.

Come we now to the third stem, which was

Begun in Sir John Darcy of Torxay, second son to the last lord John Darcy of Knaith.

Continued through seven generations; namely, 1. Richard, 2. William, 3. Thomas, 4. George, 5. John, 6. Michael, 7. John.

Extinguished in John lord Darcy of Ashton, dying issueless, (though he had four wives,) in the reign of king Charles.

6, 7. *Thomas Lord Darcy.*

Thomas Darcy here named is the person, the subject of this discourse, of whom four things are memorable:—

1. He was knighted by king Henry VII. who made him captain of the town and castle of Berwick, and commander of the East and Middle Marches.*

2. King Henry VIII. in the first year of his reign, made him Justice in Eyre of the forests beyond Trent; summoned him the same year as a baron to parliament, employed him with a navy, *anno* 1511, to assist Ferdinand king of Arragon against the Moors; and made him knight of the garter.

3. Though the ancestors of this Thomas Darcy (since the second branch was expired) were styled "lords" in some deeds; (whether by the courtesy of the country, or because the right of a barony lay in them;) yet this Thomas was the first summoned baron to parliament, in the first of king Henry VIII. and his successors took their place accordingly.

4. Though the revenue of this Thomas lord Darcy was not great at the beginning of king Henry VIII. because the heirs-general of the lord Darcyes of Knaith carried away the main of the inheritance: yet he had a considerable estate, augmented by his match with Dowsabella, the daughter and heir of Sir Richard Tempest.

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* *Privata Sigilla de anno* 14 *Henrici VII.*

The result of all is this: This lord was most honourably descended, and his nobility augmented; not first founded by king Henry VIII. as his words did intimate. Let, therefore, passionate princes speak what they please, their patient subjects will believe but their just proportion. And although the fox's ears must be reputed horns, whilst the lion in presence is pleased so to term them; yet they never alter their nature, and quickly recover the name after the lion's departure. This I thought fit to write in vindication of the lord Darcy, who though he owed his life to the law, it is cruelty he should lose both it and the just honour of his extraction.

As for the present Coigners lord Darcy, he is not only descended from the aforesaid lord Thomas, but also from the heir-general of the second stem of the lord Darcyes of Knaith, and was by king Charles accordingly restored to take his place in Parliament.

XIV. THE ANCIENT ENGLISH NOBILITY GREAT LOSERS BY THE DISSOLUTION OF ABBEYS.

1—4. *Ancient Nobility Losers. Good Rents ill paid. Services wholly lost, with the Commodity of Corrodies.*

Although many modern families have been great gainers by the destruction of monasteries, yet the ancient nobility, when casting up their audits, found themselves much impaired thereby both in power and profit, commodity and command: I mean such, whose ancestors had been founders of abbeys, or great benefactors unto them. These reserved to themselves and their heirs many annual rents and services, reliefs, escuage, as also that such abbots and their successors should do fealty and homage to their heirs for such lands as they held of them in knight's service.

Now, although order was taken at the Dissolution to preserve such rents to the founders' heirs, payable unto them by the king's officers out of the exchequer; yet such sums after long attendance were recovered with so much difficulty that they were lost in effect. Thus, when the few sheaves of the subject are promiscuously made up in the king's mow, it is hard to find them there, and harder to fetch them thence.

As for the foresaid services reserved (either at money or money's-worth) to them and their heirs, they were totally and finally extinguished: for formerly such abbeys used, 1. To send men on their own charges in voyages to war, to aid and attend such of their founders' and benefactors' heirs, of whom they held land in knights' service. 2. They bountifully contributed a portion to the marriage of their eldest daughters. 3. They bare the costs and charges to accoutre their eldest sons in a genteel military equipage when knighted by the king. But, now the tree being plucked up by the roots, no such fruit could afterwards be expected.

Nor must we forget the benefit of corrodies, so called *a conradendo*, "from eating together:" for, the heirs of the foresaid founders, not by courtesy, but composition for their former favours, had a privilege to send a set number of their poor servants to abbeys to diet therein. Thus many aged servants, past working not feeding, (costly to keep, and cruel to cast off,) were sent by their masters to such abbeys, where they had plentiful food during their lives. Now, though some of those corrodies, where the property was altered into a set sum of money, were solvable out of the exchequer after the dissolution of abbeys; yet such which continued in kind were totally extinct, and no such diet hereafter given, where both table and house were overturned.

XV. THE PREMISSES PROVED BY INSTANCE IN THE FAMILY OF THE BERKELEYS.

1, 2. *Robert Derby, last Abbot of Croxton.*

THE noble family of the Berkeleys may well give an abbot's mitre for the crest of their arms, because so "loving their nation, and building them so many synagogues." Hence it was, that, partly in right of their ancestors, partly by their matches with the co-heirs of the lord Mowbray and Seagrave, in the vacancies they had a right of nomination of an abbot in the following foundations:—

1. St. Augustine's in Bristol. Founder: Robert Fitz-Harding, whose posterity assumed the name of Berkeley. Black Canons of the Order of St. Victor. Value: £767. 15*s.* 3*d.*

2. Burton Lazers in Leicestershire. Founder: The lord Mowbray, in the reign of king Henry I. Leprous People professing the Order of St. Augustine. Value: £265. 10*s.* 2*d.* 0*ob.* 1*q.*

3. Byland, or Bella-Launda, in Yorkshire. Founder: Robert de Mowbray, and Gonnora, his mother. Order: Cistercian Monks. Value: £295. 5*s.* 4*d.*

4. Chaucomb in Northamptonshire. Founder: Hugh de Anaf, knight, in the time of the Conqueror; whose son Robert took the name of Chaucomb, and Annabilia, his daughter, was married to

Gilbert lord Seagrave. Order: Black Canons, Augustinians. Value: *£*93. 6*s*. 3*d*. 1*ob*.

5. Combe in Warwickshire.* Order: Cistercian monks. Value: *£*343. 0*s*. 5*d*.

6. Croxton in Leicestershire.† Order: Premonstratensian monks. Value: *£*458. 19*s*. 11*d*. 1*ob*. 1*q*.

7. Epworth in the Isle of Axholme in Lincolnshire. Founder: Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, in the reign of king Richard II. to which the Mowbrays were grand benefactors. Order: Carthusians. Value: *£*290. 14*s*.

8. Fountains.‡ Order: White Friars. Value: *£*1173. 0*s*. 7*d*. 1*ob*.

9. Kirkby in Leicestershire. Founder: Roger de Beller, who held this manor of the lord Mowbray. Order: Canons Regular of St. Augustine. Value: *£*178. 7*s*. 10*d*. 0*ob*. 1*q*.

10. Newburgh in Yorkshire. Founder: Roger de Mowbray, *anno* 1127. Order: Black Canons. Value: *£*451. 13*s*. 10*d*. 1*ob*.

What shall I speak of the small houses of Longbridge and Tintern in Gloucestershire, (not mentioned in Speed,) the hospitals of St. Catherine and Mary Maudlin's near Bristol, the well-endowed school of Wotton-Underedge in Gloucestershire, besides forty chantries founded by the Berkeleys? Yea, I have read in a manuscript belonging unto them, no less judiciously than industriously composed by Mr. John Smith, (who did and received many good offices to and from that family, as is mutually confessed,) that the fore-named abbeys and others held of the lord Berkeley, at the Dissolution, no fewer than eighty knights' fees, and paid services unto them accordingly; all which are now lost to the value of ten thousand pounds within the compass of few years.

Nor will it be amiss to insert, that Robert Derby, the last abbot of Croxton, was presented thereunto, April 22nd, the 26th of king Henry VIII. by Thomas (the sixth of that name) lord Berkeley, (the place being void by the death of one Attercliffe,) belonging to his presentation by inheritance; and, in the record, he commandeth the prior and convent to receive and obey him as abbot.

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* Whereof Mowbrays were founders.

† Founded by the Kriols, but devolved to the Seagraves.

‡ Though founded by Thurstan, archbishop of York, yet much augmented by the Mowbrays.

XVI. INGRATITUDE TO THEIR FOUNDERS, A GRAND FAULT IN MANY ABBEYS.

1. *If unthankful, all bad.*

Ingratitude is the abridgment of all baseness, a fault never found unattended with other viciousness. This is justly charged on the account of many abbeys; whose stately structures grew so proud as to forget "the rock whence they were hewn, and the hole of the pit whence they were digged;" unthankful to such founders who under God had bestowed their maintenance upon them.

2—4. *Great Bounty ill-requited. Summum Jus.*

One instance of many: Vast was the liberality of the lords Berkeleys to St. Austin's in Bristol, leaving themselves in that their large estate not one rectory to which they might present a chaplain; all the benefices in their numerous manors being appropriated to this and other monasteries. Now see the requital:—

Maurice, (the first of that name,) lord Berkeley, having occasion to make the ditch about his castle the broader, for the better fortifying thereof took in some few feet of ground out of Berkeley church-yard; which church, with the tithes thereof, his ancestors had conferred on the aforesaid monastery. The abbot, beholding this as a great trespass, or rather, as a little sacrilege, so prosecuted the aforesaid lord with church-censures, that he made him in a manner cast the dirt of the ditch in his own face, enforcing him to a public confession of his fault, and to give five shillings rent for ever, with some tithes and pasture for as many oxen as would till a plough-land, by the words of his will, *pro emendatione culpæ meæ de fossato quod feci de cœmeterio de Berkeley circa castellum meum.*

I know it will be pleaded for the abbot, that there is as much right in an inch as in an ell; that he was a fiduciary, intrusted to defend the rights of his convent; that founders' heirs are not privileged to do injuries; yea, they of all persons most improper to take back what their ancestors have given. However, the lord's encroachment on the church-yard, being in a manner done in his own defence, the thing in itself so small, and the merit of his ancestors so great to that abbey, might have met with that meekness which should be in the breasts of all spiritual persons, to abate his rigorous prosecution against him.

5. *Another Instance of Ingratitude.*

Thomas, the first lord Berkeley of that name, found little better usage from the abbot of St. Austin's. Though he had formerly, beside confirmation of many lands, conferred on that convent pasture for twenty-four oxen; discharging also their lands (lying within certain of his manors) from all services and earthly demands, only to remember him and his in their prayers; yet did that abbot and convent implead him before the pope's delegates for tithes of pannage of his woods, for tithes of his fishing and of his mills. The lord removed the suit to common law, as challenging the sole power to regulate *modum decimandi.* And now, when all was ready for a trial before the judge itinerant at Gloucester, it was compounded by friends on such terms as the abbot in effect gained his desire.

6—9. *A Cause of their Ruin. An over-wise Conceit easily confuted. Strong Faith to believe so much of King Henry's Charity.*

Indeed, so odious and obvious was the unthankfulness of some convents, that it is reputed by some the most meritorious cause of their Dissolution; and their doing things without and against the will of their founders, is instanced in the statute* as a main motive to take them away.

Some, who pretend to a Prometheus-wit, fondly conceive that the founders of abbeys might politicly have prevented their Dissolution, had they inserted a provision in their foundations,—that in case abbey-lands should be alienated to other uses against or beside the owner's intents, then such lands should revert to the true heirs of the said founders, if then in being.

But such consider not, that such a reservation would have savoured more of wildness than wisdom in that age. As well might one have sought to secure himself with a shelter against the falling of the skies, as equally probable as the diverting of abbey-lands to other intentions. Besides, such a jealous clause might be interpreted heretical to put into people's fancies a feasibility of such alterations. Yea, I have heard it questioned by the learned in the law, whether such a conditional settlement with such a clause, were legal or no: many maintaining, that such donations must be absolute. But suppose such a clause in their foundations, it had not much befriended that at this time, seeing cables are as easily cut off as twine-threads, by power of parliament, when disposed to make such a Dissolution.

Now some conceived it just abbey-lands should have been restored to the heirs of their founders; but, seeing the most and greatest abbeys were built and endowed before the Conquest, it was hard to find out their heirs, if extant. Besides, this would minister matter of much litigiousness, equally to share them amongst their many benefactors. Wherefore the king, the founder-general of them all, mediately or immediately in himself or in his subjects, as who in his person or ancestors confirmed, consented, or at least connived at their foundations, may charitably be presumed to seize them all into his own hands; so to cut off the occasion of dangerous division amongst his subjects about the partition of those estates.

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* For the Dissolution of Chantries and Colleges, 37 of Henry VIII. cap. 4.

SECTION IV.

TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE, THE LADY ELIZABETH POWLET,
OF ST. GEORGE HINTON.

MADAM,

THERE be three degrees of gratitude, according to men's several abilities. The first is to requite—the second, to deserve—the third, to confess—a benefit received. He is a happy man that can do the first, no honest man that would not do the second, a dishonest man who doeth not the third.

I must be content, in reference to your favours on me, to sit down in the last form of thankfulness; it being better to be a lag in that school, than a truant, not at all appearing therein. Yea, according to our Saviour's counsel and comfort, the lowest place is no hinderance to a higher, when the master of the household shall be pleased to call him up, Luke xiv. 10. When this is done, and God shall ever enable me with more might, my gratitude shall wait on your ladyship in a greater proportion.

Mean time, this present, having otherwise little of worth, may plead something of properness therein, seeing Somersetshire is the chief subject of this Section,—the same county which receiveth honour from you by your birth, and returneth it to you by your barony therein. God bless you in all your relations; and make your afflictions, which are briers and thistles in themselves, become sweet-brier and holy-thistle, by sanctifying them unto you!

I. OF MIRACLES IN GENERAL, TO WHICH MONASTERIES DID MUCH PRETEND.

1. *A true Miracle described.*

Right is the rule of what is so, and what is otherwise. We will therefore premise the description of a true miracle:—A miracle is a work of God, passing the power of nature, done for the confirmation of faith, on the mission generally of a new ministry.

1. *Work of God*—"Who only doth wondrous things," Psalm lxxii. 28. For though he sometimes useth men as moral instruments whereby, yet never as natural causes, to effect miracles.

2. *Passing the power of nature*—Hence it is that it is not done by leisure, but presently; not by degrees, but perfectly. God's cures are never subject to relapse; once healed and ever healed, except the party run on the score of a new guilt: "Thou art made whole. sin no more, lest a worse thing befall thee," John v. 14.

3. *Done for the confirmation of faith*—God will not make his works cheap, by prostituting them merely for the satisfaction of man's curiosity.

4. *On the mission generally of a new ministry*—For, although some sprinkling of miracles on other occasions, yet their main body was done by Moses, a new lawgiver to the Jews; by Elias and Elisha, two grand restorers (adequate almost to a giver) of the law, in a general-visible defection to idolatry; by Christ and his apostles, as the first preachers of the Gospel.

In this our description, no mention of the rarity of miracles, because the same resulteth from the premisses, frequency abating from the due wonder thereof.

2—4. *Miracles long since ceased, by St. Augustine's Confession [as well as Bishop Fisher].*

Now, that such miracles long since are ceased, appears by the confession of ancient fathers, and most ingenuous Romanists: St. Chrysostom, in his Homily xxiii. on St. John, thus expresseth himself, Καὶ γὰρ νῦν εἰσὶ οἱ ζητοῦντες καὶ λέγοντες, διατὶ μὴ καὶ νῦν σημεῖα γένονται; Εἰ γὰρ πιστὸς εἶ, ὡς εἶναι χρὴ, καὶ φίλεις τὸν Χριστὸν, ὡς φιλεῖν δεῖ, οὐ χρεῖαν ἐχεὶς σημεῖων. Ταῦτα γὰρ τοῖς ἀπὶστοις διδοταί. "For even now there be seekers and sayers, wherefore also now are not miracles done? For if thou beest a believer as thou oughtest to be, and dost love Christ as thou oughtest to love him, thou hast no need of miracles. For miracles are given to unbelievers."

St. Augustine, passing his censure on the miracles of his age, had so low an opinion of their truth that he ranked them under two heads:[*] 1. *Figmenta mendacium hominum*, "forgeries of lying men." 2. *Portenta fallacium spirituum*, "prodigies of deceitful devils."

Bishop Fisher himself, writing against Luther,[†] and occasionally treating of the power of miracles, *cujus effectum nunc nullum cernimus*, "of which," saith he, "we now see no effect;" which addeth to the wonder, that so wise a man should engage in the foolish wonder of the Holy Maid of Kent.

5, 6. *Why Miracles ceased. The Magazine of Protestant Miracles.*

The true cause of the ceasing of miracles is not any want of divine power to effect them, as if that infiniteness could ever, like Naomi, be superannuated and effete to have no more true wonders in the womb thereof; but because miracles are the swaddling-clothes of infant-churches. And when doctrines are once established and received in a church, miracles are impertinent. Yea, it is no better than a tempting of God, after such assurance given long since to the truth, still to expect a miraculous confirmation thereof.

Wherefore when the importunity of papists presseth us to produce miracles to attest our religion, we return unto them,—that ours is an old faith founded long since on the Scriptures; and we may justly lay claim to all the miracles in the New Testament to be ours, because done in demonstration of that doctrine which we at this day do defend, and are the seals of that instrument the writing wherein we desire and endeavour to maintain and practise.

7—9. *Counterfeiting Miracles, a heinous Offence. The Forger's Plea confuted.*

Such forgery must needs be a high and heinous offence. If the counterfeiting of the mark, tokens, and letters of others, so as to gain any money into their hands thereby, be punishable by pillory, imprisonment, or any other corporal penalty under death, at the discretion of the judge;[‡] yea, if it be treason for any to forge the king's sign manual, privy signet, or privy seal,[§] how great a guilt do they contract who falsify the signature of the high God of heaven! miracles being of that nature whereby he immediately impresseth his own power and presence on that which is so supernaturally brought to pass.

I know what such forgers plead for themselves; namely, that they "have a good intent therein to beget, continue, or increase a reverence to religion, and veneration to the saints and servants of God; so to raise up vulgar fancies to the highest pitch of piety." Wherefore, as Lycurgus made a law, not that theft should be death, but death to be caught in their thieving; so these conclude counterfeiting miracles [to be] no fault, but when done so bunglingly that it is detected; conceiving, otherwise, the glory accrueth to God by their hypocrisy.

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[*] *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, cap. 16.

[†] *De Captivitate Babylonica*, cap. 11.

[‡] Statute 33 of Henry VIII.

[§] Statute 1 Mary.

But what saith the Holy Spirit? "Will you speak wickedly for God and talk deceitfully for him? Will you accept his person, will you yet contend for God? Do you so mock him, shall not his excellency make you afraid?" Job xiii. 7—11. Yea, so far is such fraud from adding repute to religion, that being found out it disposeth men to atheism, and to a suspicion of the truth, even of the real miracles in Scripture.

10—12. *The Forgery in Relics, and the Cross especially. False Teeth of Apollonia. False Arms of Thomas Becket.*

The pretended causes of which miracles are generally reducible to these two heads:—1. Saints' Relics. 2. Saints' Images. How much forgery there is in the first of these, is generally known; so many pieces being pretended of Christ's Cross as would load a great ship; but, amongst all of them, commend me to the Cross at the priory of Benedictines at Bromeholme in Norfolk, the legend whereof deserveth to be inserted: queen Helen, they say, finding the Cross of Christ at Jerusalem, divided in into nine parts, according to the nine Orders of angels. Of one of these (most besprinkled with Christ's blood) she made a little Cross, and, putting it into a box adorned with precious stones, bestowed it on Constantine her son. This relic was kept by his successors until Baldwin emperor of Greece, fortunate so long as he carried it about him, but slain in fight when forgetting the same; after whose death, Hugh his chaplain, born in Norfolk, and who constantly said prayers before the Cross,* stole it away, box and all, brought it into England, and bestowed it on Brome-Holme, in Norfolk. It seems there is no felony in such wares, but "catch who catch may;" yea, such sacrilege is supererogation. By this Cross thirty-nine dead men are said to be raised to life, and nineteen blind men restored to their sight. It seems such merchants trade much in odd numbers, which best fasteneth the fancies of folk; whilst the smoothness of even numbers makes them slip the sooner out of men's memories.

Chemnitius† affirmeth from the mouth of a grave author, that the teeth of St. Apollonia being conceived effectual to cure the tooth-ache, in the reign of king Edward VI. (when many ignorant people in England relied on that receipt to carry one of her teeth about them) the king gave command in extirpation of superstition,—that all her teeth should be brought in to a public officer deputed for that purpose; and they filled a tun therewith. Were her stomach proportionable to her teeth, a county could scarcely afford her a meal's meat.

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* JOHN CAPGRAVE in "the Life of King Edmund."

† In his *Exam. Con. Trid. cap. de Imag.* page 1.

The English nuns at Lisbon [*] do pretend that they have both the arms of Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury; and yet pope Paul III. in a public Bull, set down by Sanders,[†] doth pitifully complain of the cruelty of king Henry VIII. for causing the bones of Becket to be burned, and the ashes scattered in the wind: the solemnity whereof is recorded in our chronicles. And how his arms should escape that bonfire, is to me incredible!

13. *Saints, their several Employments.*

The late mentioning of Apollonia curing the tooth-ache mindeth me of the popish designing of saints, some to be physicians of diseases, and others patrons of occupations: St. Sebastian cureth the plague; St. Petronel, the fever; St. Marcurine, the frenzy; St. Maine, the scab; St. Genow, the gout; St. Clare, the sore eyes. —St. Crispin protects shoemakers; St. Roche, the cobblers; St. Wendelin, the shepherds; St. Pelaud, the neatherds; St. Anthony, the swineherds; St. Gertrude, the rat-catchers; St. Honor, the bakers; St. Eloy, the smiths; St. Luke, the painters; St. Nicholas, the mariners; St. Hubert, the hunters; St. Ivo, the lawyers. Not to speak of St. Anne, proper to help people to lost goods; St. Leonard, said to open the doors of gaols, and make prisoners' fetters fall off; and pity it is that he should show a cast of his office to any, save to honest persons in durance. Expect not from me a reason why such saints are patrons to such professions; superstitious fancy being all the author thereof. Otherwise, were judgment consulted with, Luke should be tutelar to physicians as his proper calling; though, perchance, he entertained painting also as a quality for delight and accomplishment.

14. *Miracles, why most in Convents.*

Now, most miracles may be called conventual; monks being more dexterous thereat than secular priests, because their convents afforded greatest conveniency of contrivance, with more heads and hands to plot and practise therein. And this may be conceived one main cause, which justly incensed Divine jealousy against them, and in due time advanced the destruction of monasteries, because fathering the issue of earth or hell to be the offspring of heaven, entitling their monstrous delusions to be miraculous operations.

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[*] "Anatomy of the Nuns of Lisbon."

[†] *De Schismate Anglicano*, lib. i. p. 171.

II. OF FALSE MIRACLES, MANY BROODS WHEREOF WERE HATCHED IN MONASTERIES.

1—4. *A Dichotomy of Miracles; reported, not done; done by Nature. St. Nun's Cure of Madmen.*

Such false miracles are reducible to two ranks: 1. Reported, but never done. 2. Done, but true miracles, as either the product of nature, art, or satanical machination.

Of the former, whose being is only in report, were many thousands; whose scene, for the better countenancing thereof, is commonly laid at distance both of time and place. These, like the stuff called "stand-far-off," must not have the beholder too near, lest the coarseness thereof doth appear. Thus any reddish liquor, especially if near the eyes of the image of a saint, is reported *blood;* any whitish moisture, especially if near the breast of the image of a she-saint, is related to be milk; though both of them neither more nor less true, than what William of Newborough writes of the place near Battle Abbey, in Sussex, where the fight was fought between the Normans and English,—that on every shower fresh blood springeth out of the earth, as crying to God for vengeance; being nothing else than a natural tincture of the earth, which doth dye the rain red, as in Rutland, and in other places.*

Of pretended miracles which are really done, let precedency be allowed to those which proceed from natural causes; and here we will instance in one out of many thousands. St. Nun's Pool in Cornwall was formerly famous for curing mad folk, and this the manner thereof:—

The water running from St. Nun's Well fell into a square and close-walled plot, which might be filled to what depth they listed.† Upon the wall was the frantic person set, his back being towards the pool, and from thence with a sudden blow on the breast tumbled headlong into the pond; where a strong fellow, provided for the nonce, took him, and tossed him up and down along and athwart the water, until the patient, foregoing his strength, had somewhat forgot his fury. Then was he conveyed to the church, and certain masses said over him, and St. Nun had the thanks of his recovery. Amidst all this water there was not one drop of miracle, but mere natural causes artificially managed; and that, not curing the frenzy, but abating the fit for the present.

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* Camden's *Brit.* in Sussex.

† Carew, in his Survey of Cornwall, page 123.

5—7. *Occult Qualities no Miracles: A Wonder akin to a Miracle in London: A Corpse unconsumed.*

But other seeming miracles, done by nature and the concurrence of art, were spun with a finer thread, especially when they made advantage of occult qualities, the certain reason whereof no philosopher can render. Such casualties happen in some times and places, which properly are not miracles, though they puzzle all men to assign the cause whereby they are effected. One of which kind I here transmit to posterity, invested with all the circumstances thereof, which I have carefully (not to say curiously) inquired into:—

In the year of our Lord 1646, on the 16th of February, this happened in the parish-church of St. Leonard's, Eastcheap, whilst Mr. Henry Roughborough was minister, and Mr. John Taylor, upper churchwarden thereof. Thomas Hill, the sexton of that parish, making a grave in the night-time for George Streaton in the south side in the passage into the chancel, and under the first stone opened a grave wherein he found two skulls, and (as he conceived) the proportionable bones of bodies belonging unto them. Under all these, he light on a corpse, whose coffin above was consumed, but the body, which he brought out of the grave, complete and entire, save that the nose thereof flatted with his spade, as the sexton believed. The flesh thereof, both for colour and hardness, like scalded bacon dried. His hair and nails complete with his eyes, (but sunk into his head,) and all his entrails entire, (for a young surgeon did open him,) save that shrunk very much within his body.

Some said, it was the corpse of Mr. Pountney in Soper-lane, a merchant, buried thirty-four years before; others, of one Paul, a wealthy butcher in Eastcheap, (which was averred both by his principal apprentice, as also by William Haile, the old surviving sexton,) interred four-and-twenty years ago. I read a memorial hereof entered in their parish-register, and thousands of people are alive to attest the truth thereof. Had this happened in the time of popery, what a stock had here been to graft a miracle on, the branches of the fame whereof would have spread all over Christendom!

8—10. *Seeming Miracles done by Art. Mysterious Ventriloqui.*

Such false miracles succeed which are effected by art alone; whereof several kinds. First. Such as are done by confederacy, wherein if but five complete [complot] together, they may easily deceive five thousand. Thus the Holy Maid of Kent was admired for telling men's secret sins, by keeping correspondency with the friars that formerly had heard their confessions. Secondly. Others, done by legerdemain. Thus there was a rood at Bexley in Kent, made with devices to move the eyes and lips, (but not to see and speak,) which, in the year 1538, was publicly showed at St. Paul's by the preacher,* then bishop of Rochester, and there broken in pieces; the people laughing at that which they adored but an hour before. Such imposture was also used at Hailes-Abbey in Gloucestershire, where the blood of a duck (for such it appeared at the dissolving of the House) was so cunningly conveyed that it strangely spirted or sprang up, to the great amazement of common people, accounting it the blood of our Saviour.

Thirdly. Strange things are done by *ventriloqui*; which is a mysterious manner of uttering words, not out of the porch of the mouth and entry of the throat, (the common places of speech,) but out of the inward room or rather arched cellar of the belly; yet so that the hollowness thereof seemingly fixeth the sound at a distance, which, no doubt, hath been mistaken for the voice of images.

Lastly. Such as are done by the power of satan, who hath a high title and large territory, as termed "prince of the power of the air," Ephes. ii. 2. Now, the air being satan's shop, he hath therein many tools to work with, and much matter to work on. It is the magazine of meteors, lightning, thunder, snow, hail, wind, rain, comets, &c. wherewith many wonders may be achieved; and it is observable, that air is required to those two senses,—sight and hearing, which usher in most outward objects into the soul. False lights are of great advantage to such as vent bad wares. Satan's power must needs be great in presenting shows and sounds, who can order the air, and make it dark or light, or thick or thin, at pleasure.

11—13. *Plenty of false Prophecies. A Forest-burning Image. Hæret Delphinus in Ulmo.*

We will conclude with one particular kind of miracles, wherein monks by the devil's help did drive a great trade; namely, predictions, or pretended prophecies. Of these some were postnate, cunningly made after the thing came to pass; and that made the invention of Prometheus which was the act of Epimetheus. Others were languaged in such doubtful expressions, that they bore a double sense, and commonly came to pass contrary to the ordinary acceptance of them. However, hereby satan saved his credit, who loves to tell lies, but loathes to be taken in them; and we will only instance in two or three, which we may write and hear with the more patience, because the last in this kind, which, at the Dissolution of abbeys, brought up the rest of monastical prophecies.

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* STOW'S "Chronicle" in that year.

There was in Wales a great and loobily image, called *Darrell Gatherene;* of which an old prophecy went,—that it should burn a forest; and on that account was beheld by the ignorant with much veneration. Now, at the Dissolution of abbeys, it was brought up to London, and burned at the gallows in Smithfield, with friar Forrest, executed for a traitor.

A prophecy was current in the abbey of Glastonbury,—that a whiting should swim on the top of the Torr thereof, which is a steep hill hard by; and the credulous country people understood it of an eruption of the sea, which they suspected accordingly. It happened that abbot Whiting (the last of Glastonbury) was hanged thereon for his recusancy to surrender the abbey, and denying the king's supremacy; so swimming in air, and not water, and waved with the wind in the place.

14. *Prophetical Mottoes inscribed in Gloucester Church.*

We will close all with the prophetical mottoes (at leastwise as men since have expounded them) of the three last successive abbots of Gloucester, because much of modesty, and something of piety, contained therein.

1. Abbot Boulers: *Memento, memento;* that is, as some will have it, "Remember, remember, this abbey must be dissolved."

2. Abbot Sebruck: *Fiat voluntas Domini;* that is, "If it must be dissolved, the will of the Lord be done!"

3. Abbot Mauborn: *Mersos reatu suscita;* "Raise up those which are drowned in guiltiness." Which some say was accomplished, when this abbey found that favour from king Henry VIII. to be raised into a bishopric. But I like the text better than the comment; and there is more humility in their mottoes, than solidity in the interpretations.

III. THAT MANY PRECIOUS BOOKS WERE EMBEZZLED AT THE DISSOLUTION OF ABBEYS, TO THE IRREPARABLE LOSS OF LEARNING.

1. *English Libraries excellently furnished.*

The English monks were bookish of themselves, and much inclined to hoard up monuments of learning. Britain, we know, is styled "another world;" and, in this contradistinction, though incomparably less in quantity, acquits itself well in proportion of famous writers, producing almost as many classical Schoolmen for her natives, as all Europe besides. Other excellent books of foreign authors were brought hither, purchased at dear rates; if we consider that the press, which now runs so incredibly fast, was in that age in her infancy, newly able to go alone; there being then few printed books, in comparison of the many manuscripts. These, if carefully collected and methodically compiled, would have amounted to a library exceeding that of Ptolemy's for plenty, or many Vaticans for choiceness and rarity. Yea, had they been transported beyond the seas, sent over, and sold entire to such who knew their value and would preserve them, England's loss had been Europe's gain, and the detriment the less to learning in general. Yea, many years after, the English might have repurchased for pounds what their grandfathers sold for fewer pence into foreign parts.

2. *The miserable Martyrdom of innocent Books.*

But alas! those abbeys were now sold to such chapmen, in whom it was questionable whether their ignorance or avarice were greater; and they made havoc and destruction of all. As brokers in Long-lane, when they buy an old suit, buy the linings together with the outside; so it was conceived meet, that such as purchased the buildings of monasteries should, in the same grant, have the libraries (the stuffing thereof) conveyed unto them. And now these ignorant owners, so long as they might keep a ledger-book or terrier, by direction thereof to find such straggling acres as belonged unto them, they cared not to preserve any other monuments. The covers of books, with curious brass bosses and clasps, intended to protect, proved to betray them, being the baits of covetousness. And so, many excellent authors, stripped out of their cases, were left naked, to be burned or thrown away. Thus Æsop's cock, casually lighting on a pearl, preferred a grain before it; yet he left it as he found it; and as he reaped no profit by the pearl, it received no damage by him. Whereas these cruel cormorants, with their barbarous beaks and greedy claws, rent, tore, and tattered these inestimable pieces of antiquity. Who would think, that the Fathers should be condemned to such servile employment, as to be scavengers, to make clean the foulest sink in men's bodies? Yea, which is worse, many an ancient manuscript Bible cut in pieces, to cover filthy pamphlets! So that a case of diamond hath been made to keep dirt within it; yea, "the Wise Men of Gotham," bound up in "the Wisdom of Solomon."

3. *John Bale lamentably bemoaneth this Massacre.*

But hear how John Bale, a man sufficiently averse from the least shadow of popery, hating all monkery with a perfect hatred, complained hereof to king Edward VI.

"Covetousness was at that time so busy about private commodity, that public wealth, in that most necessary and of respect, was not any where regarded. A number of them, which purchased those superstitious mansions, reserved of those library-books, some to serve their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots; some they sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some they sent over sea to the bookbinders, not in small number, but at times whole ships full. Yea, the universities of this realm are not all clear in this detestable fact. But cursed is that belly, which seeketh to be fed with so ungodly gains, and so deeply shameth his natural country! I know a merchant-man which shall at this time be nameless, that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings' price: a shame it is to be spoken! This stuff hath he occupied instead of gray paper, by the space of more than these ten years; and yet he hath store enough for as many years to come. A prodigious example is this, and to be abhorred of all men, which love their nations as they should do. Yea, what may bring our realm to more shame and rebuke, than to have it noised abroad, that we are despisers of learning? I judge this to be true, and utter it with heaviness,—that neither the Britons under the Romans and Saxons, nor yet the English people under the Danes and Normans, had ever such damage of their learned monuments, as we have seen in our time. Our posterity may well curse this wicked fact of our age, this unreasonable spoil of England's most noble antiquities."*

4. *Learning receiveth an incurable Wound by the Loss of Books.*

What soul can be so frozen, as not to melt into anger hereat? What heart, having the least spark of ingenuity, is not hot at this indignity offered to literature? I deny not, but that in this heap of books there was much rubbish; legions of lying legends, good for nothing but fuel, whose keeping would have caused the loss of much precious time in reading them. I confess also, there were many volumes full fraught with superstition, which, notwithstanding, might be useful to learned men; except any will deny apothecaries the privilege of keeping poison in their shops, when they can make antidotes of them. But beside these, what beautiful Bibles, rare Fathers, subtile School-men, useful Historians, ancient, middle, modern; what painful comments were here amongst them! What monuments of mathematics all massacred together! seeing every book with a *cross* was condemned for popish; with *circles*, for conjuring. Yea, I may say, that then holy divinity was profaned, physic itself hurt, and a trespass, yea, a riot, committed on the law itself. And, more particularly, the history of former times then and there received a dangerous wound, whereof it halts at this day, and, without hope of a perfect cure, must go a cripple to the grave.

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* In his Declaration upon Leland's Journal, *anno* 1549.

5, 6. *No Anabaptistical Humour, but downright Ignorance, the Cause thereof. Sullen Dispositions causelessly aggrieved.*

Some would persuade us, that in all this there was a smack or taste of Anabaptistical fury, which about this time began in Germany, where they destroyed the stately libraries of Munster and Osnaburgh. Indeed, as the wicked tenants in the Gospel thought themselves not safe in and sure of the vineyard, till they had killed the heir, that so the inheritance might be their own ; so the Anabaptists conceived themselves not in quiet possession of their anarchy, and sufficiently established therein, whilst any learning did survive, which in process of time might recover its right against them ; and, therefore, they bent their brains to the final extirpation thereof. But I am more charitably inclined to conceive, that simple ignorance, not fretted and embossed with malice, or affected hatred to learning, caused that desolation of libraries in England ; though, perchance, some there were, who conceived these books, as "the garment spotted with sin," Jude 23, had contracted such a guilt, being so long in the possession of superstitious owners, that they deserved as an *anathema* to be consigned to a perpetual destruction.

Some will say, that herein I discover an hankering after the onions and flesh-pots of Egypt ; and that the bemoaning the loss of these monuments, is no better than Lot's wife's looking back, with a farewell-glance to the filthy city of Sodom. To such, I protest myself not to have the least inclination to the favour of monkery. But, enough : for, I know, some back-friends of learning there be, that take it ill that we have jogged them in this discourse ; and, therefore, we will let them alone to be settled quietly on the lees of their own ignorance, praying to God, that never good library may lie at the mercy of their disposal ; lest, having the same advantage, they play the like prank, to the prejudice of learning and religion.

IV. MANY GOOD BARGAINS, OR RATHER CHEAP PENNYWORTHS, BOUGHT OF ABBEY-LANDS.

1, 2. *The profuse Gifts and Grants of King Henry. King Henry's Engagement to Liberality.*

If ever the poet's fiction of a golden shower rained into Danaë's lap found a moral or real performance, it was now, at the dissipation of abbeys-lands. And, though we will not give hearing or belief in full latitude of his slanderous pen, that reports how king Henry (when ancient and diseased, choleric and curious in trifles) was wont to reward such as ordered his skrine or chair in a convenient distance from the fire so as to please him, with the church of some abbey, or lead of some church.* Yet it is certain, that, in this age, small merits of courtiers met with a prodigious recompence for their service. Not only all the cooks, but the meanest turn-broach in the king's kitchen, did lick his fingers. Yea, the king's servants, to the third and fourth degree, tasted of his liberality; it being but proportionable, that, where the master got the manor in fee, his man under him should obtain some long lease of a farm of considerable value.

Indeed, king Henry, beside his own disposition to munificence, was doubly concerned to be bountiful herein. First. In honour; for, seeing the parliament with one breath had blown so much profit unto him, and had with their suffrage conferred the harvest of abbey-lands on the crown; it was fitting that some, especially the principal advancers of the business, should, with Ruth, "glean amongst the sheaves," Ruth ii. 15. Secondly. In policy; to make many and great men effectually sensible of the profit of this Dissolution, and so engaged to defend it. Wherefore, as he took the greater flowers to garnish his own crown; so he bestowed the less buds to beautify his noblemen's coronets. But, beside these, he passed abbey-lands in a fourfold nature to persons of meaner quality.

3—6. *How Mr. Champernoun got the Priory of St. Germain. How Sir Miles Partridge got Jesus's Bells. Glaucus and Diomedes's Exchange. Unconscionable Undersale of Abbey-Lands.*

First. By free gift.—Herein take one story of many: Master John Champernoun,† son and heir-apparent of Sir Philip Champernoun, of Modbury in Devon, followed the court; and by his pleasant conceits won good grace with the king. It happened, two or three gentlemen, the king's servants, and Mr. Champernoun's acquaintance, waited at a door where the king was to pass forth, with purpose to beg of his Highness a large parcel of abbey-lands, specified in their petition. Champernoun was very inquisitive to know their suit, but they would not impart the nature thereof. This while out comes the king; they kneel down, so doth Mr. Champernoun, being assured by an implicit faith, that courtiers would beg nothing hurtful to themselves; they prefer their petition, the king grants it; they render him humble thanks, and so doth Mr. Champernoun. Afterwards he requires his share, they deny it; he appeals to the king, the king avows his equal meaning in the largess. Whereupon, his companions were fain to allot this gentleman the priory of St. Germain's, in Cornwall, (valued at two hundred forty-three pounds and eight shillings of yearly rent;* since, by him or his heirs, sold to Mr. Eliot,) for his partage. Here a dumb beggar met with a blind giver; the one as little knowing what he asked, as the other what he granted. Thus king Henry made cursory charters, and *in transitu* transacted abbey-lands. I could add how he gave a religious House of some value to Mistress ——— for presenting him with a dish of puddings, which pleased his palate.

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* SANDERS *De Schismate Anglicano.*

† CAREW'S "Survey of Cornwall," fol. 109.

Secondly. By play.—Whereat he lost many a thousand pounds *per annum.* Once, being at dice, he played with Sir Miles Partridge, (staking an hundred pounds against them,) for Jesus's bells,† hanging in a steeple not far from St. Paul's in London, and as great and tunable as any in the city, and lost them at a cast. I will not (with some) heighten the guilt of this act, equal to that which "cast lots on Christ's garments;" but, sure, it is no sin to say, that such things deserved more serious and deliberate disposal.

Thirdly. By exchange.—To make these chops, none were frighted with the king's power, but flattered into them by the apprehension of their own profit. For, many lands of subjects, either naturally bald, or newly shaven of their woods, were commuted for granges of abbeys, which, like satyrs or savages, were all overgrown with trees and timber; beside other disadvantages, both for quantity and quality of ground, as enhanced for old rent. O! here was the Royal Exchange!

Lastly. By sale at under-rates.—Indeed, it is beneath a prince, (enough to break his state, to stoop to each virgate and rod of ground,) pedlar-like, to higgle for a toy by retail; and all tenants and chapmen, which contract with kings, expect good bargains. Yet officers, entrusted to manage the revenue of the crown, ought not to behold it abused out of all distance, in such under-valuations. Except any will say, "He is not deceived who would be deceived, and king Henry, for the reason aforesaid, connived at such bargains; wherein rich meadow was sold for barren heath; great oaks, for fuel; and farms for revenue passed for cottages in reputation." But, for farther instruction, we remit the reader to that information, presented to queen Elizabeth,‡ by a man in authority, (though nameless,) of the several frauds and receipts offered the crown in this kind. But the motion rather drew odium on the author, than brought advantage to the crown; partly, because of the number and quality of persons concerned therein; and partly because, after thirty years, the owners of abbeys were often altered. And, though the chamber be the same, yet, if the guests be a new company, it is hard for the host from them to recover his old arrearages. Yea, by this time, when the aforesaid information was given in, the present possessors of much abbey-land were as little allied to those to whom king Henry granted them, as they to whom the king first passed them were of kin to the first founders of those monasteries.

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* SPEED. But query—Whether he had all the land, or only the site of the priory?

† STOW'S "Survey of London" in Faringdon-Ward Within.

‡ WEAVER'S "Funeral Monuments," page 125.

V. OF THE ACTIONS OF POLICY, PIETY, CHARITY, AND JUSTICE, DONE BY KING HENRY VIII. OUT OF THE REVENUES OF DISSOLVED ABBEYS.

1—4. *Good, as well as bad, must be observed in mixed Actions. King Henry augmented the Crown-Revenues; founded five new Bishoprics. Monks' Places turned into Prebends.*

We would not willingly be accounted like those called the μωμοσκόποι amongst the Jews, whose office it was only to take notice of the blots or blemishes, the defects and deformities, in sacrifices. We would not weed king Henry's actions in his dissolving of abbeys, so as only to mark the miscarriages and misdemeanours therein. Come we to consider what commendable deeds this king did raise on the ruins of monasteries.

First. He politicly increased the revenues of the crown, and duchy of Lancaster, (on which he bestowed the rich abbey of Fourness in that county,) with annexing much land thereto, and erecting the Court of Augmentations (whereof largely hereafter) for the more methodical managing thereof; though, alas! what the crown possessed of abbey-land was nothing to what he passed away. Surely, had the revenues of monasteries been entirely kept, and paid into the exchequer, there to make an *ærarium sacrum*, or public treasury, it is questionable, whether the same had been more for the ease of the subject, or use and honour of the sovereign.

Secondly. He piously founded five bishoprics *de novo*, (beside one at Westminster, which continued not,) where none had been before. For, though anciently there had been a bishop's seat at Chester for a short time, yet it was then no better than the summer-house of the bishop of Lichfield, only during the life of one Peter living there,) which now was solemnly made a bishopric for succession, and four others; namely,—

BISHOPS' SEE.	DIOCESS ASSIGNED IT.	TAKEN FROM THE BISHOPRIC OF
1. Oxford	Oxfordshire	Lincoln.
2. Bristol	Dorset, and some part of Gloucestershire.	Salisbury.
3. Peterborough	Northamptonshire and Rutland	Lincoln.
4. Gloucester	Gloucestershire, the rest	Worcester.
5. Chester	Chester, Lancaster, and Richmondshire	Lichfield and York.

Such who are prelatically persuaded * must acknowledge these new foundations of the king's for a worthy work. Those also of contrary judgment will thus far forth approve his act, because, had he otherwise expended these abbey-lands, and not continued them to our times in these new bishoprics, they had not been in being, by their late sale, to supply the commonwealth.

Thirdly. Where he found a prior and monks belonging to any ancient cathedral church, there he converted the same into a dean and prebendaries; as in—1. Canterbury; 2. Winchester; 3. Ely; 4. Norwich; 5. Worcester; 6. Rochester; 7. Durham; 8. Carlisle. I dare not say, that he entirely assigned (though a good author affirmeth it)† all or the most part of those priory-lands to these his new foundations. However, the expression of a late bishop of Norwich ‡ is complained of, as uncivil and untrue, that "king Henry took away the sheep from that cathedral,§ and did not restore so much as the trotters unto it."

5—7. *Grammar-Schools founded by him. Hospitals by him conferred on London. Trinity College in Cambridge, and Professors' Places by him endowed.*

Fourthly. He charitably founded many grammar-schools, great need whereof in that age in this land; as in Canterbury, Coventry, Worcester, &c. allowing liberal salaries to the masters and ushers therein, had they been carefully preserved. But sometimes the gifts of a bountiful master shrink in the passage through the hands of a covetous steward.

Fifthly. He charitably bestowed Gray-Friars, now commonly called Christ Church, and the hospital of St. Bartholomew in London, on that city, for the relief of the poor thereof. For, the death of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, his beloved brother-in-law, happening the July before, so impressed king Henry with a serious apprehension of his own mortality, (such the sympathy of tempers, intimacy of converse, and no great disparity of age betwixt them,) that he thought it high time to bethink himself of his end, and to do some good work in order thereunto. Hereupon on the 13th of January following, *anno* 1546, he bestowed the said hospitals on the city; a gift afterwards confirmed and enlarged by king Edward VI.*

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* In one of my copies, this sentence commences thus: "Such who honour prelacy," &c.—EDIT.

† GODWIN in Henry VIII. *anno* 1539.

‡ Dr. Montague.

§ Nothing was taken away.

Sixthly. He built and endowed the magnificent college of Trinity, finished King's-college chapel in Cambridge, and founded professors' places for languages, physic, law, and divinity, in both universities; as in the proper place thereof shall hereafter largely appear.

8, 9. *Leland employed by him to survey, collect, and preserve Antiquities. Read and be thankful.*

Seventhly. He employed John Leland, a most learned antiquary, to perambulate and visit the ruins of all abbeys, and record the memorables therein. It seems, though the buildings were destroyed, king Henry would have the builders preserved, and their memories transmitted to posterity. This task Leland performed with great pains, to his great praise, on the king's purse; who exhibited most bountifully unto him, as himself confesseth in these his Latin verses :—

Antè suos Phœbus radios ostendere mundo
Desinet, et claras Cynthia pulchra faces ;
Antè fluet rapidum tacitis sine piscibus æquor,
Spinifer et nullam sentis habebit avem ;
Antè sacræ quercus cessabunt spargere ramos,
Floraque sollicitâ pingere prata manu ;
Quàm, rex dive, tuum labatur pectore nostro
Nomen, quod studiis, portus et aura, meis.

"The sun shall sooner cease his shine to show,
And moon deny her lamp to men below;
The rapid seas shall sooner fishless slide,
And bushes quite forget their birds to hide;
Great oaks shall sooner cease to spread their bowers,
And Flora for to paint the meads with flowers;
Than thou, great king, shalt slip out of my breast,
My studies' gentle gale and quiet rest."

Pity it is that Leland's worthy collections were never made public in print; and some, justly to be praised for care in preserving, may as justly be taxed for envy in engrossing, such monuments of antiquity. But let us a little trace Leland's Itineraries, after he in writing had finished the same. First. His collections came into the hand of Sir John Cheek, schoolmaster, then secretary to king Edward VI. leaving the same to Henry Cheek, his eldest son, secretary to the council in the north. Here our great antiquary, who afterwards described Britain, got a sight and made a good use thereof; it being most true, *Si Lelandus non làborâsset, Camdenus non triumphâsset.* From Mr. Cheek, (by what transactions, I know not,) four of Leland's works came into the possession of William Burton, as he confesseth in his description of Leicestershire,* and by him were bestowed on the public library at Oxford, where the original remaineth; and scarce so many copies of them as properly may be called "some," are at this day in private men's possessions.

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* STOW'S "Survey of London," page 417.

This Leland after the death of king Henry VIII. his bountiful patron, fell distracted, and so died;† uncertain, whether his brains were broken with weight of work, or want of wages; the latter more likely, because, after the death of king Henry, his endeavours met not with proportionable encouragement. By the way, we may sadly observe, that two of the best scholars in this king's reign, loved and preferred by him, died both mad, and bereft of their wits,—Richard Pacie, dean of St. Paul's, and this Leland: which I mark, not out of ill-will to the dead, to lessen their memory amongst men, but of good-will to the living, to greaten their gratitude to God; especially to scholars, that God may preserve them in a "sound mind," both in the apostle's high sense, 2 Tim. i. 7, and in the common acceptation thereof; the rather, because the finer the string, the sooner, if overstrained, is it broken.

10, 11. *Intelligencers bred by him beyond the Seas.*

He maintained many learned youths on great cost and charges, in all foreign courts and countries. For, this was the fashion in his reign,—to select yearly one or more of the most promising pregnancies out of both universities, and to breed them beyond the seas on the king's exhibitions unto them. Sir Thomas Smith,‡ bred in Queen's College in Cambridge, and afterward principal secretary to queen Elizabeth, was one of the last educated in this manner. These young men proved afterwards the picklocks of the cabinet councils of foreign princes; no king having better intelligence than king Henry from beyond the seas.

Lastly. He justly paid a great yearly sum of money to monks and nuns, during their lives; the manner and condition of which pensions we will now at large relate.

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* Pages 39, 40.

† GODWIN in Henry VIII. *anno* 1525.

‡ CAMDEN'S Elizabeth in *anno* 1577.

VI. OF THE MANY AND LARGE PENSIONS CONSTANTLY PAID BY KING HENRY TO MONKS AND NUNS DURING THEIR LIVES.

1, 2. *The Good-nature of King Henry herein. High Injustice to detain promised Pensions.*

It was in those days conceived highly injurious to thrust monks and nuns out of house and home, without assigning them any allowance for their subsistence. Alas! many of them, "dig they could not,—and, to beg they were ashamed." Their fingers were either too stiff, by reason of their old age, to begin now to bow to a manual trade; or hands too soft, because of their tender breeding, to take pain in a laborious vocation. And, although there wanted not some to persuade the king to out them without any maintenance, (it being but just they should practise real, who had professed seeming poverty,) yet the king, better-natured herein than some courtiers, allowed and duly paid to some large—to most competent—to all certain—annuities.

Indeed, there cannot be a higher piece of injustice, than for a king or state publicly to promise pensions to necessitous persons, and never perform the same; so that poor people shall have some hundreds in common report, and not one penny in real and effectual payment. For, First, the grant raiseth and erecteth the spirits of such pensioners for the present, which soon after (tyranny so to torture them!) sink, and settle down on the non-performance thereof. Secondly. Such expectations often make people proportion their present expenses according to those their hopes, to their great damage and detriment; yea, sometimes to their utter undoing. Thirdly. Such noise of pensions granted takes off from them the charity of their kindred and friends, as needless to persons presumed able to subsist of themselves. Not to speak, how much it lessens the reputation of a state, rendering them justly censurable either of indiscretion in granting pensions where not deserved, or injustice in not paying them when granted.

3, 4. *The first Qualification of his Pensioners. A Copy of the King's Letters Patents for Pensions.*

Yet all persons were not promiscuously capable of the king's pensions, but only those who were qualified accordingly: Namely. First, such as, at the dissolution of their abbeys, were not preferred to any other dignity or benefice. By the way, this was a temptation to the king and chancellor oft-times to prefer mean men, which formerly had been monks and friars, to no mean livings; because, beside the general want of able ministers, such incumbents being so provided for, their pensions ceased, and the exchequer was disburdened from future paying them any exhibition.

These pensions of the king were confirmed to the monks and nuns by his letters patents under the broad seal, and registered in the Court of Augmentations: one copy whereof we here insert, having seen some hundreds of them, all the same in essentials, not conceiving it impertinent to translate the same, desiring the lawyers not to laugh at us if we miss the legal terms, whilst we hit the true meaning thereof:—

Henricus octavus, Dei gratiâ Angliæ et Franciæ rex, fidei defensor, dominus Hiberniæ, et in terrâ supremum caput Anglicanæ ecclesiæ; omnibus ad quos præsentes litteræ pervenerint salutem.—Cum nuper monasterium de Carthus. de Hinton incom. nostro Somer. jum dissolvatur, unde quidam Edmundus Horde tempore dissolutionis illius et diu antea prior inde fuit; nos volentes rationabilem annualem pensionem sive promotionem condignam eidem Edmundo ad victum, exhibitionem, et sustentationem suam melius sustinendum provideri: Sciatis igitur quòd nos in consideratione præmissorum de gratiâ nostrâ speciali ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris per advisamentum et consensum cancellarii et consilii Curiæ Augmentationum reventionum coronæ nostræ, dedimus et concessimus, ac per præsentes damus et concedimus, eidem Edmundo quandam annuitatem sive annualem pensionem quadragint' quatuor librar' sterlingorum, habend', gaudendum, et annuatim percipiendum easdem quadraginta quatuor libras præfato Edmundo et assignatis suis a festo Annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ virginis ultimo præterito ad terminum et pro termino vitæ ipsius Edmundi vel quousque idem Edmundus ad unum vel plura beneficia ecclesiastica, sive aliam promotionem condignam clari annui valoris quadragint' quatuor librarum aut ultra per nos promotus fuerit, tam per manus Thesaurarii reventionum augmentationum coronæ nostræ pro tempore existentis de thesauro nostro in manibus suis de reventionibus prædictis remanere contingen' quam per manus receptor. exituum et reventionum dicti nuper monasterii pro tempore existen' de eisdem exitibus et reventionibus ad festum Sancti Michaëlis archangeli et Annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ virginis, per æquales portiones. Et ulterius de uberiori gratiâ nostrâ, dedimus et pro consideratione prædictâ per præsentes concedimus præfato Edmundo Horde undecim libras sterlingorum habend. eidem Edmundo ex dono nostro per manus Thesaurarii prædicti de thesauro prædicto vel per manus dicti receptoris de exitibus et reventionibus maneriorum, terrarum, et tenementorum, dicti nuper monasterii solvend'. Eo quòd expressa *mentio de vero valore annuo, aut de certitudine præmissorum, sive eorum alicujus aut de aliis donis sive concessionibus per nos præfato Edmundo ante hæc tempora fact' in præsentibus minime fact' existit, aut aliquo statuto, actu, ordinatione, provisione, sive restrictione in contrarium inde habit', fact', ordinat' seu provis', aut aliquâ aliâ re, causâ, vel materiâ quacunque in aliquo non obstante. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste Ricardo Riche milite apud Westmonasterium vicesimo septimo die Aprilis, anno regni nostri tricesimo primo.*

Duke.

Per cancellarium et concilium Curiæ Augmentationum Reventionum Coronæ Regiæ virtute warranti regii.

"Henry VIII. by the grace of God, king of England and France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and supreme head of the English church on earth; to all to whom our present letters shall come greeting.—Whereas the monastery of the Carthusians of Hinton in our county of Somerset is now lately dissolved, whereof Edmond Horde was prior at the time of the dissolution thereof, and long before; we are willing that a reasonable pension annual, or suitable promotion, should be provided for the said Edmond, the better to maintain and sustain him in diet and maintenance. Know therefore, that we, in consideration of the premisses, out of our special grace and favour, certain knowledge, and our mere motion, by the advice and consent of the chancellor and council of the Court of Augmentations of the revenues of our Crown, have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant, to the same Edmond an annuity or yearly pension of forty-four pounds sterling; that the said forty-four pounds may be had, enjoyed, or yearly received by the aforesaid Edmond and his assigns, from the Feast of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary last past to the term and for the term of the life of the said Edmond, or until the said Edmond shall be preferred by us to one or more ecclesiastical benefices, or other suitable promotion, of the clear yearly value of forty-four pounds or upwards, as well by the hands of the treasurer of the Augmentations of the Revenues of our Crown for the time being, out of our treasure, which shall chance to remain in his hands, of the revenues aforesaid; as from the receiver of the profits and revenues of the said late monastery for the time being, out of the said profits and revenues at the Feast of St. Michael the archangel, and the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, by equal portions. And furthermore of our more plentiful grace, we have given, and for the consideration aforesaid by these presents do grant, to the aforesaid Edmond Horde eleven pounds sterling, that the said Edmond may have it from our gift by the hands of our foresaid treasurer of our foresaid treasure, or by the hands of our foresaid receiver to be paid out of the profits and revenues of the manors, lands, and tenements of the said late monastery :* [Because in these presents no express mention exists, or is made, of the true yearly value or of the certainty of the premisses or of any one of them, or of other gifts or concessions previously granted by us to the aforesaid Edmond;] any statute, act, ordinance, provision, or restriction to the contrary, [thence] had, made, ordained, or provided, or any other matter, cause, or thing whatsoever in anywise notwithstanding. In testimony whereof we have made these our Letters Patents : Witness Richard Rich, knight, at Westminster, the twenty-seventh day of April, in the one-and-thirtieth of our reign.

"Duke.

"By the chancellor and council of the Court of Augmentations of the revenues of the Crown by virtue of the king's warrant."

See we here the payment to this prior consisted of two sums of several natures or conditions; namely, 1. The forty-four pounds, being properly the pension paid yearly unto him. 2. The additional eleven pounds, granted with an *ulterius*, paid but once as advance-money, to fit him with necessaries at his departure out of the convent. This is observable in all the patents I have seen, that constantly the king's gratuity for their vale, some small fractions excepted, bears the proportion of a fourth part of their yearly pension.

5, 6. *What Church-Livings were inconsistent with Pensions. A Query propounded.*

Suppose then this our prior preferred to a church-dignity or living, amounting very near, but not to, the full value of forty-four pounds yearly, this did not avoid his pension, but that he might hold it and his living together. Wherefore, as it was the desire and endeavour of every monk, so advanced, to beat down the value of his church-living as low as might be, thereby to render himself capable of it and his pension ; so was it the proper work of the king's officers in the Augmentation-Court truly to state the valuation of the livings of such pensioners, that the crown might not be defrauded. Where, by the way, I conceive, livings were estimated not according to the favourable rates in the King's Book, (where few of forty-four pounds *per annum,)* but according to the ordinary value as they were worth to be let and set in that age.

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* In the folio edition a chasm occurs in this part of the text, and Fuller has left this rather difficult clause untranslated, both in the present patent, and in a subsequent one granted to the abbess of Buckland. The spirit and tendency of the clause, however, are very obvious : The king is indirectly represented throughout the whole document as the fountain of justice, honour, and preferment ; and, in this part, as not inclined too scrupulously to investigate any former profits, or even peculations, provided the abbot or abbess promptly and gratefully accepted the proffered pension, and exhibited due obedience.—EDIT.

Here fain would I be satisfied, from some learned in the laws,—that whereas provision is made in this patent for the prior to enjoy his pension until *per nos* "by the king's self," or his under-officers, he was preferred to promotion of equal value, whether or no this pension determined, if (not the king, but) some inferior patron provided such preferment for him ; seeing in a general sense all may be said "presented by the king," as patron-paramount of the church of England, who by virtue of his law have institution and induction into any ecclesiastical promotion.

7, 8. *Seniority in Convents an Advantage. Many Pensions mount to much Money.*

That effectual passage is inserted in all patents of abbots, priors, and monks, that they were in the convent *diu antea*, "long before," the Dissolution thereof. Otherwise, many young folk who lately came in, even barely went out without any pensions. Such novices and probationers, whose cowls came but yesterday out of the draper's shop, having youth and strength to provide for themselves, were left to the choice of their own calling, without any other annuity allowed them.

Their pensions, though seeming but small, being many in number, made a deep hole in the king's revenue ; insomuch that he received from some Houses but small profits *de claro* until the said pensions were extinguished : as will appear (guess Hercules from his foot !) by comparing the profits arising from, with the pensions allotted to, the monks in the aforesaid priory of Hinton in Somersetshire.

Edmond Horde, prior, his pension £44 ; his gratuity £11.

MONKS.	PENSIONS.			GRATUITIES.		
	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Thomas Fletcher	6	13	4	1	13	4
William Burford	6	13	4	1	13	3
Hugh Laycock	8	0	0	2	0	0
Robert Frye	6	13	4	1	13	4
Jo. Bachcroft	8	0	0	2	0	0
Robert Russell	2	0	0	0	10	0
Robert Lightfoot	2	0	0	0	10	0
Robert Nolinge	6	13	4	1	13	4
Henry Gurney	6	13	4	1	13	4
Thomas Hellyer..............	6	13	4	1	13	4

MONKS.	PENSIONS.			GRATUITIES.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Nicholas Baland	6	13	4	1	13	4
William Reynold	6	13	8	1	13	4
Robert Savage	6	13	4	1	13	3
Will. Robinson	2	0	0	0	10	0
Jo. Chamberlaine	6	13	4	1	13	4
William Coke	6	13	4	1	13	4
James Marble	6	13	4	1	13	4
Roger Legge	2	0	0	0	10	0
Hen. Bourman	6	13	4	1	13	4
John Calvert	2	0	0	0	10	0
Robert Stamerdon	6	13	4	1	13	4

The total sum of yearly pensions £163. 6*s.* 8*d.*
The total sum of gratuities ....£40. 16*s.* 9*d.*

Now, whereas the priory of Hinton, at the Dissolution thereof, was valued at no more than two hundred sixty-two pounds, twelve shillings;* if the aforesaid sum of yearly pensions be thence deducted, the clear remainder to the king was but ninty-nine pounds, five shillings, four pence. But the Crown had a double advantage: One, that priory-lands were lasting, whilst pensions expired with monks' lives; and the other, that pensions were but bare penny-rent, whilst abbey-lands were lowly-rated, far beneath their true valuation.

9. *The Pensions of the Abbots in Somersetshire.*

Now, because our hand is in, and I for the present can make use of an authentic manuscript, (once Henry Baron Hunsdon's, lord chamberlain,) kindly communicated to me by a worthy friend,† of all the pensions in Somersetshire; it will not be amiss to exemplify such as were allotted to the several abbots and priors therein.

Athelney, R. Hamlyn, abbot; pension, £50; gratuity, the prebend of Sutton.

Bruiton, Jo. Ely, abbot; pension, £80; gratuity, £20.

Keynsham, Jo. Stoneston, abbot; pension, £60.

Bath, William Gibby, prior; pension, £8; gratuity, a house in Bath.

Montacute, R. Whitlocke,‡ prior; pension, £80; gratuity, £20.

Taunton, W. Williams, prior; pension, £60; gratuity, £30.

Witham, Jo. Mitchell, prior; pension, £33. 6*s.* 8*d.* gratuity, £8. 6*s.* 8*d.*

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* Speed in his "Catalogue of religious Houses," page 707.

† Mr. Edward Pepys, of the Temple.

‡ Beside the capital messuage in East Chynock.

Bridgewater, Ro. Walshe, master; pension, £33. 6*s.* 8*d.*; gratuity, £16. 13*s.* 4*d.*

Wells, Ric. Clarkeson, master; pension, £12.

These two last were hospitals.

The aforesaid book reacheth not Bristol, because not properly in Somersetshire, but a county incorporate by itself. As for Whiting, late abbot of Glastonbury, he was executed for a traitor, and so his pensions paid. No mention therein of the prior of Muchelney, whose place may be presumed void by his death, or he otherwise preferred.

10, 11. *Pensions go by Favour. Largest Pensions allotted the Hospitallers.*

We may observe great inequality in these pensions, not measured, as the Jews' manna, by one and the same homer, but increased or diminished, 1. According to the wealth of the House dissolved. For where more profit accrued to the king by the suppressions, there larger pensions were allowed to the prior or monk thereof. 2. According to the merits of the man. 3. According to his age and impotency, needing relief. Lastly and chiefly: According as the parties were befriended by the king's officers in the Augmentation Court; wherein, as in all other courts, favour ever was, is, and will be, in fashion.

But of all pensions, the largest in proportion, and strongest in conveyance, (as passed, not as the rest, by Letters Patents, but by Act of Parliament,) were those assigned to the late lord prior, and those of the Order of the Knights Hospitallers. These being men of high birth and honourable breeding, the king no less politicly than civilly thought fit to enlarge their allowance, (a main motive which made them so quietly to surrender their strong and rich hospitals,) as in the printed statute doth appear.*

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
To Sir William Weston, lord prior ...	1000	0	0
To Sir Jo. Rawson †.....................	666	13	4

CONFRERES.	PENSIONS.			CONFRERES.	PENSIONS.		
	£.	*s.*	*d.*		£.	*s.*	*d.*
Clement West	200	0	0	Edmund Huse	66	13	4
Jo. Sutton	200	0	0	Ambrose Cave	66	13	4
Richard Poole	133	6	8	Rich. Brooke	66	13	4
Jo. Rawson	133	6	8	Cuthbert Leighton......	60	0	0
Gyles Russell	100	0	0	Thomas Copledike......	50	0	0
George Aylmer	100	0	0	Edw. Brown	50	0	0
Edw. Belingham	100	0	0	William Tirell	50	0	0
Thomas Pemberton...	80	0	0				

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* *Anno* 32 *Henrici VIII.* cap. 24.

† He was prior of Killeman in Ireland.

To Anthony Rogers, Oswald Masingberd, &c. ten pounds a-piece yearly to be paid, as all the former pensions, during their natural lives. In the same statute it is provided, that John Maplesden, clerk, sub-prior of the said hospital; William Ermsteed, clerk, master of the Temple in London; Walter Limsey, and John Winter, chaplains there, should every one of them have, receive, and enjoy (the said master and two chaplains of the Temple doing their duties and services there during their lives) all such mansion-houses, stipends, wages, with all other profits of money in as large and ample manner as they were accustomed to do.

12. *Stout Hearts can bear the less Grief.*

No mention (as in other patents) of any gratuities in ready moneys given unto them, which probably cast into their pensions made them mount so high. As for the thousand pounds yearly allowed Sir William Weston, not one penny thereof was paid, he dying the next day, (the house of his Hospital, and of his earthly tabernacle being dissolved both together,*) soul-smitten with sorrow; gold, though a great cordial, being not able to cure a broken heart.

13. *The Patent for a Pension to the Prioress of Buckland.*

We will here present a female-patent of the pension allowed to the abbess of Buckland, though in all essentials very like unto the former.

Henricus Octavus, Dei gratiâ, &c. Cum nuper monasterium de Buckland in com' nostro Som' jam dissolvatur, unde quædam Katherina Bowser tempore dissolutionis illius et dicti antea priorina inde fuit: nos volentes rationabilem annualem pensionem sive promotionem condignam eidem Katherinæ ad victum, exhibitionem, et sustentationem suam melius sustinendum provideri: sciatis igitur quod nos in consideratione præmissorum de gratiâ nostrâ speciali ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris per advisamentum et consensum Cancellarii et Concilii Curiæ Augment' reventionum coronæ nostræ, dedimus et concessimus ac per præsentes damus et concedimus eidem Katherinæ quandam annuitatem sive annualem pensionem quinquaginta librarum sterlingorum, habendum, gaudendum, et annuatim percipiendum easdem quinquaginta libr' præfat' Katherinæ et assignatis suis a festo Annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ virginis ultimo præterito, ad terminum vitæ ipsius Katherinæ tam per manus thesaurarii nostri reventionum augmentationum coronæ nostræ prædict' pro tempore existen' de thesauro nostro in manibus

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* WEAVER'S "Funeral Monuments," page 460.

suis de reventionibus prædict' remanere contingen' quam per manus receptor' exituum et reventionum dict' nuper maner' pro tempore existen' de eisdem exit' et reventionibus ad Festum Sancti Michaëlis archangeli et Annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ virginis per æquales portiones solvendum. Et ulterius de uberiori gratiâ nostrâ, damus et pro consideratione prædictâ per præsentes concedimus præfatæ Katherinæ viginti quinque libr' sterlingor' habend' eidem Katherinæ ex dono nostro per manus dict' Thesaurarii de Thesauro prædicto, vel per manus dict' receptoris de exitibus et reventionibus maneriorum, terrarum, et tenementorum dicti nuper monasterii solvend'. Eo quod expressa mentio, &c. In cujus rei testimonium, &c.

Teste Ricardo Riche milite apud Westmonasterium decimo die Maii, anno regni nostri tricesimo primo.

"Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, &c. Whereas the late monastery of Buckland, in our county of Somerset, is now lately dissolved; whereof one Catherine Bowser was prioress at the time of the dissolution thereof, and long before; we are willing that a reasonable pension annual, or suitable promotion, should be provided for the said Catherine, the better to sustain her in diet and maintenance. Know, therefore, that we, in consideration of the premisses of our special grace and certain knowledge, and our own mere motion, by the advice and consent of the chancellor and council of the Court of Augmentations of the revenues of our crown, have given and granted, and by these presents do give and grant, unto the said Catherine a certain annuity or annual pension of fifty pounds sterling; that the said Catherine, or her assigns, may have, enjoy, or yearly receive the said fifty pounds from the Feast of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary last past for the term of the life of the said Catherine, as well by the hands of our treasurer of the Augmentation of the Revenue of our Crown for the time being out of our treasure which shall happen to remain in his hands out of the revenues aforesaid, as by the hands of the receiver of the profits and revenues of the said late monastery for the time being, out of the said profits and revenues, at the Feast of St. Michael the archangel, and the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin Mary, to be paid by equal portions. And, furthermore, of our more plentiful grace, and for the considerations aforesaid, we give, and by these presents do grant, to the aforesaid Catherine twenty-five pounds sterling, for the said Catherine, to have, of our proper gift, by the hands of our foresaid treasurer, out of our treasury aforesaid, or by our said receiver to be paid out of the profits and revenues of the manors, lands, and tenements of the said late monastery; because that express mention, &c. In witness whereof, &c.

"Witness Richard Rich, knight, at Westminster, the tenth of May, in the thirty-first year of our reign."

There are but two considerable differences betwixt this and the former patent: First. Whereas pensions allotted to priors and monks were conditional, as determinable upon their preferment to ecclesiastical promotion of equal value, this to the prioress (as to all nuns) was absolute for term of life; women being not capable of any church-advancement. Secondly. Whereas the gratuity allotted to monks generally amounted to a fourth part of their pension; this to the prioress was double as much as a just moiety thereof; whether this proceeded from the king's courtesy to the weaker sex, or because *mundus muliebris*, there was such a world of tackling required to rig and launch them forth to shift for themselves in a secular life.

14. *Youth and Strength accounted a Pension to itself.*

But as for ordinary nuns, we find that four pounds' pension, and forty shillings' gratuity, was generally their provision, and that only for those qualified with a *diu antea*, "that they had been in the convent a long time before the dissolution thereof;" otherwise, I meet with no portions to those that lately were entered into the Houses, being outed, and left at large, to practise the apostle's precept: "I will that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the house," &c. 1 Tim. v. 14.

15. *Methuselah Pensioners.*

The vivacity of some of these pensioners is little less than a miracle, they survived so long. For though none will say, "They lived out of despite to anger the king to pay their pensions;" surely, none so highly affected him as to die in duty, to exonerate his exchequer of their annuity. Isabel Sackville, lady prioress of Clerkenwell, is an eminent instance of longevity in this kind. For, 1. In the one-and-twentieth of king Henry VII. she was a nun in Clerkenwell-priory,* when a legacy was bequeathed her as niece by William Sackville, esquire, and must be then conceived fifteen years of age. 2. She was the last prioress of Clerkenwell, at the dissolution thereof. 3. She died in the twelfth of queen Elizabeth, (as appears by her epitaph in Clerkenwell church,) and by computation must be allowed eighty years of age. But far older was that monk or nun, (I am assured of the story, not the sex,)† to whom living in or near Hampshire, Mr. John Pymme, then an officer in the exchequer, paid the last payment of his pension about the fifth year of king James.

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* To be seen in the pedigree of the earl of Dorset, WEAVER'S "Funeral Monuments," page 429.

† Attested by Mr. Pymme's kinsman to Godfrey bishop of Gloucester. See his printed paper.

SECTION V.

DOMINO THOMÆ TREVOR, JUNIORI, EQUITI AURATO.

Multi sunt præproperi hæredes, qui nimiâ parentum vivacitate cruciantur. Hi languidâ expectatione macrescunt, postquam rura paterna spe vanâ devoraverant.

At tu, e contra, venerandi patris tui canitiem (si fieri posset) immortalem reddere conaris, cum eam perpetuo obsequio, humillimè colas, quo efficacius cardiacum, ad senectutem ejus elongandam, nequit confici. Non in patris sed mundi senescentis annos inquiris, cum historiâ plurimùm delecteris, cujus ope, si præterita cum præsentibus conferantur, conjectura de futuris statui potest, quo nomine, hoc opus nostrum tibi non ingratum fore confido.

Deus te, lectissimamque conjugem, beat prole patrizante, non tam privato commodo, quàm bono publico, ne respublica tantarum virtutum hæredi destituatur.

I. OF THE ERECTION, OFFICERS, USE, CONTINUANCE, AND ABOLISHING OF THE COURT OF AUGMENTATION.

1. *Augmentation-Court, when erected.*

During the scuffling for abbey-land, in the 27th year of king Henry VIII. the Court of Augmentation was set up, by Act of Parliament, to be a Court of Record, and to have an authentic great seal beside a privy seal; and several officers appointed for management thereof, with large fees allowed unto them. I find the same exemplified in a fair vellum manuscript, which lately was archbishop Parker's; since the lord Coke's, whence I transcribed as followeth:—

Sir Richard Sackville, chancellor, three hundred pounds' yearly fee, forty pounds' diet, and six shillings and eight-pence for every seal. Sir John Williams, treasurer, three hundred and twenty pounds' fee. Sir William Cavendish, treasurer, of the king's chamber, one hundred pounds' fee, one hundred pounds' diet, and ten pounds' boat-hire. Sir Thomas Moyle and Sir Walter Mildmay, general receivers, to each two hundred pounds' fee, and twenty pounds' diet. Richard Goodrich, attorney, one hundred pounds' fee, and twenty marks diet; John Gosnall, solicitor, eighty pounds' fee, twenty marks' diet. Beside masters, and surveyors of the woods, clerks, keepers of records, ushers, messengers, assistants, carpenter and mason to the court, auditors, receivers, surveyors, woodwards for every county; the total sum of their fees yearly amounting unto seven thousand, two hundred, forty-nine pounds, ten shillings, and three pence. This catalogue, by the persons mentioned therein, seems taken towards the end of Edward VI. when the court began to decline.

2. *The Employment of the Officers in this Court.*

It belonged unto this court to order, survey, and govern, sell, let, set all manors, lands, tenements, rents, services, tithes, pensions, portions, advowsons, patronages, and all hereditaments formerly belonging to priories; and, since their Dissolution, to the Crown, as in the printed statute* more largely doth appear. All persons holding any leases, pensions, corrodies, &c. by former grants from the convents came into the court, produced their deeds, and, upon examination of the validity thereof, had the same allowed unto them. And although providence for themselves, and affection to their kindred, prompted many friars and convents, foreseeing their tottering condition, to antedate leases to their friends just at the Dissolution, yet were they so frighted with fear of discovery, that very few frauds in that kind were committed. The court was very tender in continuing any leases upon that least legal consideration.

3, 4. *Motives for the Dissolution of this Court; finally, dissolved in the first Year of Queen Mary.*

But, after some continuance of this court, the king's urgent occasions could not stay for the slow coming-in of money from the yearly revenues of abbey-land, insomuch that he was necessitated to sell out-right a great part of those lands for the present advance of treasure, and thereby quickly was the Court of Augmentation diminished. The king therefore took into consideration to dissolve it as superfluous; wherein the officers were many, their pensions great, crown-profits thereby small, and causes therein depending few; so that it was not worth the while to keep up a mill to grind that grist, where the toll would not quit cost. It was therefore resolved to stop up this by-stream, that all causes therein should run in the ancient channel of the former courts of Westminster.

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* *Anno 27 Henrico VIII.* cap. 27.

Indeed, in the seventh of king Edward VI. a doubt did arise amongst the learned in the laws,—Whether the Court of Augmentation, the commencement whereof was first had by authority of parliament, would legally be dissolved, extinguished, and repealed by the king's letters patents? and the officers thereof (wonder not if they stickled for their own concernments!) did zealously engage on the negative. Wherefore it was enacted by parliament, that the king, during his natural life, had present power by his letters patents to alter, unite, annex, reduce, or dissolve any of those new-erected courts, by his own letters patent: and the same Act was confirmed in the first year of queen Mary, when the short-lived Court of Augmentation was dissolved, as which, from the birth thereof, 1535, to the extinguishing, 1553, survived but eighteen years.

II. THE LANDS OF CHANTRIES, FREE CHAPELS, AND COLLEGES DISSOLVED.

1, 2. *Prodigality always wanteth. King Henry's three Meals on Abbey-Lands.*

THE expenses of king Henry VIII. like sandy ground, suddenly sucked up the large shower of abbey-lands, and little sign or show was seen thereof: yea, such the parching thirst of his pressing occasions, that still they called aloud for more moisture; for whose satisfaction the parliament, in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, put the lands of all colleges, chantries, and free chapels in his majesty's full disposition.

This king made three meals, or, if you will, one meal of three courses, on abbey-lands, beside what cardinal Wolsey, the king's taster herein, had eaten before-hand, when assuming smaller Houses to endow his two colleges:—1. When religious Houses under two hundred pounds a-year, *anno* 1535; 2. When all greater monasteries, *anno* 1538; 3. When colleges, chantries, and free chapels, were granted to him by the parliament, *anno* 1545. The first of these were most in number, the second, richest in revenue; the third, in this respect better than both the former, because, they being spent and consumed, these alone were left to supply his occasions.

3, 4. *The Universities' Fears happily turned into Joy and Thankfulness.*

The Universities were more scared than hurt at the news of all colleges put into the king's disposal. They knew that barbarism itself had mischievous natural logic to make those general words reach far, especially if covetousness of some officers might be permitted to stretch them; whereupon they made their humble and seasonable addresses to the king for his favour.*

None ever robbed the Muses who were well acquainted with them. King Henry had too much scholarship to wrong scholars. Either university was so far from being impaired, that both were improved by his bounty with pensions for the places of their public professors; yea, the fairest college in either university in effect acknowledges him for its founder.

5. *What Chanters, &c. were.*

Such colleges as were hives of drones, (not of bees, industriously advancing learning and religion,) were now intended to be suppressed with free chapels and chantries. 1. Chantries consisted of salaries allowed to one or more priests to say daily mass for the souls of their deceased founders and their friends. These were adjectives, not able to stand of themselves, and therefore united (for their better support) to some parochial, collegiate, or cathedral church. 2. Free chapels, though for the same use and service, were of a more substantial and firm constitution, as independent of themselves. 3. Colleges were of the same nature with the former, but more considerable in bigness, building, number of priests and endowments. But the ensuing death of king Henry VIII. for a time preserved the life of these Houses, which were totally demolished by Act of Parliament in the first year of king Edward VI.

6. *Two Statutes on different Considerations.*

One may observe, that the two statutes made for the dissolving of these Houses were bestowed on different considerations.

STATUTE 37 HENRICI VIII. CAP. 4.—Chargeth misdemeanours on the priests and governors of the aforesaid chantries, that, of their own authority without the assent of their patrons, donors, or founders, they had let leases for lives, or term of years of their said lands, and some had suffered recoveries, levied fines, and made feoffments and other conveyances, contrary to the will and purposes of their founders, to the great contempt of authority royal. Wherefore, in consideration of his majesty's great costs and charges in his present wars with France and Scotland, the parliament put him and his successors for ever in the real and actual possession of such chantries, &c.

STATUTE 1. EDWARDI VI. CAP. 14.—Mentioneth the superstitious uses of these Houses, considering that a great part of errors of Christian religion hath been brought into the minds and estimation of men by reason of the ignorance of their very true and perfect salvation through the death of Christ, and by devising and fancying vain opinions of purgatory and masses satisfactory for the dead. Wherefore, that the said lands might be altered for better uses; namely, erecting grammar-schools, augmentation of the universities, and provision for the poor, the parliament bestowed them on the king, by his council, to dispose of the same accordingly.

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* LORD HERBERT in Henry VIII. page 537.

7. *Forty-seven Chantries in St. Paul's Church, London.*

To begin with chantries: Their exact number in all England is unknown. But if Hercules may, by a mathematician, be measured from his foot, a probable conjecture may be made of them, from those which we find founded in the cathedral church of St. Paul's in London. For, on the nineteenth of April, in the second year of king Edward VI. a certificate was returned by the dean and chapter of St. Paul's to his Highness's commissioners appointed for that purpose, affirming, that they had forty-seven chantries within their church. We will only instance in the odd seven, enough to acquaint us with the nature of all the rest.

1. Chantry of John Beauchamp, knight; founded by himself in his life-time; for one chaplain; to pray for the said Sir John and the souls of the progenitors of the earl of Warwick; in St. Paul's church, next to the founder's tomb; present incumbent, Sir Richard Strange; revenue, sum total £12. 8*s*. 8*d*. deductions £9. 6*s*. 8*d*. remainder £2. 18*s*. 8*d*.

2. Chantry of Sir John Poultney, knight, citizen of London; founded by his own last will and testament, in the 23rd of Edward III. for three priests; to pray for his own and all Christian souls; in St. Paul's church, in a chapel by him built on the north side of the church; present incumbents, 1. Sir Fulk Witney, 2. Sir John Richardson, 3. Sir John Blosse; revenue, sum total £47. 9*s*. 4*d*. deduction £39. 17*s*. 8*d*. remainder £7. 12*s*. 6*d*.

3. Chantry of John duke of Lancaster; founded by Ralph Nevil, earl of Westmoreland, and Thomas, bishop of Worcester, executors to the duke, licensed by king Henry IV. in the 13th of his reign; for two chaplains; to pray for king Henry IV. then living, and the soul of the aforesaid duke of Lancaster; in St. Paul's church, in a chapel by them built on the north side of the church; present incumbents, 1. Sir Richard Smith, 2. Sir Roger Charlton; revenue, sum total £20, deduction £16. 6*s*. 8*d*. remainder £3. 13*s*. 4*d*.

4. Chantry of Walter Sherington; founded by the executors of his testament, licensed by king Henry VI. in the 24th of his reign;

for two chaplains, Englishmen and graduates; to pray for the good estate of king Henry VI. the soul of Walter Sherington; in St. Paul's church, in a chapel built for him at the north door of the church; present incumbents, Mr. Thomas Batemansonne, Mr. John Wylmy; revenue, sum total £20, deduction £16, remainder £2.

5. Chantry of Thomas More, some time dean of the church; founded by his executors; for three priests; to pray for the soul of the said More and others; in St. Paul's church, in the chapel of St. Anne; present incumbents, Sir Richard Gates, Sir Robert Garret, Sir Maurice Griffith; revenue, sum total £67. 0*s.* 6*d.* deduction £55. 0*s.* 11¾*d.* remainder £12. 5*s.* 0¾*d.*

6. Chantry of Walter Thorpe; founded by his executors; for one chaplain; to pray for the soul of the said Thorpe; in St. Paul's church, at St. John's altar; present incumbent, Sir Richard Nelson; revenue, sum total £11. 16*s.* 0*d.* deduction £5. 4*s.* 8½*d.* remainder £6. 11*s.* 3½*d.*

7. Chantry of Richard Fitz-James, bishop of London; founded by Henry Hill, citizen and haberdasher, in the 13th of Henry VIII. for one chaplain; to pray for Richard Fitz-James, bishop of London; in St. Paul's church, at St. Paul's altar; present incumbent, Sir John Hill; revenue, sum total £14. 6*s.* 8*d.* deduction £14. 6*s.* 8*d.*

Know, reader, I am beholden for my exact intelligence herein to my worthy friend Mr. Thomas Hanson, who not only lent much light to my lamp out of choice records, (some in his possession, more in his custody,) but also hath given much oil thereunto, in his bountiful encouraging of my endeavours. It seems, the chapter would not go to the cost of true arithmetic, some of the sums being not rightly deducted; whose mistakes I chose rather to follow, than to vary any whit from the original.

8. *Chantries, when they began by Royal License.*

Observe in these chantries, some were not, some were, licensed by the king. For, before the Statute of Mortmain, made by king Edward III. "to be able and willing," was all the license requisite in any to found a chantry. Since which time a charter must be obtained from the king, to pass lands of such nature and value to persons so qualified. Observe, (call it the religious compliment, or mannerly devotion of those days,) that the chantry-priests (whosoever their founders were) prayed first for the good estate of that king living, and his soul after death, who first granted leave and license for that foundation.

9. *The Altar in St. Paul's scarce to be seen for Altars.*

See how the church of St. Paul was be-altared in that age, wherein we find no fewer than fourteen, with their several dedications; namely, 1. The altar of the Trinity; 2. Of the Virgin Mary; 3. Of Michael the Archangel; 4. Of the Apostles, 5. Of St. Andrew; 6. Of St. John; 7. Of St. Paul; 8. Of St. Thomas; 9. Of Mary Magdalene; 10. Of Martha and Mary Magdalene; 11. Of St. Erkenwald; 12. Of St. Chad; 13. Of St. Radigund; 14. Of St. Silvester.

And it is observable, that almost every one of these forty-and-seven chantries, founded in St. Paul's church, had their priest officiating either in several chapels, or at several altars, probably not to disturb each other in their private celebrations. But we find not any chantry-priests assigned to do service at the high altar indeed; either, because that place was reserved as proper to the dignitaries of the cathedral, or because the solemnity and merit thereof was equally extensive to all souls in general, unfit to be confined to any particular parties deceased, how great soever.

10, 11. *More Sirs than Knights. Deductions out of Chantry Revenues.*

Such priests as have the addition of Sir before their Christian name were men not graduated in the university, being in Orders, but not in Degrees; whilst others, entitled "Masters," had commenced in the arts. Note, that, generally, founders of chantries preferred priests not beneficed to those places, as best at leisure constantly to attend the same. Nor did their dead founders so engross the devotion of those priests, but that, by general and special obits for other men, procession-pence, and other perquisites, they much bettered their maintenance. Single priests commonly had the greatest salaries, (more in proportion than when others were joined with them in the same society,) because tied to daily duty, having none by turns to relieve them, and the greater work deserved the greater wages.

Many deductions and resolutions were made by the dean and chapter, out of the lands wherewith every chantry was endowed, beside the salary paid to the chaplains; as, for quit-rents, and tenths to the king, pensions to choristers, &c. But one general expense was for an anniversary potation, (seldom exceeding ten shillings,) founded, as it seems, on Job's words, (Job iv.) as Bellarmine* citeth the chapter without verse, *Panem tuum, et vinum*

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* *De Purgator.* lib. i. cap. 3, p. 1375. *Edit. Lugduni, anno* 1587.

tuum super sepulturam justi constitue: "Put thy bread and thy wine upon the sepulture of the just man:" but no such words appear in the place alleged, though some such like are found in Tobit iv. 17; where, notwithstanding, no mention of wine, which the Jesuit adds of his own, that it might not be a *dry* (as some since have added wax, that it might not be a *dark)* feast; bread, wine, and wax being the essentials of every potation. The charges of an anniversary obit was also deducted, whereof forty shillings the market-price; though some were so free they gave more, and some so favoured they had them for less.

12, 13. *Charitable swallowed with superstitious Uses: The Righteous destroyed with the Wicked.*

Some deductions were made, by the will of the founders, to uses merely charitable, and no whit superstitious, out of the surplusage of the chantry-lands, (the priest or priests therein first paid,) as, to the necessary relief of many poor people, and breeding of scholars in the universities. But, as the stork in the fable, found amongst the cranes in destroying the corn of the husbandman, in vain pleaded his own piety to his parents, being killed for company-sake with those birds amongst whom he was caught; so it is more than suspicious, that these pious uses were utterly extinguished at the suppression of abbeys; to teach men's charities hereafter, (if it be not a lesson now too late to be learned,) to beware of too familiar converse with superstition. Nor do I speak at guess herein, but from the complaints of credible and unpartial authors, of which this one I will insert:—

There was a maid born in Cornwall, called Tomasin Bonaventure; and well did she brook the same, which, from a keeper of sheep, came at last to be the wife of Sir John Percival, lord mayor of London. In her widowhood, she laid out her estate, which was very great, in charitable uses; and, amongst the rest, founded a chantry and a free-school, at St. Mary Week in Cornwall,* (the place of her nativity,) with fair lodgings for the schoolmasters, scholars, and officers, and twenty pounds a-year (beside their salaries) to support incident charges. And here the best gentlemen's sons in Devon and Cornwall were virtuously trained up, under one Cholwell, a religious teacher, until the said school was suppressed, in the reign of king Edward VI. only for a smack of popery, the chantry being annexed thereunto. And I suspect the like happened in other places. But to return to St. Paul's: All deductions discharged, the clear remainder belonged to the dean and chapter of St. Paul's.

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* CAREW'S "Survey of Cornwall," fol. 119.

14—17. *Gainful contracting the Number of the Priests. Gainful annexing of Chantries. There is a Generation rich, and maketh themselves poor. Nothing (pretended) gotten.*

Note, that the dean and chapter aforesaid assumed this power to themselves,—that, in case (to use their own terms) "the exility of the lands or rents," bestowed on any chantry, were insufficient to maintain so many chaplains as were appointed in the foundation, then they would reduce them to a smaller number. For instance: The executors of Adam Burie, some time mayor of London, founded a chantry wherein seven priests should pray continually. This I may call a college-chantry, equalling Catherine Hall in Cambridge for the number therein; but the means not holding out in full proportion, these seven were shrunk to four at the time of their suppression.

Another help the dean and chapter had; when the maintenance of any chantry fell short, by uniting two or more mean chantries together. Thus Margaret Bigod gave a marsh, called Richerness in Essex, with a stock of eleven-score sheep thereon, to found a chantry with two chaplains; which, not sufficient for the same, was annexed to a small chantry of Richard Green's, and one priest, Sir Christopher Bricket by name, effectually no doubt! discharged both.

And yet, notwithstanding all these shifts, the dean and chapter of Paul's, in giving up their accounts to the king's commissioners, pretended themselves yearly losers by some of these chantries. For, generally, they were founded on candle-rents, (houses are London's land,) which were subject to casualty, reparations, and vacations. In such intervals, though the house (wherewith the chantry was endowed) wanted a tenant, yet the chantry must not want a chaplain to officiate for the dead. Yea, so charitable was the dean and chapter in such cases, as sometimes to allow lands in augmentation of maintenance, and assign houses of their own for the habitation of such chaplains as wanted a mansion. The king therefore may be said, in some sort, to have done a courtesy to the chapter of Paul's when suppressing such poor chantries, formerly not beneficial but burdensome unto them.

By other chantries they were only savers, no gainers; having only their labour for their pain, in seeing things performed according to the will of the testator, as in bishop Fitz-James, and many others; so that, the priest paid, and other allowances deducted, *remanet nil*, as they brought in the reckoning of their receipts and disbursements. However, we may take notice, that herein the dean and chapter of Paul's were both their own accountants and auditors, and none could disprove their reckonings therein. But grant, that, among forty-seven chantries, two or three of them were unprofitable servants, returning no emolument unto them: yea, suppose as many prodigal children, wasting the stock of their parent, (understand the church wherein they were founded,) yet, from the collective body of them altogether, she gained a grand revenue. And it is considerable, that, in this their audit, they only brought in their bare annual rent of houses, their fines not being charged on their account, but swallowed in silence, to the great commodity of the chapter.

18. *The great, though uncertain, Number of Chantries.*

Vast was the wealth accruing to the crown by the dissolution of chantries. "Many a little," saith the proverb, "make a mickle." These foundations, though small in revenue, yet being many in number, mounted up a great bank. There was not a cathedral or collegiate-church in England, but some chantries were founded therein, as in many parochial churches. Thus at Oldwincle in Northamptonshire, the village of my nativity, a chantry in the parish-church of All Saints was endowed with house and lands for a priest, at the cost of Sir John Oldwincle, knight, about the reign of king Henry VI. Yea, let the model of country-churches be well observed wherein such excursions of building as present themselves beyond the old fabric, from which oft-times they differ, as neater and newer, were since erected, and added, as intended and used for chantries.

19. *Free Chapels and Colleges.*

Free chapels succeed, not so called from the freeness and bounty of their founders, but because subsisting of themselves, as children of full age, whose parents are still alive. For though "chapel" speaks a relation to a mother-church, yet "free" avoweth them *sui juris*, especially so far forth that right of burials belonged unto them. These were greater than chantries, having more room for priests, and more priests for that room, to pray for the souls of their founders. Colleges come the last (as the heaviest, and best-laden with land) into consideration. These, though fewest in number, were richer than both the former; insomuch that the college of Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire was yearly valued at four hundred nineteen pounds, eleven shillings, ten pence halfpenny. And no wonder, since this college had the rare happiness to be endowed by the kings both of York and Lancaster,* at deadly mutual enmity, yet jointly agreeing in their bounty to this place.

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* See SPEED's Catalogue in Northamptonshire.

20. *A Nemo Scit of Wealth accruing to the Crown.*

How much the yearly revenue of all these chantries, free chapels, and colleges, amounted to, God knows; for the king knew as little as some in our age. Indeed, some of his officers did, but would not know,—as wilfully concealing their knowledge herein. Yea, some of these chantries may be said in a double sense to be suppressed, as not only put down, but also concealed, never coming into the exchequer, being silently pocketed up by private (but potent) persons. True it is, the courtiers were more rapacious to catch, and voracious to swallow, these chantries than abbey-lands. For at the first many were scrupulous in mind, or modest in manners, doubting the acceptance of abbey-land, though offered unto them, till profit and custom, two very able confessors, had, by degrees, satisfied their consciences, and absolved them from any fault therein. Now, all scruples removed, chantry-land went down without any regret. Yea, such who mannerly expected till the king carved for them out of abbey-lands, scrambled for themselves out of chantry-revenues, as knowing this was the last dish of the last course, and after chantries, as after cheese, nothing to be expected. As for those who fairly purchased them of the king, they had such good bargains therein, that thereby all enriched, and some ennobled, both themselves and posterity. But, for satisfaction herein, I refer the reader to his pen,* who never spared any that came under it, and seldom such as came near it; who speaks more bitterness than falsehood in this particular.

21. *Pensions assigned to Chantry-Priests.*

The chantry-priests, by this suppression outed at once of all their livelihood, were not left to the wide world to shift for themselves, but had, *durante vitâ* pensions settled on them by king Edward's letters patents. I have seen in the auditor's office for the north part of the duchy of Lancaster, the account of William Mallet, esq.† particular receiver of the rents, colleges, chantries, &c. in the county of York; namely, of so many of them as were in that shire annexed to the duchy of Lancaster; which parcel alone amounted yearly to seven hundred ninety-six pounds, four shillings, two pence halfpenny: out of which sum was deducted one hundred twenty-six pounds, two shillings, four pence, for annual pensions to chantry-priests and others, (five pounds a-piece the general proportion,) assigned them for term of life, by king Edward VI.

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* Sir John Hayward in Henry VI. page 155.

† Made in the 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary.

22. *Some Tenderness to Hospitals.*

The parliament at the same time put hospitals also into the king's possession. Yet, surely, more tenderness was used to hospitals; and I find very few of them finally suppressed. Indeed, that of the Savoy at this time was much abused with loiterers, vagabonds, and strumpets, which lay all day in the fields, and at night were harboured there.* In which consideration king Edward dissolved the hospital, but gave the land thereof, worth six hundred pounds *per annum*, to the city of London,† to endow Bridewell therewith. Thus, he did not extinguish charity, but only regulate and remove it from the Strand to Fleet-steet; or, rather, took away with one hand what was abused, and restored it, with the other, to such as would better employ the same.

III. QUEEN MARY, ON HER OWN COST, RESTORETH SOME CONVENTS.

1. *Queen Mary imparts her Intents to four Counsellors.*

QUEEN Mary, a princess more zealous (according to her devotion) than politic, resolved by way of essay and trial, to restore certain dissolved convents, and endow them with competent maintenance. In order hereunto, she called four of her principal counsellors most interested in money-matters, namely, William, marquess of Winchester, lord treasurer; Sir Robert Rochester, controller of her house; Sir William Petre, secretary; and Sir Francis Inglefield, master of the wards: and by a long speech acquainted them with her intentions therein. Now, though the lord Pawlet, as treasurer, (much being the want of money at this present,) might dislike the motion, yet, as courtier, he complied with the queen's desires, the rather, because it was in vain to withstand them, so really strong were her resolutions: but it is worth our attention to hear her oration:—

"You are here of our council, and we have willed you to be called to us, to the intent ye might hear of me my conscience, and the resolution of my mind, concerning the lands and possessions, as well of monasteries, as other churches whatsoever, being now presently in my possession: First. I do consider, that the said lands were taken away from the churches aforesaid, in time of schism; and that by unlawful means, such as are contrary both to the law of God and of the church. For the which cause my conscience doth not suffer me to detain them; and therefore I here expressly refuse either to claim or to retain the said lands for mine; but with all my heart freely and willingly, without all paction or condition, here and before God, I do surrender and relinquish the said lands and possessions, or inheritances whatsoever, and do renounce the same with this mind and purpose,—that order and disposition thereof may be taken as shall seem best liking to our most holy lord the pope, or else his legate the lord cardinal, to the honour of God, and wealth of this our realm.

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* STOW'S "Survey of London," page 344.

† STOW, *ut prius*, page 491.

"And albeit you may object to me again,—that, considering the state of my kingdom, the dignity thereof and my crown imperial cannot be honourably maintained and furnished without the possessions aforesaid; yet, notwithstanding, I set more by the salvation of my soul than by ten kingdoms; and therefore the said possessions I utterly refuse here to hold after that sort and title, and give most hearty thanks to Almighty God, which hath given me a husband likewise minded, with no less good affection in this behalf than I am myself. Wherefore I charge and command that my chancellor, (with whom I have conferred my mind in this matter before,) and you four, to-morrow, do resort together to the most reverend lord legate, and do signify to him the premisses in my name, and give your attendance upon him for the more full declaration of the state of my kingdom, and of the aforesaid possessions accordingly, as you yourselves do understand the matter, and can inform him in the same."*

2. *Several Orders re-erected by her.*

In this matter the words of Sanders ought to be observed,† presuming him best-knowing in these acts of restitution then performed by her majesty, and that he would lose nothing for the measuring, which might tend to the queen's credit:—

Collegia nova amplissimâ dote fundantur. Cœnobia Benedictinorum, Carthusianorum, Brigitensium, Dominicanorum, Observantium, ac aliorum Ordinum a devotis personis re-œdificantur; catholicis regibus in hoc genere pietatis subditis omnibus prœlucentibus.

"New colleges are founded with a most ample endowment. Convents of Benedictines, Carthusians, Bridgetteans, Dominicans, Observants, and other Orders are re-edified by devout persons; the catholic princes outshining all their subjects in this kind of piety."

Now, seeing this passage is the best torch we meet with to direct us in this dark subject, we will severally weigh his words, and impartially comment upon them.

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* HOLINSHED in queen Mary, *anno Domino* 1555, page 1127.

† *De Schismate Anglicano*, lib. ii. page 309.

1. *Benedictines*—When Westminster church was turned into an abbey, and John Feckenham made abbot thereof, installed therein on the 21st of November, 1557. But this was done without any cost to the crown, only by altering the property of the place from a late-made cathedral to an abbey, and turning the prebendaries into sixteen black monks, which were all at the present could be found having that Order, and willing to wear that habit upon them.

2. *Carthusians*—These were fixed at Sheen, nigh Richmond, in Surrey, over against Sion.

3. *Bridgetteans*—At Sion, in Middlesex. This indeed, with the former, cut two good collops out of the crown-land, though far short this second endowment of what formerly they possessed. It was some difficulty to stock it with such who had been veiled before, (it being now thirty years since their dissolution,) in which time most of the elder nuns were in their graves, and the younger in the arms of their husbands, as afterwards embracing a married life. However, with much ado, joining some new ones with the old, they made up a competent number.

4. *Dominicans*—These were seated in Smithfield in London. The best was, they being mendicants, (little stock would serve to set up beggars,) their restoring could not be very expensive to the queen, beside the site of a house for their dwelling, and some other necessary accommodations.

5. *Observants*—These were friars, like the former; being Franciscans reformed, and therefore not over-costly their restitution. Their House was at Greenwich, founded by king Henry VII. plucked down by king Henry VIII. (as largely before,) one of the first of all other convents; because the friars therein were so obstinate against the king, and such sticklers for the legality of queen Catherine's marriage. In gratitude whereunto, and honour of her own extraction, queen Mary reseated them in their habitations.

6. *And other Orders*—Sanders, for the more credit of the matter, politicly winds up all in these indefinite words, though in the remaining Orders were not so many as to make up a number: of which the most eminent were the Hospitallers of St. John's of Jerusalem in Clerkenwell, a place in a pitiful plight when now they were first restored; for the bell-tower of the church was undermined and blown up with gunpowder, that the stones thereof might build Somerset House in the Strand. Now, where the steeple was shattered the church must needs be shaken; as here the body and side-aisles thereof were by that fatal blow finally confounded;* only part of the choir remaining, (with some side-chapels,) which cardinal Pole caused to be closed up on the west end, and repaired. And this

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* STOW'S "Survey of London," page 483.

served the Hospitallers for their devotions the short time they continued therein. The queen made Sir Thomas Tresham lord prior of this Order, who, the 30th of November, 1557, received the Order of the Cross at Westminster, and was solemnly inducted into his place. He was of an ancient family and large estate, and had done the queen knight's service, proclaiming her in the highest contest with queen Jane. If the dimension of his body may be guessed by his finger, and his finger by his ring, (which I have seen in the possession of his kinsman, William Tresham, esq. of Newton in Northamptonshire,) he was a little giant, and far greater than his portraiture on his monument, almost demolished in Rushton church, in the same county. But Alexander's soldiers were not in proportion so big as their shields left in India; and possible that ring of state, serving for a seal, was rather borne about him than worn on his finger.

7. *Re-edified by devout persons*—It is out of doubt that papists contributed many precious utensils unto these Orders, as also that they were bountiful in repairing their decayed houses to fit them for their habitation; but, by Sanders's leave, no visible refunding of land doth appear. Which if he had known of, no doubt he would have told posterity, as tending, according to his principles, so much to the credit of those persons. I say again, though queens' examples carry a kind of *mandamus* in them, yet herein her best subjects and servants were so unmannerly as to suffer her Grace to go alone by herself in this act without any attendants, as to the restitution of any entire religious House to its former order. No, not Anthony Browne, viscount Montacute, (though formerly solemnly employed in an embassy to the pope to reconcile the church of England to Rome,) would part with his rich abbey of Battle in Sussex, or poor priory of Barnewell, nigh Cambridge, &c. but kept all his pluralities in that nature, though otherwise we believe him most bountiful to those of his own religion.

8. *The catholic princes.*—Meaning Philip and Mary; and, surely, though we cannot insist on the particulars, that king's inclinations are sufficiently known; zealous for the promoting of his own religion.

However, it is almost incredible what a qualm on this occasion came over the hearts of the stoutest abbey-land mongers in England; fearing in process of time a reverting of them to their former use; the rather because cardinal Pole, in that Act in this queen's reign to secure abbey-lands to their owners, (without the passing whereof to pacify so many persons concerned, papistry could not have been restored in that parliament,) did not, as some think, absolve their consciences from restitution, but only made a palliate cure, the church but suspending that power which in due time she might put in execution.

3—5. *A general Jealousy of Abbey-holders. Nimia cautela non nocet. The best Work of Queen Mary.*

This made many suspect that such edifices of abbeys, which still were extant entire, looked lovingly on their ancient owners, in hope to be restored unto them. In prevention whereof, such as possessed them for the present plucked out their eyes, by levelling them to the ground, and shaving from them, as much as they could, all abbey characters, disguising them (as much as might be) in a lay-habit, matching and mingling them with lands in another tenure; because, on this very motion, abbey-lands sunk two years' purchase in the common valuation.

Nor must I forget one passage in Derbyshire, a certain information whereof I have received from that skilful antiquary, and my respected kinsman, Samuel Roper, of Lincoln's Inn: How one Thacker, being possessed of Repingdon [Repton] abbey in Derbyshire, alarmed with this news that queen Mary had set up these abbeys again, (and fearing how large a reach such a precedent might have,) upon a Sunday (belike "the better day the better deed") called together the carpenters and masons of that county, and plucked down in one day (church-work is a cripple in going up, but rides post in coming down) a most beautiful church belonging thereunto, adding he would destroy the nest, for fear the birds should build therein again.

And now when a papist has done commending queen Mary, a protestant may begin: I say, Her setting up the hospital of the Savoy was a better work than any instanced in by Sanders for the relief of poor people. First. Because poor, *qua* poor, may be said to be *jure divino:* "The rich and poor meet together, and the Lord maketh them both," Prov. xxii. 2; not only as Creator of their persons, but Assigner of their conditions. Besides, the poor is a continual Order in the church, by the words of our Saviour: "The poor ye have always with you," John xii. 8; but more properly hereof in the reign of queen Mary.

IV. QUEEN ELIZABETH DEMOLISHETH THE NEW-ERECTED CONVENTS.

1, 2. *Violent Alterations dangerous.*

Queen Elizabeth, coming to the crown, was not over-busy at the first; but for some months permitted all things to remain *in* *statu quo priùs.* Insomuch, that, in the first parliament of her summoning, she sent her writs to the aforesaid lord prior Tresham and abbot Feckenham, to make their appearance with the rest of her barons in her great council; whither they repaired, and wherein they took their places accordingly; Sir Thomas (as lord prior) above, but the abbot beneath, all the temporal lords,* being the lag of the House, and placed under Oliver lord St. John of Bletnetsho, [Bletsoe,] lately made the second baron of queen Elizabeth's creation. But they had hardly sat down on their seats, before they were raised up, and dissolved, with all the rest of the late-restored Orders.

3. *A Query to the learned in Law.*

I have not met, to my best remembrance, with any statute, enacted in the reign of queen Mary, whereby she was legally empowered for the re-erection of these convents; done, it seems, by her prerogative, by connivance (not concurrence) of the parliament. Nor can I find, in the first year of queen Elizabeth, any particular statute † wherein (as in the reign of king Henry VIII.) these Orders are *nominatim* suppressed; this probably being supposed needless, as I conceive, (with submission to the learned in that profession,) their Houses having no legal settlement: or else, when the general statutes against superstition were laid, like the axe, to the root of the tree, these Orders, as under-branches, fell of themselves, by virtue of the queen's commission for the same.

4. *An imperfect List better than none.*

I intended, by way of a farewell-corollary, to present the reader with a list of the lord priors of St. John's from Jordanus Briset their first founder. But their records being all burned in that fire which was kindled by Straw in his commotion, it is impossible to complete the catalogue. At and since which disaster, such as we can recover are not contiguous in times, and distanced with many years betwixt them, though perhaps not unuseful to be inserted.

1. Sir Robert Hales, lord treasurer of England, slain in the tumult of Tyler, *anno* 1380, in the fourth of king Richard II. At which time, 2. Next him, Sir John Longstrother; I say, next, *proximus at longo qui proximus intervallo,* siding with the House of Lancaster; he was taken prisoner in Tewkesbury battle, *anno* 1471, and by king Edward IV. put to death in cold blood,

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* See a list of them sitting, in Sir Thomas Cotton's library.

† In his *Appeal,* Fuller says, "Since, I have found a copy thereof in Sir Thomas Cotton's library, with many commissions granted thereupon for the dissolution of such Marian foundations." —EDIT.

contrary to the promise of a prince who had assured his life unto him. 3. Sir Thomas Dockwray is the next (not of all) but in our discovery; a person of much desert, expending himself wholly for the credit and profit of his priory, as who re-edified the church out of its ruin, finishing it *anno* 1504, as appeareth by the inscription over the gate-house yet remaining. 4. Sir William Weston succeeds, (of whom before,) [and] dissolved this list on the very day of the dissolution of this priory. 5. Sir Thomas Tresham was the first and last of queen Mary's re erection. There goeth a tradition that queen Elizabeth,—in consideration of his good service done to herself in her sister queen Mary, whom he proclaimed, and their titles being shut out of doors together, both were let in again at once, though to take place successively,—allowed him to be called "lord prior" during his life, which was not long, and the matter not much, deriving no power or profit unto him.

Here I purposely omit Sir Richard Shelley, which family I find of remark for worship and antiquity at Michel-Grove in Sussex. He bare a great enmity to queen Elizabeth, especially after she had flatly denied Philip king of Spain (whither Shelley was fled) to consent to his abiding there, and to his quiet receiving his rents out of England. However, the Spanish king employed him in an honourable embassy unto Maximilian, king of the Romans,* wearing the high title of "prior of the Order of St. John's in England;"† a *prior* without *posterior*, having none under him to obey his power, nor after him to succeed in his place. We behold him only as the wry-stroke given in by us out of courtesy, when the game was up before.

5. *Cecil the present Owner of this Priory.*

The site of the priory of St. John's was lately the possession of William earl of Exeter, whose countess, Elizabeth Drury, was very forward to repair the ruined choir thereof. Dr. Joseph Hall preached at the solemn reconciling thereof, on St. Stephen's day, 1623, taking for his text, "The glory of the latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of Hosts," Haggai ii. 9. At this day, though co-arctated, having the side-aisles excluded, (yet so that their upper part is admitted, affording conveniences for attention,) it is one of the best private chapels in England, discreetly embracing the mean of decency betwixt the extremes of slovenly profaneness and gaudy superstition, and belongeth at this present to the truly noble Thomas earl of Elgin.

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* CAMDEN'S *Eliz. anno* 1563.

† *Idem in anno* 1560, page 46.

SECTION VI.

TO THOMAS DOCKWRAY, OF BEDFORDSHIRE, ESQUIRE.

I FIND Sir Thomas Dockwray one of the last lord priors of our English Hospitallers. To say you are descended from him, would fix a stain on your extraction, seeing none might marry who were of his Order.

But this I will say and justify, that you both are descended from the same ancestor, as by authentic records doth most plainly appear.

Besides, some conformity may be seen in your commendable inclinations. He was all for building of a fair church, according to the devotion of those days.* Your bountiful hand hath been a great sharer in advancing of this Church History.

Now, although his stately structure of the strongest stone had the hard hap to be blown up almost as soon as it was ended,† this of yours (a frailer fabrick, as but of paper walls) may, by God's blessing, have the happiness of a longer continuance.

I. OF ENGLISH NUNNERIES BEYOND THE SEAS.

1—3. *Why no Pensions paid to outed Votaries by Queen Elizabeth. Detained Pensions paid to old Friars and Nuns. Chequer Pay the best of Payments.*

THUS were all monks, friars, and nuns, totally routed by the coming-in of queen Elizabeth. I find not that any pensions were allowed to those votaries, who at this time were outed their convents, though large annuities were assigned to such who were ejected their monasteries, colleges, or free chantries, in the reigns of king Henry VIII. and Edward VI. whereof this may seem the reason, because now, *caveat ingressor*, "he or she might beware who entered an abbey," be it at their own peril, seeing they formerly had so fair a warning; though indeed some of them, who had no friends to help them, were left in no very good condition, and died in much want and distress.

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* STOW'S "Survey of London," page 483.

† *Idem, ibidem.*

But now, in the beginning of this queen's reign, a complaint did arise, that pensions were detained from many ejected out of abbeys in her father's and brother's reign; who, being poor, old, and impotent, and repairing to the queen's officers for their pensions, were, instead of money, paid with ill language and affronts. Her majesty, possessed with the truth hereof, took strict order both that their arrears for the time past should be satisfied, and their annuities for the time to come effectually discharged; which much advanced her honour in pecuniary matters.

Hence grew the proverb, (crossed in the days of her successors,) "As sure as Exchequer-pay." For all who in this queen's reign had sums due unto them from the Treasury, had no other trouble than to tell them there, and take them thence. Thus, it came to pass, that by her maintaining of the Exchequer, the Exchequer maintained her, having money at most—credit all—times, on the reputation of so good a pay-mistress: insomuch that she was not only able to lay down her stake, but also to vie ready silver with the king of Spain, when he, notwithstanding both his Indies, was fain to go on bare board.

4—7. *The only Stump of an old Tree. The Progress of Nuns from Sion to Lisbon. The Revenue and Wealth of the Lisbon Nuns. A Price of Blood their first Portion.*

As for popish (religious) persons flying out of England at the coming-in of this queen, our pen shall follow them as fast as it can with convenient speed. We begin with the nuns; partly because the courtesy of England alloweth the first place to the feeblest sex; but chiefly because they seem still to continue an entire body, and, successively, an immortal corporation; being, with the Carthusians, the only stump that remaineth of the huge tree which once overspread and shadowed our whole nation.

May the reader be pleased to remember, that king Henry V. founded one abbey of nuns at Sion in Middlesex, peopling it with the Bridgettine nuns and friars, and another at Sheen in Surrey over against it, so ordering it that all the day long alternately when the devotions of the one ended, the other should begin, that nothing should interrupt their prayers, though the Thames did divide their persons. Both those convents, dissolved by king Henry VIII. were, as aforesaid, restored by queen Mary, and re-dissolved by queen Elizabeth. The Sion nuns (though Clementia Thresham, a principal amongst them, could not go with them for sickness, dying soon after, and buried at Rushton in Northamptonshire) conveyed their persons and most portable treasure beyond the seas to Zurickzee in Zealand, thence to Mechlin in Brabant, thence to Rouen in Normandy, but found no certain place of abode till they came to Lisbon in Portugal.

For here they had a daily pension of five crowns from the king of Spain, and wheat more than sufficient whilst Lisbon was his; and I doubt not but the present king of Portugal performeth the same. They have vineyards, olive-fields, corn-grounds, and houses, to the value of four hundred *milreas*[*] a year, which was the portion of a Portuguese, (sole heir to her wealthy father,) who, becoming a religious sister in this convent, conveyed her inheritance unto it. So that by their boxes in Indian and Brazilian ships, sale of masses, and other perquisites, they are said yearly to lay up six hundred pounds.

Indeed they began with a good bank; and hereon hangs a story worth reporting. When doctor Lopez, a Jew-Portugal, undertook to poison queen Elizabeth, he would not (to show himself a Jew indeed) do his work till in some sort secured of his wages. The sum promised him was deposited with these nuns,[†] whilst as yet they lived at Rouen in Normandy. But Lopez's design failing, the same halter which bereaved him of life, endowed these nuns with a livelihood. For the king of Spain, either out of scrupulosity not to resume the same into his treasury as the price of blood, or out of liberality, conferred those moneys on the nuns, which since they have well-housewived and increased.

8. *Their Confessor and Abbess.*

We need not repeat what we have formerly said of the Bridgettine nuns, first founded by Bridget, queen of Sweden, having friars permitted to live under the same roof (though disjoined with walls) for their better consolation. Some thirty years since father Joseph Foster was their confessor, having two other priests and a lay-brother to assist him; whose names I am less careful to insert, because they change them as often as snakes their skins, both what they took at the font, and fetched from their fathers, truly called by what they are not known, and commonly known by what they are not truly called. Elizabeth Preston about that time was abbess, who being outed as in disgrace with father Foster, Barbara Wiseman succeeded in her place.

9. *The Anatomy of the Nuns of Lisbon.*

Such as desire further satisfaction herein may consult "the Anatomy of the English Nunnery at Lisbon," made by Thomas Robinson, published by authority, and lately reprinted. I confess, it may seem cruelty to cut up the living, and the best of mortals would winch to purpose if dissected alive. But very much of truth is believed in his discovery, telling us of a grate betwixt those friars and nuns, sometimes so churlish as to divide them, sometimes so charitable as consenting to be drawn up, and so to admit them to a mutual society; so that if the friar calleth, the nun cometh incontinently at his command. I have heard since, that their convent of late hath casually been burned down; which if so, I doubt not but they are able to rebuild it, as gaining more by water, (the gratuities of merchants,) than they have lost by fire.

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[*] Every *milrea* is twelve shillings six-pence sterling.

[†] THOMAS ROBINSON, page 9.

10, 11. *Brussels Nunnery: Their great Wealth.*

They are of the Order of St. Benedict, and yet solely under the inspection of the Jesuits; which seems improper, seeing it would sound like truer construction that Benedictine nuns should be subject to Benedictine monks. The truth is, that at the first founding hereof the Jesuitical activity got the start of the Benedictine dulness; and these men of lasting metal (as good at length as at hand) keep the advantage which once they have gotten. Indeed, no nuns come hither but such as are transported by the Jesuits' special recommendation; and therefore it is but equal they should dress and prune the vines of their own planting. I assure you, the place is too costly for my daughter to be entered there; seeing they receive none into their abbey and habit unless she have a thousand pounds or two for her portion.*

The abbey is very rich, having purchased whole manors and lordships in Brabant, with many thousand of pounds at use in the Lombards, and elsewhere; all which the English Jesuits do dispose of. Father Gardiner, and father Walgrave,† *aliàs* Flower, were, *anno* 1630, their overseers, being some sixty English damsels under their abbess, then the sister of the (aunt to the present) earl of Northumberland.

12. *Cambray Nunnery.*

Don Carlos de Colomna, governor of the city and country of Cambray for the king of Spain, and sometimes ambassador for England, was so allured with the beauty, or affected with the piety, of our English women, that (as it is generally reported) he gave them a cloister within this city; where now they live, and have an English congregation erected according to the Order of St. Benedict. Lately they had no lands purchased, though possibly since they may be endowed.

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* LEWIS OWEN'S "Running Register," page 102.

† "English-Spanish Pilgrim," page 72.

13, 14. *Gravelines Nunnery. Nuns of Louvain, why omitted.*

The family of the Gages, at Furle in Sussex, were their principal benefactors, (whereof John Gage, privy counsellor, as I take it, to queen Mary, deserted the land and his own large estate at the beginning of queen Elizabeth,) as appears by certain tablets to be seen in their church. Yet are they the poorest of all foreign convents, being the discalceated nuns of the Order of St. Clare. *Size cinque* are sent to Brussels, persons nobly born, or richly dowried; *quatur tray*, to Lisbon or Cambray, receiving those of a middle rank; whilst *duce ace*, yea, *ames ace*, are sent to Gravelines, the alms-basket of other convents. *Cum nemini obtrudi potest, itur ad, &c.* Such who come over with empty hands must be nuns at Gravelines with naked feet.

Here I purposely omit the nuns of Louvain in Brabant, because not speaking pure English and scarcely *medietatem linguæ*, being a hodge-podge of Dutch and English, and the former at this day most numerous. Yea, oftentimes the two nations here strive for superiority, and though nature inclineth me in this contention to favour my countrywomen; yet I conceive it better to leave them alone to agree with themselves, and proceed to the Jesuitesses.

15. *Jesuitesses.*

These began at Luke or Liege, about thirty years since; Mistress Mary Ward, and Mistress Twitty being the first beginners of them. They are not confined, as other nuns, to a cloister; but have liberty to go abroad where they please, to convert people to the catholic faith. They wear a huke like other women, and differ but little in their habit from common persons. The aforesaid two virgins, or rather viragins, travelled to Rome with three the most beautiful of their Society,* endeavouring to procure from his Holiness an establishment of their Order; but no confirmation, only a toleration, would be granted thereof. Since, I have read, that, *anno* 1629,† Mistress Mary Ward went to Vienna, where she prevailed so far with the empress, that she procured a monastery to be erected for those of her Order, as formerly they had two Houses at Liege. Since, I have heard nothing of them, which rendereth it suspicious that their Order is suppressed; because otherwise such turbulent spirits would be known by their own violence, it being all one with a storm, not to be, and not to bluster. For, although this may seem the speediest way to make their Order to propagate when *Jesuita* shall become *hic et hæc* of the common gender; yet conscientious catholics conceived these lady-errants so much to deviate from feminine (not to say virgin) modesty, (what is but going in men being accounted gadding in maids,) that they zealously decried their practice, probably to the present blasting thereof.

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* Mistress Vaux Fortesque.

† "English-Spanish Pilgrim," page 31.

II. THE FOREIGN CONVENTS OF ENGLISH MONKS AND FRIARS.

1—3. *Jesuits, gaping for the Benedictines' Lands in England, defeated by Father Roberts and others.*

We will not so far distrust the reader's memory as to repeat our premised distinction betwixt monks and friars. Only know, that the papists themselves report, that, toward the end of queen Elizabeth, there was but one English monk (Mauro by name) living in the whole world. A thing not incredible to such who consider monks generally grown men before admitted into their Order, and that more than sixty years were passed from the dissolution of abbeys to the end of queen Elizabeth. Hereupon, several catholics of the anti-Jesuitical faction, (as Doctor Gifford, Bagshaw, Stevens, Smith,) fearing the Jesuits, on father Mauro's death, would, for want of lawful successors to the old English Benedictine monks, enter upon all the abbey-lands they had here, solicited many English students then living in their colleges and seminaries to become monks of the Order of St. Benet, persuading them that hereby they should entitle themselves to a large patrimony of land now likely to fall unto them.

Here am I put to a double wonder. First. Whereon this papistical confidence was grounded of the speedy restitution of abbey-land at queen Elizabeth's death, finding no visible probability for the same. Secondly. I admire how Jesuits could pretend (in default of Benedictine issue) themselves heirs to these lapsed or vacant lands, seeing other Orders, far more ancient, might lay a better claim thereto. Except they conceive such English abbey-lands held in borough-English, wherein the youngest, according to the custom of some manors, is to inherit; and so by the same advantage this last and newest of all Orders possessed themselves thereof.

However, to prevent them, at the instance of the aforesaid secular priests many English students got into foreign convents of Benedictines, and took on them the habit of St. Benet. John Roberts, first a lawyer's clerk in London, then a student in the English college at Valladolid, first led the dance, running away to a neighbouring convent of Spanish Benedictines. More of the flock followed this bellwether thick and threefold, leaving the college of the Jesuits in despite of all the care and caution of their father-prefects.

Father Augustine (if that his true and not assumed name) was the second monk of note at this time;—a name very active, I am sure, in propagating superstition in England;—and Roberts and Augustine, the two revivers of the new Benedictines. These obtained leave of pope Pius V. and the king of Spain, to build them a convent at Douay. And though Roberts, coming over into England to procure the catholics' contribution thereunto, had the hard hap to meet with Tyburn in his way, yet the design proceeded and was perfected.

4—6. *Douay Convent in Artois. St. Malo's Convent in Brittany. Paris Convent.*

For the lord abbot of St. Vedastus, (*Anglicè* St. Forster's,) in Arras, a wealthy man, and great favourer of the English, (yea, generally good to all poor people,) built them a cloister, and fine church adjoining, on his own proper cost; to whom and his successors, the English monks are bound to pay yearly, on the first of February, a wax candle weighing threescore pounds, by way of homage and acknowledgment of their founder.

Doctor Gifford, dean of the collegiate church of St. Peter's in Ritsell, (*aliàs* Insula in Flanders,) erected a small congregation of English monks at St. Malo in France, whereof he himself became prior. Here he remained some years, till at last, resigning it to another monk, he removed unto Paris convent; which the aforesaid doctor (but now advanced and augmented with the honour and profit of the archbishopric of Rheims) built and endowed on his own expenses, conferring thereon whatsoever he can get from his archbishopric; on the profits whereof the duke of Guise was suspected too heavily to quarter.

7—9. *The Carthusian Convent at Mechlin. Douay. Two Convents reported in London.*

Pass we now from our English monks to the friars, and begin with the Carthusians. These being outed of Sheen in Surrey, at the coming-in of queen Elizabeth, wafted themselves over the seas with so much wealth as bought them a cloister, with lands to maintain it, at Mechlin. These take themselves to be the most visible church of English friars, as continuing an uninterrupted succession; and so puffed up with hopes of regaining their old lands, that when prince Charles went to Spain, they sent two of their friars into England to take possession both of Charter-house and Sheen. Say not, "ONE of those places had been fair at first;" seeing, to save double pains and charges, they did well to claim them both together, as likely to possess them both together; as, no doubt, they had done long ago, had not the rightful owners then, and ever since, detained the same.

Some report this erected by count Gondemar; others, more probably, by the charity of English catholics, for re-collect friars of the Order of St. Francis. They have a strong fancy, that Christ-Church in London shall one day be theirs, at the next return of times. The best is, being to go bare-foot by the rules of their Order, they are well provided to wait for dead men's shoes. Here I omit the little cloister of Benedictine monks in the dukedom of Lorraine, near Ponto-Mouzon, as also some other nunneries and friaries since erected at Paris, and elsewhere: for, surely, these Orders have spawned much since our late civil wars, protestant confusions multiplying popish foundations.

Yet I cannot believe what one* reports of two convents in London, set up about the year 1640: One, at the lord Gage's near Queen-street: The other, at Westminster. For, finding no person who is properly termed the lord Gage, I suspect all the rest. And though, I confess, catholics then arrived at such boldness as rather to dare, than dread, any discovery; yet it seemeth improbable any should abide there save only to wait conveniency of transportation. And so much for English convents beyond the seas: which discourse let none censure as alien, and not pertaining to the History of England. For, I would willingly be condemned for a needless excursion, on the condition that they belonged not at all unto us who daily fetch over too much money hence, and do mutually bring back too much mischief hither.

III. TO WHOM THE SITES OF MITRED ABBEYS WERE GRANTED, AND BY WHOM THEY ARE POSSESSED AT THIS DAY.

1—5. *A possible Design preferred, impossible declined.*

It were a work almost impossible for our pen to pursue the lands of each religious House, from the time that they parted from the Crown to the present owners thereof. Yea, such a task, when ended, were endless, of no other use than the satisfaction of curiosity. As, therefore, the best anatomists cannot hunt out the deviations of every petty vein, (embracing several courses in sundry bodies,) but abundantly acquit their skill and industry if truly discovering the trunk-veins, (observing the same channels in all people,) cephalical, basilical, &c. so we conceive our duty discharged to any rational expectation, if instancing only, out of the original records, in the sites of the mitred abbeys, marking their fluctuation since passed from the Crown into the possession of several subjects.

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* Mr. Prynne.

Here I intended to present the reader with the particulars of all those owners through whose hands these mitred abbeys have passed, from those to whom king Henry granted them, to those who at this day are possessed thereof: a thing with very much difficulty (such the frequencies of the exchange) collectible out of the several fines paid at their alienation. But having tired out mine own modesty, though not my good friend Mr. John Witt's officious industry, in being beholden to him above my possibility of requital for perusing so many records, I desisted from so difficult a design.

Tavistock abbey in Devonshire; granted by king Henry VIII.* in the thirty-first of his reign, July 4th; unto John lord Russel, Anne his wife, and their heirs, &c. in consideration of his faithful service and counsel; tenure and rent, *in capite*, by knight's service of *(cum aliis)* one knight's fee, paying £36; after aliened to none, but still possessed by their heirs; present owner, William Russel, earl of Bedford.

Middleton abbey in Dorsetshire; granted by king Henry VIII.† in the thirty-first of his reign, February 23rd; unto John Tregonwell, knight, doctor of law; in consideration of a pension of £40 *per annum* surrendered, £1000 paid down, and his good service; tenure and rent, *in capite*, by knight's service, of the tenth part of a knight's fee, paying £12. 4*s.*; after aliened to none, but still possessed by his heirs; present owner, John Tregonwell, esquire.

Malmesbury abbey in Wiltshire; granted by king Henry VIII. ‡ in the thirty-first of his reign; unto William Stampe, gentleman; in consideration of the payment of £1516. 15*s.* 2*d.*; tenure and rent, *in capite*, by the tenth part of a knight's fee, paying £8. 8*s.*; present owner, Thomas Joy, esquire.

Ramsey abbey in Huntingdonshire; granted by king Henry VIII. § in the thirty-first of his reign, March 4th; unto Richard Williams, *aliàs* Cromwell, esquire; in consideration of his good service, and the payment of £4663. 4*s.* 2*d.*; tenure and rent, *in capite*, by the tenth part of a knight's fee, paying £29. 16*s.*; after aliened to none, possessed by his heir; present owner, Sir Oliver Cromwell, the most aged gentleman and knight in England.

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* *Primâ Parte Rot.* 29, (formerly Osborn's,) Remembrancer's Office. † *Primâ Parte Rot.* 95. ‡ *Septimâ Parte Rot.* 147. § *Secundâ Parte Rot.* 293.

Selby abbey in Yorkshire; granted by king Henry VIII.[*] in the thirty-second of his reign, August 28th; unto Ralph Sadleir of Hackney, knight; in consideration of £736 paid; tenure and rent, *in capite*, by the tenth part of a knight's fee, paying £3. 10*s.* 8*d.*; present owner, Charles Walmesley, esquire.

Tewkesbury abbey in Gloucestershire; granted by king Henry VIII.[†] in the thirty-sixth of his reign; unto Thomas Stroud, Walter Earle, and James Paget; in consideration of £2283. 19*s.* 3*d.*; tenure and rent, *in capite*, by the twentieth part of a knight's fee, paying £1. 18*s.* 0¾*d.*

Hyde abbey *juxta* Winton; granted by king Henry VIII.[‡] in the thirty-seventh of his reign, Jan. 11th; unto Richard Bethel, gentleman, after a lease of the lord Wriothesley was expired; in consideration of £110. 17*s.* 1*d.*; tenure and rent, in free soccage of the king's manor of Rumsey, paying £6. 13*s.* 4*d.* to the vicar of St. Bartholemew, Winton.

St. John's abbey *juxta* Colchester; granted by king Edward VI.[§] in the first of his reign, June 22nd; unto John Dudley, earl of Warwick; in consideration of his service in Scotland and France, whereby he had much impaired his own estate; tenure and rent, *in capite, (cum aliis)* by service of one knight's fee, paying 16*s.* 11*d.* present owner, Sir John Lucas, lord Lucas.

Cirencester abbey in Gloucestershire; granted by king Edward VI.[‖] in the first of his reign, August 19th; unto Thomas lord Seymour, high admiral; in consideration of his service and kindred, being the king's uncle; tenure and rent, *in capite*, with land in fifteen shires, by the service of one knight's fee, paying £1. 1*s.* 8*d.*; present owner, Sir William Masters.

Bardney abbey in Lincolnshire; granted by king Edward VI.[¶] in the second of his reign; unto Thomas Heneage, Catherine his wife, and their heirs; in consideration of an exchange for the manor of Overton; tenure and rent, in knight's service; present owner, Francis lord Willoughby of Parham.

Glastonbury abbey in Somersetshire; granted by king Edward VI.[**] in the fourth year of his reign, June 4th; unto Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset; in consideration of his petition, and the advice of the council, to support his dignity; tenure and rent, *in capite*, by the fortieth part of a knight's fee, *sine reditu*.

Reading abbey in Berkshire; granted by king Edward VI.[††] in the fourth year of his reign, June 4th; unto Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset; in consideration of his petition, and the advice of the council to support his dignity; tenure and rent, *in capite*, by the fortieth part of a knight's fee, *sine reditu;* present owner, Francis Knowles, esquire.

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[*] *Primâ Parte Rot.* 140.

[†] *Secundâ Parte Rot.* 26.

[‡] *Septimâ Parte Rot.* 44.

[§] *Quartâ Parte Rot.* 13.

[‖] *Primâ Parte Rot.*

[¶] *Tertiâ Parte Rot.* 95.

[**] *Tertiâ Parte Rot.* 17; and again, *Quartâ Parte Rot.* 77.

[††] *Ibidem.*

Crowland abbey in Lincolnshire, granted by king Edward VI. in the fourth year of his reign, December 1st; unto Edward Fienes, knight, Lord Clinton and Say, high admiral of England; in consideration of the exchange of other lands with the crown; tenure and rent, to be held in soccage as of the king's manor of Louth by fealty only; present owner, till lately in the Crown.

Winchcomb abbey in Gloucestershire; granted by king Edward VI. in the fifth year of his reign, June 24th; unto William Parr, Marquess of Northampton; in consideration of his faithfulness and valour against the rebels in Norfolk; tenure and rent, in free soccage to be held as of the manor of East Greenwich, *sine reditu;* present owner, George Bridges [Bruges] lord Chandos.

St. Edmund's-Bury abbey in Suffolk; granted by queen Elizabeth* in the second year of her reign, Feb. 14th; unto John Eyre, esquire; in consideration of the payment of £400; tenure and rent, in free soccage to be held as of the queen's manor of East Greenwich, *sine reditu.*

St. Alban's abbey in Hertfordshire; granted by queen Elizabeth† in the sixth year of her reign, May 6th; unto Christopher Smith, esquire, and Thomas Broughton, gentleman; in consideration of the payment (for it and other lands in the grant) of £1703. 1*s.* 4*d.* tenure and rent, in free and common soccage, *sine reditu.*

Hitherto we have proceeded on the most authentic authority out of records. And although we are confident of the truth of such as follow; yet, wanting the like assurance in the dates, tenures, and considerations, we thought fit to rank them by themselves.

Battle abbey, in Sussex, was bestowed by king Henry VIII. on Sir Anthony Browne, knight of the garter, and master of his majesty's horse, enjoyed by his heir-male in a direct line at this day.

Thorney abbey, in Cambridgeshire, was conferred by king Henry VIII. on John lord Russel, and is possessed by his *abnepos*, William earl of Bedford, in a lineal descent.

St. Mary's priory in Coventry was given by Henry the VIII. to ——— Hales, esquire, clerk of the hanaper; at this day in possession of one of his name and lineage.

Evesham abbey in Worcestershire, I find not to whom first granted; but by a long lease it was in the possession of one Mr. Andrewes, father and son, whose grandchild, living now at Berkhampstead in Hertfordshire, hath better thrived by God's blessing on his own industry than his father and grandfather did with Evesham abbey; the sale of the stones whereof, he imputeth a cause of their ill success. Lately it was Sir William Curteen's; and I know not to whom his son sold it.

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* *Secundâ Parte Rot.* 13.

† *Quartâ Parte Rot.* 52.

The abbey of St. Bennet's-in-the-Holme, in Norfolk, was never sold, but only changed in the two-and-thirtieth of king Henry VIII. with the bishop of Norwich, as appeareth by the printed statute, which affirmeth, that the lands settled by the king on the bishopric were of a greater yearly value than the lordships and manors given to his Grace: Which might be so, seeing all profit consists not in annual revenue, but much in casualties of fines. Indeed, generally coronets did gain, but mitres lose, in their exchanges with the Crown.

7—10. *St. Mary's in York, how disposed. Country Abbeys largest in Profit. Present Gain, future Loss.*

St. Mary's, in York, (with Selby, the only mitred abbey beyond Trent,) was kept in the Crown to be the king's palace, when repairing into those parts; since called "the manor," where the lord president of the council in the north held his residence. At this day it is in the hands of the States, as excepted by name in the Act for the sale of king's lands, and one was allowed a fee for the careful keeping thereof.

My inquiry cannot attain to whom St. Mary's in Shrewsbury was passed. As for Augustine's in Canterbury, I conceive it never aliened from the Crown; reading in my worthy friend,* that "the remaining ruins thereof are made subject to public uses." And thus we have a perfect account of all the mitred English abbeys; the reader well remembering what we have formerly written at large, of St. John's of Jerusalem and Waltham; as also of Gloucester, Peterborough, and Westminster, advanced into cathedrals, save that the last was afterwards altered into a collegiate church.

We may observe that the greatest abbeys (founded in cities) were of the least profit, because so strait-laced with streets and houses round about them that they could not grow to any extraordinary bulk for ground continued thereunto; so that the sites were but sites, as in St. Alban's, St. Edmund's-Bury, Hyde, &c. Whereas monasteries in country towns, let loose at more liberty to dilate themselves, had generally a large manor and ample demesnes annexed unto them.

Wise men have informed me, that had succeeding princes followed king Henry's pattern, generally granting abbeys only *in capite*, that such lands (though passed *gratis* from the Crown under small rents) would notwithstanding, in some part, have returned thither again, as affording respite of homage, reliefs, wardships, fines for alienation for a constant revenue. Whereas, being afterwards granted in free soccage, whilst the tenure only advanced the present sale, the Crown was deprived of much emolument and more obligation.

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* WILL. SOMNER in his "Antiquities of Canterbury," page 60.

11, 12. *A solemn Tilting proclaimed. The noble Achievements of Richard Cromwell.*

Richard Williams, *aliàs* Cromwell, esquire, (to whom Ramsey abbey was partly given, partly sold,) was one of the five who, in the thirty-second year of Henry VIII. made the bold challenge at justs to all comers that would, in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain. Here it was expected that some of our Knights-Hospitallers (whose House by Act of Parliament was dissolved but a month before) should appear valiantly in their vindication, if conceiving any injustice offered unto them. But they kept themselves close, probably not so much for fear of all the challengers as of one of the spectators, namely, king Henry himself; as sure, if conquerors, of the king's anger and others' envy; if worsted, of their own disgrace. Besides, by the laws of their Order, they were not to tilt against Christians, but only to spend their spears against Pagans and infidels. Lastly. The challenge seemed only confined to foreigners.

This Richard Williams, *aliàs* Cromwell, came into the place an esquire, but departed a knight, dubbed by the king for his valour, clearly carrying away the credit: overthrowing Mr. Palmer* in the field at justs one day, and the next serving Mr. Culpepper at barriers in the same manner. Hereupon, there goeth a tradition in the family, that king Henry, highly pleased with his prowess, "Formerly," said he, "thou wast my Dick, but hereafter shalt be my Diamond," and thereat let fall his diamond-ring unto him. In avowance whereof, these Cromwells have ever since given for their crest *a lion holding a diamond-ring in his fore-paw.*

13—15. *Censure on Abbey-Lands. Sir Henry Spelman's Observations on Abbey-Lands; his Son's on the same.*

Some conceive these abbey-lands more unsuccessful than any other, and infectious to the third generation. Yea, papists would persuade us, that as Bucephalus cast all his riders till backed by

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* Stow in the reign of Henry VIII. page 580.

Alexander his lord and master, so these skittish lands will dismount all that bestride them, until, forsooth, they be (as they hope) restored to their proper owners. And this they impute to the curse of their founders denounced to such who should alienate them from their first institution. Others maintain, that no certainty can be concluded from such casualties, but that all things come to pass alike to all; "as die abbey-lands, so die other lands, when in the hands of a riotous person." Thus lands, as well as goods and chattels, are *movables*, though not from their centre, yet from their owner. Yea, our draught, lately presented, doth prove that many mitred abbeys have survived the dangerous climacterical of the third generation.

For my own part, my tongue is so far from bespeaking such lands with any ill success, that I wish to all lawfully possessed of them, (either by the bounty of their prince, their own or ancestors' fair purchase,) that peaceably and prosperously they may enjoy them; *et nati natorum, ut qui nascuntur ab ipsis.* However, it will not be amiss to insert the observation of a most worthy antiquary in the county wherein he was born and best experienced; who reporteth, that in Norfolk there were a hundred houses of gentlemen before the Dissolution of abbeys, possessed of fair estates, of whom so many as gained accession by abbey-lands are at this time extinct, or much impaired; bemoaning his own family, under the latter notion, as diminished by such an addition.

Hear also what his son saith to the same purpose:—"King Henry exchanged abbey-lands, and by this means (like the dust flung up by Moses) they presently disperse all the kingdom over, and at once become curses both upon the families and estates of the owners; they often viciously spending on their private occasions what was piously intended for public devotion; insomuch, that, within twenty years next after the Dissolution, more of our nobility and their children have been attainted, and died under the sword of justice, than did from the Conquest to the Dissolution, being almost five hundred years; so as if thou examine the list of the barons in the parliament of the 27th of Henry VIII. thou shalt find very few of them whose sons do at this day inherit their fathers' titles and estates; and, of these few, many to whom the king's favour hath restored what the rigorous law of attainder took, both dignity, lands, and posterity. And doubtless the commons have drank deep in this cup of deadly wine; but they, being more numerous and less eminent, are not so obvious to observation." *

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* CLEMENT SPELMAN in his preface to his father's book, *De non temerandis Ecclesiis.*

16, 17. *A Papist's Observation. The Conclusion.*

As for the report of Reynerus,* the reader may believe the less thereof for his known engagement to Rome, thus expressing himself: "At the Dissolution, Henry VIII. divided part of the church-spoils among two hundred and sixty gentlemen of families in one part of England; and at the same time Thomas duke of Norfolk rewards the service of twenty of his gentlemen, with the grant of forty pounds a-year out of his own inheritance; and while not sixty of the king's donees had sons owning their father's estates, every one of the duke's hath a son of his own loins, flourishing in his father's inheritance; and I could have set down their several names, had conveniency required it."

But it is high time for me to put a period to this subject; lest, as the abbeys were complained of to grow so great, that they engrossed the third part of the land; so my discourse of them, infected with the same fault, will be condemned by the reader for the tedious prolixity thereof; the rather, because this old and trite subject is now grown out of fashion, men in our age having got a new object to fix their eyes and observation thereon,—taking notice how such church-lands do thrive, which since hath been derived into the hands of new possessors.

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* *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Angliâ*, fol. 227, 228.

THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK VII.

CONTAINING THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD VI.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. LEICESTER DEVEREUX,

VISCOUNT HEREFORD,

LORD FERRARS OF CHARTLEY, &c.

MY LORD,

GREAT was the difference betwixt the breeding of Adonijah and Solomon, though sons to the same father. The former tasted not of reproof, much less of correction; it being never said unto him, "Why hast thou done so?" 1 Kings i. 6.

Solomon had his education on severer principles. He was his parents' darling, not their fondling, Prov. iv. 3. It was after sounded in his ears, "What, my son? and what, the son of my womb?" Prov. xxxi. 2.

Our English gentry too often embrace the first course in breeding their children, whereby they become old men before they are wise men, because their fathers made them gentlemen before they were men; making them too soon to know the great means they are born to, and too long to be ignorant of any good quality whereby to acquire a maintenance, in case their estates (as all things are uncertain) should fail or forsake them. Hence it is, they are as unable to endure any hardship, as David to march in Saul's armour, (for he had never proved it, 1 Sam. xvii. 39,) utterly unacquainted therewith.

But your discreet parents, though kind, were not cockering unto you, whom they sent very young into the Low Countries, where in some sort you earned what you ate in no less honourable than dangerous employment. This hath settled the sinews of your soul, and compacted the joints thereof; which in too many hang loose, as rather tacked than knit together.

Since being returned into England, partly by your patrimony, partly by your matrimony, an ancient and fair estate hath accrued unto you. Yet it hath not grown (as St. Basil fancieth roses in Paradise before Adam's fall) without thorns and prickles. Many molestations attended it, through which you have waded in a good measure; having had *trials*, indeed, wherein, on what side soever the verdict went, you gained patience and experience.

Indeed, there is an experience the mistress of fools, which they learn by their losses; and those caused by their own carelessness or wilfulness in managing their affairs. But also there is one, the master-piece of wise men to attain, wherein they observe the events of all things, after their utmost endeavours have submitted the success to Divine Providence. Yours is of the last and best kind, whereby you are become a skilful master of defence, knowing all the advantageous postures and guards in our laws, not thereby to vex others, but save yourself from vexation.

Thus having borne the yoke in your youth, you may the better afford ease and repose to your reduced age; and having studied many men in arms, more in gowns, you now may solace yourself, and entertain the time, with perusing of books; amongst which, I humbly request, this may have the favour of your Honour's eye, to whom on a double motive it is dedicated. First. Because containing the Life of that prince who, for his piety, may be exemplary to all persons of quality. Secondly. Because it was he who conferred the highest still-remaining honour on your family, advancing it (formerly very ancient amongst the barons) to the degree and dignity of viscounts: wherein that it may long flourish in plenty and happiness, is the daily prayer of

Your Honour's most obliged servant,
THOMAS FULLER.

THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK VII.

SECTION I.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1. *The hopeful Beginning of King Edward. A. D.* 1546, 7. 1 Edward VI.

King Henry VIII. though dying excommunicate in the church of Rome, Jan. 28th, had, notwithstanding, his obsequies solemnly performed at Paris in France, by the command of Francis, the French king,* presuming so much on his own power, and the pope's patience; otherwise such courtesy to his friend might have cost him a curse to himself. Then began king Edward his son to reign, scarce ten years old, full of as much worth as the model of his age could hold. No pen passeth by him without praising him, though none praising him to his full deserts. Yea, Sanders himself—having the stench of his railing tongue over-scented with the fragrant ointment of this prince's memory, though jeering him for his want of age, which was God's pleasure and not king Edward's fault, and mocking him for his religion, the other's highest honour—alloweth him in other respects large commendations.

2. *Peace and Prosperity to the Protestants in England.*

No sooner was he come to the crown, but a peaceable dew refreshed God's inheritance in England, formerly parched with persecution; and this good angel struck off the fetters from many Peters in prison, "preserving those who were appointed to die." Only Thomas Dobbie, Fellow of St. John's in Cambridge, committed to the Compter in Bread-street, and condemned for speaking against the mass, died of a natural death, in respect of any public punishment by law inflicted on him. But whether or no any private impression of violence hastened his end, God alone knoweth. His speedy death prevented the pardon, which the Lord Protector intended to send him;* Divine Providence so ordering it, that he should touch, not enter—see, not taste—behold, not reap—benefit on earth of this Reformation. Other confessors which had fled beyond sea, as John Hooper, Miles Coverdale,† &c. returned with joy into their country: and all protestants, which formerly for fear had dissembled their religion, now publicly professed the same. Of these, archbishop Cranmer was the chiefest; who, though willingly he had done no ill—and privately many good offices—for the protestants, yet his cowardly compliance hitherto with popery, against his conscience, cannot be excused; serving the times present in his practice, and waiting on a future alteration in his hopes and desires.

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* Godwin *in Edvardo VI.* page 158.

3. *Commissioners sent into several Counties with Instructions to reform.*

Edward Seymour, the king's uncle, lately made Lord Protector, and Duke of Somerset, Jan. 28th, ordered all in church and state. He, by the king's power, or, if you please, the king, in his Protection, took speedy order for reformation of religion. And being loath that the people of the land should live so long in error and ignorance, till a parliament should be solemnly summoned, (which for some reasons of state could not so quickly be called,) in the meantime, by his own regal power and authority, and the advice of his wise and honourable council, chose commissioners, and sent them with Instructions into several parts of the kingdom, for the rooting out of superstition; the substance whereof (thirty-six in number) we have here presented.

4. *The King's Injunctions.*

1. That all ecclesiastical persons observe the laws for the abolishing the pretended and usurped power of the bishop of Rome, and confirmation of the king's authority and supremacy.

2. That once a quarter, at least, they sincerely declare the word of God, dissuading their people from superstitious fancies of pilgrimages, praying to images, &c. exhorting them to the works of faith, mercy, and charity.

3. That images abused with pilgrimages, and offerings thereunto, be forthwith taken down and destroyed; and that no more wax candles or tapers be burned before any image; but only two lights upon the high altar before the sacrament shall remain still, to signify that Christ is the very light of the world.

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* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," vol. ii. page 655.

† Sanders *De Schismate Anglicano*, lib. ii. page 230.

4. That every holy-day, when they have no sermon, the *Pater-noster*, *Credo*, and Ten Commandments shall be plainly recited in the pulpit to the parishioners.

5. That parents and masters bestow their children and servants either to learning, or some honest occupation.

6. That such who in cases expressed in the statute are absent from their benefices, leave learned and expert curates.

7. That within three months after this visitation, the Bible of the larger volume in English, and within twelve months Erasmus's Paraphrase on the Gospels, be provided, and conveniently placed in the church for people to read therein.

8. That no ecclesiastical persons haunt alehouses or taverns, or any place of unlawful gaming.

9. That they examine such who come to confession to them in Lent, whether they can recite their Creed, Pater-noster and Ten Commandments in English, before they receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, or else they ought not to presume to come to God's board.

10. That none be admitted to preach, except sufficiently licensed.

11. That if they have heretofore extolled pilgrimages, reliques, worshipping of images, &c. they now openly recant and reprove the same as a common error, groundless in Scripture.

12. That they detect and present such who are letters [hinderers] of the word of God in English, and fautors of the bishop of Rome's pretended power.

13. That a register-book be carefully kept in every parish for weddings, christenings, and burials.

14. That all ecclesiastical persons not resident upon their benefices, and able to dispend yearly twenty pounds and above, shall, in the presence of the churchwardens, or some other honest men, distribute the fortieth part of their revenues amongst the poor of the parish.

15. That every ecclesiastical person shall give competent exhibition to so many scholars in one of the universities as he hath hundred pounds a-year in church-promotions.

16. That the fifth part of their benefices be bestowed on their mansion-houses or chancels, till they be fully repaired.

17. That he readeth these Injunctions once a-quarter.

18. That none bound to pay tithes detain them by colour of duty omitted by their curates, and so redouble one wrong with another.

19. That no person henceforth shall alter any fasting-day that is commanded, or manner of common prayer or divine service, (otherwise than specified in these Injunctions,) until otherwise ordered by the king's authority.

20. That every ecclesiastical person under the degree of bachelor of divinity, shall, within three months after this visitation, provide of his own the New Testament in Latin and English, with Erasmus's Paraphrase thereon; and that bishops by themselves and their officers shall examine them how much they have profited in the study of holy Scripture.

21. That in the time of high mass he that sayeth or singeth a Psalm, shall read the Epistle and Gospel in English, and one chapter in the New Testament, at Matins, and another at Even-song; and that when nine lessons are to be read in the church, three of them shall be omitted with responds; and at Even-song the responds, with all the memories.

22. That to prevent in sick persons the damnable vice of despair, they shall learn, and have always in readiness, such comfortable places and sentences of Scripture, as do set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of God Almighty, towards all penitent and believing persons.

23. To avoid all contention and strife which heretofore have risen amongst the king's subjects, by challenging of places in procession, no procession hereafter shall be used about the church, or church-yard; but immediately before high mass the Litany shall be distinctly said or sung in English, none departing the church without just cause, and all ringing of bells (save one) utterly forborne.

24. That the holy-day, at the first beginning, godly instituted and ordained, be wholly given to God, in hearing the word of God read and taught in private and public prayers, in acknowledging their offences to God and amendment, in reconciling themselves to their neighbours, receiving the communion, visiting the sick, &c. Only it shall be lawful for them in time of harvest to labour upon holy and festival days, and save that thing which God hath sent; and that scrupulosity to abstain from working upon those days doth grievously offend God.

25. That no curate admit to the communion such who are in rancour and malice with their neighbour, till such controversies be reconciled.

26. That every dean, archdeacon, &c. being a priest, preach by himself personally twice a-year at least.

27. That they instruct their people, not obstinately to violate the ceremonies of the church by the king commanded to be observed, and not as yet abrogated; and, on the other side, that whosoever doth superstitiously abuse them doth the same to the great peril of his soul's health.

28. That they take away and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, tables, candlesticks, trindills, or rolls of wax, pictures,

paintings, and other monuments of feigned miracles, so that no memory of them remain in walls or windows; exhorting their parishioners to do the like in their several houses; and that a comely pulpit be provided in a convenient place.

29. That a strong chest be provided with a hole in the upper part thereof, (with three keys thereunto belonging,) be provided to receive the charity of people to the poor, and the same at convenient times distributed unto them in the presence of the parish.

30. That priests be not bound to go to visit women lying in child-bed, except in times of dangerous sickness, and not to fetch any corpse except it be brought to the church-yard.

31. That to avoid the detestable sin of Simony, the seller shall lose his right of patronage for that time, and the buyer to be deprived, and made unable to receive spiritual promotion.

32. That because of the lack of preachers, curates shall read Homilies, which are or shall be set forth by the king's authority.

33. Whereas many indiscreet persons do uncharitably contemn and abuse priests, (having small learning,) his majesty chargeth his subjects that henceforth they be reverently used for their office and ministration' sake.

34. That all persons not understanding Latin shall pray on no other Primer but what lately was set forth in English by king Henry VIII. and that such who have knowledge in Latin use none other also; and that all graces before and after meat be said in English, and no grammar taught in schools but what is set forth by authority.

35. That chantry-priests teach you to read and write.

36. That when any Sermon or Homily shall be had, the Prime and Hours shall be omitted.

5. *The Form of bidding the Common Prayers.*

" You shall pray for the whole congregation of Christ's church, and, specially, for this church of England and Ireland: wherein, First, I commend to your devout prayers, the king's most excellent majesty, supreme head, immediately under God, of the spirituality and temporalty of the same church; and for queen Catherine dowager, and also for my lady Mary and my lady Elizabeth, the king's sisters.

" Secondly. You shall pray for my Lord Protector's Grace, with all the rest of the king's majesty's council; for all the lords of this realm, and for the clergy and the commons of the same; beseeching Almighty God to give every of them, in his degree, grace to use themselves in such wise as may be to God's glory, the king's honour, and the weal of this realm.

" Thirdly. You shall pray for all them that be departed out of this world in the faith of Christ, that they with us, and we with them, at the day of judgment, may rest both body and soul, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven."

OBSERVATIONS ON THE KING'S INJUNCTIONS.

6. *The Wisdom of our Reformers.*

Let us here admire God's wisdom in our first Reformers, who proceeded so moderately in a matter of so great consequence. To reform all at once, had been the ready way to reform nothing at all. New wine must be gently poured into old bottles, lest the strength of the liquor, advantaged with the violence of the infusion, break the vessel. Jacob could not keep peace with Esau, (presumed fleet on foot as used to hunting,) whilst he had in his company the under-children and flocks with young, which, if overdriven one day, would die, Gen. xxxiii. 13. And though, no doubt, he himself was footman enough to go along with his brother, yet he did lead on softly according as the cattle and children were able to endure. Thus our wise Reformers reflected discreetly on the infirmities of people, long nursed in ignorance and superstition, and incapable of a sudden and perfect alteration.

7, 8. *Only two Lights left. What meant by "Memories."*

On this account, in the third Injunction, they reduced candles, formerly *sans* number in churches, to two upon the high altar before the sacrament; these being termed "lights," shows they were not *lumina cœca*, but burning. Know also that at this time there was an universal dilapidation of chancels; and men had seen so many abbey-churches plucked down, that they even left parish-churches to fall down on themselves. Now, to repair them all at once, would have stopped the holes in the chancels, and made one in the states of the ministers. It was therefore in the sixteenth Injunction ordered, that a fifth part of their means should be employed therein, whereby the work was effectually done without any great damage to the repairers.

By "Memories" appointed to be omitted, (Injunction 21st,) we understand the *obsequia* for the dead; which, some say, succeeded in the place of the Heathen Roman *parentalia*.

9—11. *Good Policy. Mr. Calvin dissents. Moderation goeth far.*

The abolishing processions is politicly put on a civil account, (Injunction 23rd,) "to avoid contention about places." Indeed, people's pride herein consisted in pretended humility, which the

Injunction at large termeth "a fond courtesy." For in a mock practice of the apostle's precept, "in honour preferring one another," Rom. xii. 10; they strained courtesy to go last. Where, by the way, I conceive that accounted the highest place which was next the cross-bearer, or next the priest carrying the Host.

Query. Whether in the 24th Injunction, labouring in time of harvest on holy-days and festivals relateth not only to those of ecclesiastical constitution, (as dedicated to saints,) or be inclusive of the Lord's day also ?*

Mr. Calvin, in his letter to the Lord Protector,† disliketh the praying for the dead; and this is one of those things which he termed, *tolerabiles ineptias;* Englished by some, "tolerable fooleries;" more mildly by others, "tolerable unfitnesses." In requital whereof bishop Williams was wont to say, that Master Calvin had his *tolerabiles morositates.*

And thus moderately did our first Reformers begin, as the subject they wrote on would give them leave. For as careful mothers and nurses, on condition they can get their children to part with knives, are contented to let them play with rattles, so they permitted ignorant people still to retain some of their fond and foolish customs, that they might remove from them the most dangerous and destructive superstitions.

12. *The Protestant Library.*

Come we now to give in a list of such principal books which [were published] in the reign of this king and his father, as preparatory to and introductive of reformation; and to bring them high enough, we will begin with

HENRY VII.

"Prayers printed by the Commandements of the moost hye and vertuous Princesse our lyege Lady Elizabeth by the Grace of God Quene of England and of France, and also of the right hye and moost noble Princesse Margarett Mother to our Soveraign Lord the King," &c. Without the year when printed.

HENRY VIII.

"The Institution of a Christian Man contayneng the Exposition of the Commune Crede, of the Seaven Sacraments, of the Ten Commandements, and of the *Pater-noster*, and the *Ave Maria*, Justification and Purgatory. London, by Tho. Barthelet, 1537."

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* In answer to Heylin's strictures in his *Examen Historicum*, Fuller says, "Now my query is answered; and I believe that the Lord's day was included within the number of holydays, and common work permitted thereon. This maketh me bespeak my own and the reader's thankfulness to God, that the Reformation since the time of king Edward the sixth hath been progressive, and more perfected in this point among the rest,—in securing the Lord's day from servile employments."—EDIT.

† *Epist.* pages 187, 188.

"A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christen Man, set furthe by the Kynge's Majestie of England, &c. London, by Tho. Barthelet, 1543."

"Henry the Eighth his Epistle to the Emperour, Christen Princes, and all true Christen Men, desiring Peace and Concord amonges them. Against the Power of the Pope, and concerning a Generall Councell. London, by Tho. Barthelet, 1538."

"A Protestation made for the most mighty and most redoubted King of England, &c. and his hole Councell and Clergie: wherein is declared, that neither his Highnesse, nor his Prelates, neyther any other Prince or Prelate is bound to come or send to the pretended Councell, that Paul, Bishop of Rome, first by a Bull indicted at Mantua a Citie in Italy, and now a-late by an other Bull, hath proroged to a Place no Man can telle where. London, by Tho. Barthelet, 1537."

"Articles devised by the Kinge's Highnes Majestie to stablishe Christen Quietnes and Unitie amonge us, and to avoyde contentious Opinions, which Articles be also approved by the Consent and Determination of the hole Clergie of this Realme. London, Tho. Barthelet, 1536."

"Injunctions to the Clergy. 1536." MS.

"Articles devised by the holle Consent of the Kinge's most honourable Counsayle, his Grace's Licence opteyned thereto, not only to exhorte, but also to enfourme his loving Subjects of the Trouth. London, Tho. Barthelet, 1533."

Orarium seu Libellus Precationum per Regiam Majestatem et Clerum Latinè editus. Ex officinâ Richard Graftoni, 1545.

Pia et catholica Christiani Hominis Institutio. Londini, apud Thomam Barthelet, 1544.

Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum ex Authoritate primùm Regis Hen. 8. *inchoata, deinde per regem Edw.* 6. *provecta &c. Londini, ex officinâ Jo. Day*, 1571.

EDWARD VI.

"Injunctions given by the most excellent Prince, Edward the Sixt, by the Grace of God King of England, France, and Ireland; Defendor of the Fayth, and in Yearthe, under Christ, of the Church of England and of Ireland the Supreeme Hedde, to all and singuler his loving Subjects, as well of the Clergie as of the Laietie. By R. Grafton, 1547."

"Articles to be enquired of in the Kynge's Majestie's Visitation. By Rich. Grafton, *Cum privilegio*."

"Communion Book translated into French for Jersey and Garnesey. 1553."

"The Booke of Common-Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, &c. London." 1549 and 1552.

"The Forme and Manner of making and consecrating Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." 1552 and 1549.

"The Copie of a Letter sent to all those Preachers which the King's Majestie hath licensed to preach, from the Lord Protector's Grace, and others of the Kinge's Majestie's most honourable Councell. The 23 of May, 1548."

Catechismus brevis, Christianæ Disciplinæ Summam continens, omnibus Ludimagistris Authoritate Regiâ commendatus. Londini. 1553.

Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinensi, 1552, *ad tollendam Opinionum Dissensionem, et Consensum veræ Religionis firmandum, inter Episcopos et alios eruditos atque pios Viros convenerat: Regiâ similiter Authoritate promulgati.—Londini.*

"The Primer or Booke of Prayers (translated out of Hen. the 8th's Orarium). London by Rich. Grafton, 1547."

"Certain Sermons (viz. the first Part of the Church-Homilies) appointed by the kinge's Majestie to be read everie Sonday and Holy Day," &c. 1549 and 1547.

"A Primer or Booke of private Prayer, &c. in the 7 Yeare of Ed. 6. *Ex Officinâ Wilhelmi Seres*, 1552."

"The Order of the Communion, with the Proclamation. London, by Rich. Grafton, 1548."

QUEEN MARY.

"The Primer in Latin and English, after the Use of Sarum. London, 1555."

"Edm. Bonner's Catechisme, 1555. With Homelies composed by H. Pendleton and Jo. Harpesfield. London, 1555."

These are the principal state-books which that age produced, not mentioning such, (as numberless,) which private persons set forth; only I cannot as yet recover the lord Cromwell's Catechism, except it be concealed under another name, amongst the books aforementioned.

13. *The Liturgy, or Common Prayer.*

Come we now to the Liturgy, which in the reign of king Henry VIII. was said or sung all in Latin, save only the Creed, Paternoster, and Ten Commandments, put into English by the king's command, *anno* 1536. Nine years after, namely, 1545, the Litany was permitted in English; and this was the farthest pace which the Reformation stepped in the reign of king Henry VIII. But under his son king Edward VI. a new form of Divine worship was set forth in the vulgar tongue, which passed a threefold purgation.

1. THE FIRST EDITION OF THE LITURGY OR COMMON PRAYER.—In the first year of king Edward VI. it was recommended to the care of the most grave bishops, and others, assembled by the king at his castle at Windsor; and, when by them completed, set forth in print, 1548, with a proclamation in the king's name, to give authority thereunto; being also recommended unto every bishop by especial letters * from the lords of the council to see the same put in execution. And in the next year a penalty was imposed by Act of Parliament on such which should deprave or neglect the use thereof.

PERSONS EMPLOYED THEREIN.—(1.) Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; (2.) George Day, bishop of Chichester; (3.) Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely; (4.) John Skip, bishop of Hereford; (5.) Henry Holbeach, bishop of Lincoln; (6.) Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester; (7.) Thomas Thirlby, bishop of Westminster; (8.) Dr. William May, dean of St. Paul's; (9.) John Tailour, then dean (afterwards bishop) of Lincoln; (10.) Dr. Simon Haynes, dean of Exeter; (11.) Dr. Thomas Robertson, afterwards dean of Durham; (12.) Dr. John Redman, Master of Trinity college in Cambridge; (13.) Dr. Richard Cox, then almoner to the king, afterwards bishop of Ely.

2. THE SECOND EDITION OF THE LITURGY OR COMMON-PRAYER.—Some exceptions being taken by Mr. Calvin abroad, and some zealots at home, at the former Liturgy, the book was brought under a review, and by a statute † in parliament it was appointed, that "it should be faithfully and godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect."

PERSONS EMPLOYED THEREIN.—We meet not with their particular names, but may probably conceive they were the same with the former, for the main, though some might be superadded by royal appointment.

3. THE THIRD EDITION OF THE LITURGY OR COMMON-PRAYER.—In the first of queen Elizabeth, 1559, it was committed by the queen to the care of some learned men, by whom it was altered in some few passages, and so presented to the parliament, and by them received and established.

PERSONS EMPLOYED THEREIN.—(1.) Master Whitehead, once chaplain to queen Anna Bolleyn; (2.) Matthew Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; (3.) Edmund Grindall, afterwards bishop

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* See a form of them in Fox's "Acts and Monuments," fol. 1491.

† 5th and 6th of Edward VI. cap. 1.

of London; (4.) Richard Cox, afterwards bishop of Ely; (5.) James Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham; (6.) Dr. William May, dean of St. Paul's and Master of Trinity college in Cambridge; (7.) Sir Thomas Smith, principal secretary of state.

As for the fourth and last edition of the Liturgy, in the first of king James, 1603, with some small alterations in the Rubric, after the Conference at Hampton-court, thereof (God willing) in due time hereafter.

14. *The Translation of the Bible into English.*

The Book of books still remains; I mean the Bible itself. Know, then, that some exceptions being taken at Tindall's translation, the bishops (then generally popish) complied so far in a conference with the desires of king Henry VIII.* that on condition the people would give in Tindall's pretended-false translation, they would set forth another, better agreeing with the original. And although this took up some time to effect, the work being great in itself, and few workmen, as yet, masters of the mystery of printing; yet at last it was accomplished, but more purely and perfectly done in after-ages, as by the ensuing parallels will appear.

1. THE FIRST TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.—Set forth in the reign of king Henry VIII. *anno* 1541, countenanced with a grave and pious preface of archbishop Cranmer, and authorized by the king's proclamation, dated May 6th, seconded also with "Instructions" from the king;† to prepare people to receive benefit the better from "so heavenly a treasure," it was called "the Bible of the greater volume," rather *commended* than *commanded* to people. Few country-parishes could go to the cost of them, though bishop Bonner caused six of them to be chained in the church of St. Paul's, in convenient places.

2. THE SECOND TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.—Set forth in the reign of king Edward VI. and not only suffered to be read by particular persons, but ordered to be read over yearly in the congregation, as a principal part of Divine service. Two several editions I have seen thereof, one set forth 1549, the other 1551; but neither of them divided into verses.

3. THE THIRD TRANSLATION OF THE BIBLE.—Set forth in the second of queen Elizabeth. The last translation was again reviewed by some of the most learned bishops, appointed thereunto by the queen's commission; whence it took the name of "the Bishops' Bible;" and by the queen's sole commandment reprinted, and left free and open to all her well-affected subjects.

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* Set down at large in the Register of archbishop Warham.

† Extant in Sir Thomas Cotton's library.

As for the last and best translation of the Bible in the reign of king James, by a select company of divines employed therein, in due time, by God's assistance, largely thereof.

15. *A Catalogue of Proclamations. A. D.* 1548.

And now we shall come to small game, rather than shut out; not caring how low we descend, so be it we may satisfy the reader, and inform posterity, presenting a catalogue of such Proclamations which the king set forth in the four first years, having any tendency or relation to ecclesiastical matters.

(1.) A Proclamation concerning the effectual Payment of Pensions, due out of the Court of Augmentation, to any late abbot, prior, &c. which it seemeth lately were detained. *Anno primo Edvardi sexti, Septembris* 18.

(2.) A Proclamation concerning the irreverent talkers of the Sacrament: for after the transubstantiation and the superstition of the corporal presence was removed, many persons (no less ignorant than violent) fell from adoring to contemning of the holy elements, till retrenched by this proclamation, set forth *primo Edvardi sexti, Decembris* 27.

(3.) A Proclamation for abstaining from Flesh in Lent-time, *anno primo Edvardi sexti, Januarii* 16.

(4.) A Proclamation against such as innovate a ceremony, or preach without Licence, *anno secundo Edvardi sexti, Februarii* 6.

(5.) A Proclamation inhibiting Preachers, *anno secundo Edvardi sexti, Aprilis* 24. Whereof this was the occasion: Certain popish preachers, disaffected to the king's government, endeavoured in their sermons to possess people of scandalous reports against the king, as if he intended to lay strange exactions on the people, and to demand half-a-crown a-piece of every one who should be married, christened, or buried. To prevent further mischief, the king ordered by proclamation, that none should preach except licensed under the seals of the Lord Protector or archbishop of Canterbury.

(6.) A Proclamation for the inhibition of all Preachers: the second of Edward VI. Sept. 23.

Because this proclamation is short, hard to be come by, and (if I mistake not) conducing much to acquaint us with the character of those times, it may be acceptable here to exemplify the same.

"Whereas of late, by reason of certain controversious and seditious preachers, the king's majesty, moved of tender zeal and love, which he hath to be quiet of his subjects, by the advice of the Lord Protector, and other his Highness's council, hath by proclamation inhibited and commanded, that no manner of person, except such as was licensed by his Highness the Lord Protector or by the archbishop of Canterbury, should take upon him to preach in any open audience, upon pain in the said proclamation contained; and that upon hope and assurance, that those, being chosen and elect men, should preach and set forth only to the people such things as should be to God's honour, and the benefit of the king's majesty's subjects. Yet, nevertheless, his Highness is advertised, that certain of the said preachers, so licensed, not regarding such good admonitions as hath been by the said Lord Protector and the rest of the Council, on his majesty's behalf, by letters or otherwise given unto them, hath abused the said authority of preaching, and behaved themselves irreverently, and, without good order in the said preachings, contrary to such good instructions and advertisements as was given unto them, whereby much contention and disorder might rise and ensue, in this his majesty's realm: Wherefore his Highness, minding to see very shortly one uniform order throughout this his realm, and to put an end to all controversies in religion, so far as God shall give grace, (for which cause, at this time, certain bishops and notable learned men, by his Highness's commandment are congregate,) hath by the advice aforesaid thought good, although certain and many of the said preachers so before licensed have behaved themselves very discreetly and wisely, and to the honour of God and his Highness's contentation, yet at this present, and until such time that the said order shall be set forth generally, throughout this his majesty's realm, to inhibit, and by these presents doth inhibit generally as well the said preachers so before licensed, as all manner of persons whosoever they be, to preach in open audience in the pulpit or otherwise, by any sought colour or fraud, to the disobeying of this commandment, to the intent that the whole clergy, in this mean space, might apply themselves to prayer to Almighty God, for the better achieving of the same most godly intent and purpose, not doubting but that also his loving subjects in the mean time will occupy themselves to God's honour, with due prayer in the church, and patient hearing of the godly homilies, heretofore set forth by his Highness's injunctions unto them, and so endeavour themselves, that they may be the more ready with thankful obedience to receive a most quiet, godly, and uniform order, to be had throughout all his said realms and dominions. And therefore hath willed all his loving officers, and ministers, as well justices of peace, as mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, or any other his officers, of what estate, degree, or condition soever they be, to be attendant upon this Proclamation and Commandment, and to see the infringers or breakers thereof to be imprisoned; and his Highness, or the Lord Protector's Grace, or his majesty's Council, to be certified thereof immediately, as they tender his majesty's pleasure, and will answer to the contrary at their peril."

16. *A Panic Silence of Pulpits.*

Some preachers, perusing the aforesaid proclamation, will complain of persecution,—that all the pulpits in England should be universally silenced at once, and will conclude it *summum jus*, that the righteous should be condemned with the wicked; the mouths of good ministers stopped with railers. Well might the souls of weak Christians be faint and feeble, having no warm meat, but the cold Homilies allowed them. But statesmen easily excuse the matter, finding the juncture of time falling out when many popish pulpits sounded the alarm to Ket's rebellion, and the Devonshire commotion, whereof hereafter. Besides, this prohibition of preaching lasted but for few weeks, and we read of a silence for about the space of half an hour even in heaven itself, Revel. viii. 1.

(.7) A Proclamation for the Payment of the late Incumbents of Colleges, and Chantries, lately dissolved, *anno tertio Edvardi sexti, Octobris* 31.

17, 18. *A Proclamation against Stage-Plays.*

The pulpit thus shut and silent by proclamation, the stage was the more open and vocal for the same; the popish priests (which though unseen) stood behind the hanging, or, lurking in the tiring-house, removed their invectives from sermons to plays, and a more proper place indeed for the venting thereof. Here it made old sport, to see the new religion, as they term it, made ridiculous, with the prime patrons thereof, which caused the ensuing Proclamation for the prohibition.

(8.) A Proclamation for the Inhibition of Players, *anno tertio Edvardi sexti, Augusti* 6. And some perchance will not grudge the time to read the form thereof:—

" Forasmuch as a great number of those that be common players of interludes and plays, as well within the city of London, or elsewhere, within the realm, do for the most part play such interludes as contain matter tending to sedition, and contemning of sundry good orders and laws; whereupon are grown upon, and daily are like to grow and ensue, much disquiet, division, tumults, and uproars in this realm; the king's majesty, by the advice and consent of his dearest uncle, Edward duke of Somerset, governor of his person, and protector of his realms, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of his Highness's privy council, straitly chargeth and commandeth all and every his majesty's subjects, of whatsoever state, order, or degree they be, that from the ninth day of this present month of August, until the Feast of All Saints next coming, they, nor any of them, openly, or secretly, play in the English tongue any kind of interlude, play, dialogue, or other matter, set forth in form of play, in any place, public or private, within this realm, upon pain that whosoever shall play in English any such play, interlude, dialogue, or other matter, shall suffer imprisonment, and further punishment, at the pleasure of his majesty.

"For the better execution whereof, his majesty, by the said advice and consent, straitly chargeth and commandeth all and singular mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, headboroughs, tything-men, justices of peace, and all other his majesty's head officers, in all the parts throughout the realm, to give order and special heed, that this Proclamation be, in all behalfs, well and truly kept and observed, as they and every of them tender his Highness's pleasure and will avoid his indignation."

The proclamation being but temporary, did not take down, but only clear, the stage for a time; reformed interludes (as they term them) being afterward permitted. Yea, in the first of queen Elizabeth, Scripture-plays were acted even in the church itself, which, in my opinion, the more pious, the more profane, stooping faith to fancy, and abating the majesty of God's word. Such pageants might inform, not edify, though indulged the ignorance of that age. For, though children may be *played* into learning, all must be *wrought* into religion, by ordinances of Divine institutions; and the means ought to be as serious as the end is secret.

Rex omnibus ad quos præsentes, &c. salutem.—Sciatis quod nos de gratiâ nostrâ speciali, ac ex certâ scientiâ et mero motu nostris dedimus et concessimus ac per præsentes damus et concedimus, dilecto servienti nostro, Thomæ Barthelet, impressori nostro, quandam annuitatem sive quendam annualem redditum quatuor librarum sterlingorum, habendum et annuatim percipiendum prædictam annuitatem sive annualem redditum quatuor librarum eidem Thomæ Barthelet a Festo Paschæ, anno regni nostri vicesimo primo, durante vitâ suâ, de thesauro nostro ad receptum scaccarii nostri per manus thesaurarum et camerarii nostrorum ibidem pro tempore existendo ad Festa Sancti Michaëlis Archangeli et Paschæ per equales portiones, &c. quod expressa mentio, &c.

In cujus, &c. testimonium rei apud Westminsteriensem vicesimo secundo die Februarii, anno regni Henrici octavi vicesimo primo.

Per breve de privato sigillo.

19. *Oxford Library reformed of all its ancient Manuscripts.*

An ample commission was granted to John Dudley, earl of Warwick, and eight more,—any seven, six, five, four, three, two, or one of them,—to visit, *in capite et membris*, the whole diocess, but especially the university, of Oxford. The effects of this visitation do not appear, save only that they so clearly purged the university from all monuments of superstition, that they left not one book of many goodly manuscripts, wherewith it was furnished by the munificence of several benefactors. Thus covetousness and ambition are such active vices, they are seldom off the theatre, though not appearing with their own faces, but the borrowed masks of public good of church or state. Such robbers deserve not the benefit of the clergy to be saved by their book, who feloniously, not to say "sacrilegiously," purloined a public library from an university.

20. *Loath to believe.*

The blame is commonly cast on Doctor Cox, who, as one saith, (but it is but *one* who saith it,) being then chancellor of the university, so cancelled the books thereof,* they could never since recover them. Indeed, I find another author charging him therewith,† but with this parenthesis, "It is said;" and my charity would fain believe fame a false report therein, finding him otherwise a deserving person, very well qualified; and it is strange to me, that he who at this present was the king's almoner to dispense his charity in giving to others, should be so cruel and covetous, as to deprive an university of so precious a treasure so long and justly belonging unto them.

21. *An epidemical Distemper of Disloyalty.*

The king's affairs both ecclesiastical and civil stood now in a probable posture of success, gliding on with a fair and full current, when both on a sudden were unexpectedly obstructed with domestical dissensions of his own subjects. Distempers not considerable, if singly considered in themselves, but very dangerous in their concurrence, as if all in several counties at one instant were acted with the same spirit of rebellion. My author imputeth it to Midsummer-moon, and the sun now in Cancer; though, surely, it proceeded from a deeper cause, as will appear to the perusers of these two contemporary treasons:—

DEVON COMMOTION.	NORFOLK REBELLION.
I. THE BEGINNING OF TWO REBELLIONS.	
It began on Whitsun-Monday, June 10th, at Sampford-Courtney, where the people tumultuously compelled the priest (whose secret compliance is suspected by some covertly to court their compulsion) to say mass,	It began about the 20th of June, at Attleborough, about the laying open of commons, pretended lately inclosed to the prejudice of the poor; much increased on the 6th of July at Windham Play, where there was

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* Sir John Harrington in the Bishops of Ely.

† In his preface to "the Life of Sir John Cheek," printed at Oxford, *anno* 1641.

and officiate in Latin, as best pleased with what they least understood.

a great confluence of idle people repairing from all parts of the county.

II. THEIR RINGLEADERS, AND NUMBER.

Henry Arundel, esquire, governor of the Mount in Cornwall, (one whose abilities might have been better employed,) Winslade, a man of worship, and one Coffin, a gentleman, were their principal conductors: otherwise, though assuming to themselves the high style of "the Commons of Devonshire and Cornwall," they were but a heap of mean mechanics, though many in number, and daily increasing, so that at last they were reputed to exceed ten thousand, all stout and able persons.

Robert Ket, tanner of Windham, [Wymondham,] one of more wealth than common folk of his craft, yet of more wit than wealth, confidence than either, was chosen their captain. He, with two assistants, chosen out of every hundred, kept his King's Bench, Chancery, and all other Courts, under a tree, termed "the Oak of Reformation," where he did justice (be it wrong or right) to all such as were summoned before him. In short time they increased to be more than twenty thousand.

III. THE SHERIFFS' ENDEAVOURS SUCCEED NOT.

Sir Pierce Courtney, sheriff of Devonshire, appeared very loyal and active for their seasonable suppressing. But others of the county gentry, whose names I had rather the reader should learn from my author's pen than mine own, by their privy connivance, and, in effect, concurrence, much advantaged their proceedings. Many were taken prisoners by them, because they would be taken, and found favour thereupon. And now, July 2nd, the seditious march in a full body to Exeter; and, on the citizens' refusal to admit them

Sir Edmond Windham, sheriff of Norfolk, commanded them in the king's name peaceably to depart. But had not his horsemanship been better than his rhetoric, himself had not departed the place. Yea, now the rebels began to play their pranks,[*] threatening to burn the house, and defacing the dovecoat (formerly a chapel before it was turned, of an house of prayer, into a den of thieves) of Master Corbet's, of Sprowston, and, committing many outrages, laid all pastures rather waste than open, where they came. Yea, now in, resolve suddenly to besiege it, boasting they would shortly measure the silks and satins therein by the length of their bows.

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[*] HOOKER (*aliàs* Vowell) in HOLINSHED, pages 1015, 1017, 1029.

they march towards Norwich, the chief place in the county.

IV. THE DESCRIPTION OF EXETER AND NORWICH.

Exeter is a round city on a rising hill, most capable of fortification both for the site and form thereof. Her walls, though of the old edition, were competently strong and well-repaired. John Blackallar, mayor of Exeter, though a mere merchant, little skilled in politic, less in military affairs, had wisdom to know who were wiser than himself, and willingly to be directed by them. And now the seditious, having taken ordnance at Topsham, sat down before Exeter, presuming quickly to conquer the same.

Norwich is like a great volume with a bad cover, having at best but parchment-walls about it. Nor can it with much cost and time be effectually fortified; because, under the frowning brow of Moushold-Hill, hanging over it. The river Yare [Wensum] so wanton, that it knoweth not its own mind which way to go, such the involved flexures thereof within a mile of this city, runneth partly by, partly through it, but contributeth very little to the strengthening thereof.

V. THE REBELS SEND PROUD DEMANDS TO THE KING.

But first they are consulting about articles to be sent to the king. Some would have no justices; (can you blame offenders if desiring to destroy their enemies?) others, no gentlemen; all, no English service; mass must be restored, the Six Articles, lately repealed, they would have put in execution, and popery re-established; concluding all with this close, (the gilded paper to wrap up poisonous treasons at the beginning thereof,) "We pray God save king Edward, for we be his, both body and goods." Whose unreasonable demands

The rebels encamped, or rather enkennelled, themselves on Moushold-Hill, (whereon Mount-Surrey, a fair house of the dukes of Norfolk,) whence they had free egress and regress into Norwich as oft as they pleased. One Coigniers, a vicar in the city, they had for their chaplain; and were so religiously rebellious, that prayers morning and evening were read amongst them. Mean time, so intolerable was their insolence that now they sent up such demands to the king, to which he neither would in honour, nor could in justice, were justly rejected by the king, yet pardon proclaimed to such as would accept thereof: which the seditious (mistaking the king's favour to be his fear) utterly refused.

condescend. Yet the king constantly chequered his comminations with proclamations of pardon, which the rebels scorned to accept.

VI. VII. EXETER RESISTETH, NORWICH YIELDETH TO, THE REBELS.

Mean time Exeter was not so much frighted with her foes without, as with famine and faction within, the walls thereof. Great was the want of victuals, and bread especially. Now

Plebs nescit jejuna timere.

Where there is the barking of the belly, there no other commands will be heard, much less obeyed. But this was in some sort qualified by proportioning all provisions in the city to all alike; and mean folk will be the better pleased with coarse and short diet, when eating out of the same dish with their betters. When in successful sallies they recovered any cattle from the rebels, the poor had the principal share thereof.

Faction in the city was of most dangerous consequence, the generality thereof favouring popery, and cordial protestants but few in comparison of the other party. However, this was a good help to the protestants, that such who severed from them in the church joined with them in the town-house. Rich papists feared their goods would be condemned as heretical even by the rebels of

As for Thomas Cod, mayor of Norwich, and others of the gentry, detained prisoners in Ket's camp, they were admitted to the counsels of the rebels for the better credit thereof. If Ket were present, they were no better than herb John-in-the-pottage, and had no influence on their consultations. But if he happily chanced to be absent, then they were like St. John's wort, (so sovereign for sores, and against the plague itself,) and did much mitigate the fury of their mischievous decrees. Mean time great plenty was in Ket's camp, (where a fat sheep was sold for a groat,) but penury and misery in all other places.

Dr. Matthew Parker, (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury,) getting up into the Oak of Reformation, preached to the rebels of their duty and allegiance. But the Oak, as soon as the auditory, would embrace his doctrine; yea, his life was likely to be ended before his sermon, (arrows being shot at him,) had not Coigners, Ket's chaplain, seasonably, yet abruptly, set the their own religion; which made them persist in their loyalty to their sovereign.

Te Deum, during the singing whereof the doctor withdrew to sing his part at home, and thank God for his great deliverance.

VIII. AID SENT TO SUPPRESS THE REBELS.

John Russell, Lord Privy Seal, was sent down with small forces to suppress the commotion: a person very proper for that service, as of a stout spirit, and richly landed in this county. He stayed some time at Honiton, in vain expecting promised supplies, either because this lord was looked on as of the Protector's party, whose court-interest did much decline, or because Norfolk rebellion, as nearer London, engrossed all warlike provisions. Thus was this lord in deep distress, having nothing (save his commission) strong about him; and his few forces, for fear and want of pay, began daily to forsake him.

William Parr, marquess of Northampton, but more acquainted with the witty than the warlike part of Pallas, (as complete in music, poetry, and courtship,) with many persons of honour, as the lords Sheffield and Wentworth, Sir Anthony Denny, Sir Ralph Sadleir, Sir Thomas Paston, &c. is sent to quell this rebellion. They were assisted with a band of Italians, under Malatesta their captain; whereof the rebels made this advantage, to fill the country with complaints, that these were but a handful of an armful to follow driving on the design to subject England to the insolence of foreigners.

IX. THE LORD RUSSELL CONQUEROR. THE LORD MARQUESS CONQUERED.

And now, following the advice of the Dorsetshire gentry, he was ready to return, when three princely merchants, (for so may I term them, both for great interest and loyal intentions,) namely, Thomas Prestwood, Thomas Bodly, and John Periam, so improved their credits with Bristol, Lyme, and Taunton, that they furnished the lord Russell with necessaries to march forward. Animated herewith, they advance, and gave the rebels such a

Now, though neither wisdom nor valour was wanting in the king's soldiers, yet success failed them, being too few to defend Norwich, and oppose the rebels. Insomuch that the lord Sheffield was barbarously butchered, Sir Thomas Cornwallis taken prisoner, and the city fired by the rebels; which probably had been burned to ashes, had not the clouds commiserating the city's calamity, and, melting into tears, quenched the flames; and thus blow at Fenington-Bridge, that they left three hundred of their bodies dead on the place.

the marquess, fain to quit the service, returned to London.

X.—XIII. THE LORD GRAY AND EARL OF WARWICK COME WITH NEW SUPPLIES.

Soon after, the lord Gray, of Wilton, (whose slowness may be excused, as busied by the way in suppressing tumults in Buckingham and Oxfordshire,) came with a company of horsemen, and three hundred Italian shot, under Baptist Spinola their leader, to recruit the lord Russell. Here one would wonder to behold the native English fighting in the maintenance of the mass, opposed by Italians; until he considereth, that these foreigners, being soldiers of fortune, consulted the coin, not the cause, of such as entertained them. And, now the king's army advanceth towards Exeter, a word or two of which city's sad condition.

The rebels had often attempted to fire the gates of the city, till at last the citizens found the paradox true, that the only way to keep their city shut was to set their gates open, making rampires more defensible behind them. As for the enemies' intent to undermine and blow up the walls, it was first discovered, then defeated, by John Newcombe, a tinner of Teignmouth. For, taking advantage of the declivity of the city on that side, he countermined the rebels' work, and then derived into it all the kennels and water-courses, (falling down

Then was John Dudley, earl of Warwick, with such forces as were intended for Scotland, sent to undertake the task. The marquess of Northampton attended him to try whether he could be more fortunate in following than he had been in leading. Coming to Norwich, he easily entered the city, and entertained the rebels with many sallies with various success, here too long to relate; but, generally, the earl of Warwick came off with the better.

Now the rebels, impregnable, in some sort, if still keeping Moushold-Hill, (whereon the earl's horse could do small service,) deserted it of their own accord, and came down into Dussindale. Here their superstition fancied themselves sufficiently fenced by the virtue of an old prophecy:—

"Hob, Dick, and Hick, with clubs and clouted shoon,
Shall fill up Dassin-dale with blood of slaughter'd bodies soon."

It hath ever been charged on the English, as if they always carried an old prophecy about with a great precipice,) and so drowned the vault intended with powder to blow up the walls; besides, at the same instant set an impetuous shower which added to the deluge. Thus in vain doth hell seek to kindle that fire, when heaven intendeth to pour water for the quenching thereof.

Famine raged most extremely, insomuch as they were fain to bake bran and meal moulded up in cloths, for otherwise it would not stick together. Nor must the worthy resolution of a loyal citizen be forgotten, publicly professing, that rather than he would surrender the city to the rebels, he would fight with one arm and feed on the other. And now were they reduced to utmost extremity, when the seasonable approach of the Lord Privy Seal put a period to their miseries. For, at the windmill of St. Mary Clist, after a bloody battle, wherein Sir William Francis was slain on the king's side, the rebels were routed and forced to fly, leaving a thousand of their corps dead on the place. Miles Coverdale gave public thanks to God for the victory in the view of Exeter, and soon after was made the bishop thereof.

Then the lord caused St. Mary Clist to be burnt to the ground, though it was his own town, as knowing full well, traitors to their

with them in their pockets,* which they can produce at pleasure to promote their designs, though oft mistaken in the application of such equivocating predictions; as here these silly folks were deluded. For, it being believed that Dussindale must make a large and soft pillow for death to rest thereon, these rebels apprehended themselves the upholsterers to make, who proved only the stuffing to fill, the same.

The earl, glad that the enemy had quitted the Hill, fell with all his forces upon them; and here happened a most bloody battle. The rebels disputed the ground with their natural logic, as I may term it,—downright blows, without much military dicipline. Here one might have seen young boys (timely traitors) plucking the arrows wherewith they were wounded out of their own flesh, and giving them to those of their own party to shoot them back again. Here some, thrust through with spears, wilfully engaged their bodies the deeper thereon, only striving to reach out their revenge on those who wounded them. But at last rage was conquered by courage, number by valour, rebellion by loyalty, and in the fight and pursuit two thousand at the least were slain.

Remarkable was Divine Providence in preserving the captive gentlemen of the country, whom the rebels coupled together and king would never make good tenants to their landlord. And on Clist-Heath a second fight was begun, where the rebels were finally overcome. The Lord Privy Seal marched into Exeter, and was there (as he well deserved) welcomed with all possible expressions of joy. Sir William Herbert with a thousand Welsh came too late to fight, but soon enough to be an honourable witness of the victory.

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* Philip Cominæus.

set them in the front of the fight. Now, although it be true what David saith, "The sword devoureth one as well as another," 2 Sam. xi. 25; yet so discreetly did captain Drury charge the van of the rebels, that most of these innocent prisoners made their escape. The last litter of Ket's kennel, stiffly standing out and fortifying themselves, accepted of pardon on the earl's promise it should be assured unto them.

XIV. TWO SOLEMN YEARLY FESTIVALS.

This sixth of August, the day of their deliverance, is a high festival in the almanac of Exeter. Good cheer, and (thereby I justly guess) their great gratitude, being annually observed, with a public sermon to perpetuate the memory of God's mercy unto them. Yet such solemnities do daily decay, every new generation being removed one degree farther from the deliverance. The king conferred the manor of Exetland, formerly belonging to the city, but wrested from it by the earls of Devonshire, on their corporation, in reward of their loyalty and valour.

On the nine-and-twentieth of August a solemn thanksgiving was made in Norwich for their deliverance, and is annually continued. Indeed, this city, being betwixt weakness and strength, is taxed for wavering at the time betwixt loyalty and revolt; though, to give the citizens their due, many expressed their fidelity to their prince as far as they durst for fear of destruction. Yet better had it been had Norwich been weaker to be quitted, or stronger to be defended, whose mongrel strength exposed it to the greater misery.

XV. THE LEGAL EXECUTION OF THE REBELS.

Humphrey Arundel, Winslade, Berry, and Coffin were executed; and as this commotion began, it ended, at Sampford-Courtney, where their last remnant was defeated. Six popish priests were hanged, with Welsh, the vicar of St. Thomas; though all

Robert Ket was hanged on Norwich Castle; William, his brother, on Windham steeple; nine others, on the Oak of Reformation, which never till then brooked the name thereof. Amongst these, Miles, a cunning cannoneer, was much la-

DEVON COMMOTION.

this was but mercy, to the cruelty of Sir Anthony Kingston, provost-marshal, in trussing-up many mean offenders.

NORFOLK REBELLION.

mented, because remorse kept him from doing much mischief to which his cunning did enable him.

Thus, by God's blessing on man's endeavours, both these rebellions were seasonably suppressed. That of Devonshire did openly avouch the advancing of popery; the other was suspected secretly fomented by some papists, who stood behind the curtain, but ready to step on the stage, had success of the design but given them the cue of entrance. As for the rebellion at the same time in Yorkshire, which from a small pustule might have proved a painful bile, yea, a fistulated ulcer, if neglected, it was quickly quelled on the execution of Omler and Dale, the chief promoters thereof.

22. *Abstracts of Church-Matters out of King Edward's own Diary. A. D.* 1550.

By the favour of Sir Thomas Cotton, having obtained to make use of his library, our English Vatican for manuscripts, I shall transcribe king Edward's Journal, written with his own hand, of the transactions in his reign. True it is, his observations, for his first two years, are short, and not exactly expressing the notation of time; but his notes, as the noter, got perfection with his age. They most belong to secular affairs, out of which we have selected such as respect ecclesiastical matters. May the reader be pleased to take notice, that though my observations, as printed, go a-breast in parallel columns with those of his Highness,* it is my intention they should observe their distance, in their humble attendance thereon.

TEXT ROYAL.—*April 2nd*, 1549. The Lord Protector, by his own agreement [1] and submission, lost his Protectorship,[2] Treasurership, Marshalship, all his movables, and near £2000 land by Act of Parliament.

OBSERVATIONS THEREON.—[1] Thus the pilot, to save the ship from sinking, casts out the rich lading into the sea.

[2] This lay void ever after, whilst the Treasurership was presently conferred on William Pawlet, marquess of Winchester, and the Marshalship on John Dudley, earl of Warwick.

4th—The bishop of Chichester,[3] before, a vehement affirmer of transubstantiation, did preach against it at Westminster in the preaching-place.

[3] Namely, George Day, who, notwithstanding this sermon, remained a zealous papist, and, on that score, was deprived of his bishopric.

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* In this edition, instead of "going a-breast in parallel columns" with the young king's diary, Fuller's "observations" are inserted in smaller type immediately after the paragraphs to which they severally relate.—EDIT.

10*th.*—My lord Somerset taken into the council.

13*th.*—Order taken, that whosoever had benefices given them,[4] should preach before the king, in or out of Lent, and every Sunday there should be a sermon.

[4] Understand it, not by private patrons, but either presented by the king or lord chancellor.

19*th.*—Mass for the lady Mary denied to the emperor's ambassador.[5]

[5] These engaged archbishop Cranmer, and bishop Ridley, to press the king with politic reasons for the permission thereof. He, unable to answer their arguments, fell a-weeping.

27th.—It is granted, that my lord of Somerset should have all his movable goods and leases, except those that be already given.[6]

[6] Courtiers keep what they catch, and catch whatever they can come by.

May 2nd.—Joan Bocher,[7] otherwise called Joan of Kent, was burned for holding that Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary, being condemned the year before, but kept, in hope of conversion. The bishops of London and Ely were to persuade her; but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death.

[7] An obstinate heretic, maintaining, that Christ assumed nothing of the virgin Mary, but passed through her, as a conduit-pipe. She, with one or two Arians, were all who, and that justly, died in this king's reign for their opinions.

20*th.*—The lord Cobham and Sir William Petre came home from their journey, delivering both the oath and the testimonial of the oath, witnessed by divers noblemen of France, and also the treaty,[8] sealed with the great seal of France; and in both was confessed that I was supreme head of the church of England and Ireland.[9]

[8] Advantageous enough for the French, and dishonourable too much to the English, whose covetousness was above their sense of honour, selling Boulogne, bought with blood, for a sum of money.

[9] The controversy about this title lying not betwixt the Crowns of England and France, but betwixt England and Rome, no wonder if the French yielded to any style in a treaty so gainful to themselves.

June 9th.—The duke of Somerset, marquess of Northampton, lord treasurer Bedford, and the secretary Petre, went to the bishop of Winchester to know to what he would stick.[10] He made answer, that he would obey, and set forth all things set forth by me and my parliament; and if he were troubled in conscience, he would reveal it to the council, and not reason openly against it.

[10] For as yet this subtile statist scarce knew his own mind, often receding from his resolves; whose inconstancy in this kind incensed the king and council against him.

10*th.*—The books of my proceedings were sent to the bishop of Winchester to see whether he would set his hand to it, or promise to set it forth to the people.

14*th*—The duke of Somerset, with five others of the council, went to the bishop of Winchester; to whom he made this answer: "I having deliberately seen the Book of Common Prayer, although I would not have it made so myself, yet I find such things in it as satisfieth my conscience, and therefore both I will execute it myself, and also see other my parishioners[11] to do it." This was subscribed by the aforesaid counsellors, that they heard him say these words.

[11] "Parish," in the dialect of a bishop, is notoriously known to be "his diocess." Yet I deny not but that the numerous parishioners of St. Mary Overy's (wherein Winchester-House) are herein particularly intended.

July 9th.—The earl of Warwick, the lord treasurer, Sir William Herbert, and secretary Petre, went to the bishop of Winchester with certain articles signed by me and the council, containing the confessing of his fault, the supremacy, the establishing of holy-days, the abolishing of the Six Articles, &c., whereunto he put his hand, saving to the confession.

10*th.*—Sir William Herbert, and the secretary Petre, were sent to him to tell him, that I marvelled that he would not put his hand to the confession; to whom he made answer, that he would not do it, because he was innocent.[12]

[12] If conscious of no crime, he is not to be condemned for justifying his own integrity.

11*th.*—The bishop of London, secretary Petre, Mr. Cecil, and Gooderich, were commanded to make certain articles according to the laws, and to put them in the submission.

12*th.*—It was appointed, that, under the shadow of preparing for sea-matters,[13] there should be sent five thousand pounds to the protestants to get their good-wills.

[13] Such umbrages of simulation presumed lawful by all politicians. Query—Whether the Protestants in the Netherlands, or France, (those of High Germany being beyond the line of probability,) were here intended?

14*th.*—The bishop of Winchester denied the articles,[14] which the bishop of London and others had made.

[14] They were drawn up in so punctual expressions, the other had neither compass for evasion, nor covert for equivocation.

19*th.*—The bishop of Winchester was sequestered from his fruits for three months.[15]

[15] A rod formerly in fashion, but never so soundly laid on, as of late.

28*th.*—The lady Mary, after long communication, was content to come to Leeze to the lord chancellor, and then to Hunsdon; but she utterly denied to come to the court, or Oking, at that time.[16]

[16] She loved to deal with the king her brother *eminus* by letters, but in no wise *cominus* by discourse. Besides, she hated coming to the court, suspecting some harsh usage to her person, and jealous of being put into restraint.

August 13*th.*—The lord chancellor fell sore sick, with forty more of his house,[17] that the lady Mary came not thither at this time.

[17] Leeze in Essex, a county generally not very healthful, where agues sit as close, and sometimes last as long, as a new suit.

Nov. 19*th.*—There were letters sent to every bishop to pull down the altars.

Dec. 15*th.*—There were letters sent for the taking of certain chaplains [18] of the lady Mary, for saying mass, which she denied.

[18] Of these, Francis Mallet (last master * of Michael-House in Cambridge) was the chief. He having leave from the council "to officiate mass, only in the presence of the lady Mary," presumed on the same liberty in her absence. Whereupon, he was (notwithstanding his lady's refusal to surrender him) fetched from her by force, and committed to prison.

Feb. 16*th*, 1551.—Whaley was examined for persuading divers nobles of the realm to make the Duke of Somerset Protector at the next parliament,[19] stood to the denial: the earl of Rutland affirmed it manifestly.

[19] Now were the seeds sown, and the foundation laid, of the Protector's overthrow, which ensued not long after.

17*th.*—The bishop of Winchester, after a long trial, was deposed his bishopric.

It seems some legal formalities were pretended wanting in Gardiner's deprivation. For in my memory a suit was commenced, to overthrow a long lease made by bishop Poinet (Gardiner's successor in Winchester) on this point,—that Gardiner still remained lawful bishop; but nothing therein was effected.

23. *The Conception of Nonconformity.*

Come we now to the saddest difference that ever happened in the church of England, if we consider either the time, how long it continued, the eminent persons therein engaged, or the doleful effects thereby produced. It was about matters of conformity. Alas! that men should have less wisdom than locusts; which, when sent on God's errand, did "not thrust one another," Joel ii. 8; whereas here such shoving and shouldering, and hoisting and heavings, and jostling and thronging, betwixt clergymen of the highest parts and places. For now nonconformity in the days of king Edward was conceived; which afterward, in the reign of queen Mary, (but beyond sea at Frankfort,) was born; which in the reign of queen Elizabeth was nursed and weaned; which, under king James, grew up a young youth, or tall stripling; but, towards the end of king Charles's reign, shot up to the full strength and stature of a man, able, not only to cope with, but conquer, the hierarchy, its adversary.

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* *Sceletos Cantab. MS.*

24. *The Favourers and Opposers thereof.*

Two opposite parties now plainly discovered themselves, driving on different interests, under their respective patrons:

FOUNDERS OF CONFORMITY.	FOUNDERS OF NONCONFORMITY.
1. Such as remained here all the reign of king Henry VIII. and weathered out the tempest of his tyranny at open sea, partly by a politic compliance, and partly by a cautious concealment of themselves.	1. Such as fled hence beyond the seas, chiefly into Germany, where, living in states and cities of popular reformation, they sucked in both the air and discipline of the place they lived in.
2. These, in the days of king Edward VI. were possessed of the best preferments in the land.	2. These, returning late into England, were at a loss for means and maintenance, only supported with the reputation of being confessors rendering their patience to the praise, and their persons to the pity, of all conscientious people.
3. And retained many ceremonies practised in the Romish church, conceiving them to be ancient and decent in themselves.	3. And renounced all ceremonies practised by the papists, conceiving that such ought not only to be clipped with the shears, but to be shaved with a razor; yea, all the stumps thereof to be plucked out.
4. The authority of Cranmer and activity of Ridley headed this party; the former being the highest, the latter the hottest, in defence of conformity.	4. John Rogers, lecturer in St. Paul's, and vicar of St. Sepulchre's, with John Hooper, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, were ringleaders of this party.

This John Hooper was bred in Oxford, well skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, (a little of the last would go far in this age,) and afterwards travelled over into Switzerland. Yea, he seemed to some to have brought Switzerland back with him, in his harsh, rough, and unpleasant behaviour, being grave into rigour, and severe into surliness. Yet, to speak truth, all Hooper's ill-nature consisted in other men's little acquaintance with him. Such as visited him once, condemned him of over-austerity; who repaired to him twice, only suspected him of the same; who conversed with him constantly, not only acquitted him of all morosity, but commended him for sweetness of manners; which, saith my author, (GODWIN, in the Bishops of Gloucester,) endeared him to the acquaintance of Bullinger. This Hooper was preferred to be bishop of Gloucester, by the special favour of his patron, John earl of Warwick, afterward duke of Northumberland.

25—27. *Hooper refuseth to wear the Episcopal Habit, but is forced at last. Defended for keeping Worcester in Commendam.*

The worst was, when Hooper came to be consecrated bishop of Gloucester, he scrupled the wearing of certain episcopal ornaments, (rochet, chimere, square-cap, &c.) producing a letter from the earl of Warwick, (omniprevalent then at court, in the declining of his corrival, the duke of Somerset,) that he might be favourably dispensed with therein, according to the tenor ensuing to archbishop Cranmer:—

"AFTER my most hearty commendations to your Grace, these may be to desire the same, that in such reasonable things wherein this bearer, my lord elect of Gloucester, craveth to be borne withal at your hands, you would vouchsafe to show him your Grace's favour; the rather at this my instance. Which thing partly I have taken in hand by the king's majesty's own motion. The matter is weighed by his Highness, none other but that your Grace may facilely condescend thereunto. The principal cause is, that you would not charge this said bearer with an oath burdenous to his conscience. And so, for lack of time, I commit your Grace to the tuition of Almighty God.

"Your Grace's most assured loving friend,
"*July 23rd.* JOHN WARWICK."

What this oath was, (because not expressed,) is variously conjectured. Parsons, to render Hooper more odious, will have it the oath of supremacy; which, in my opinion, is improbable, it being utterly unlikely that the king would dispense with any from taking that oath, wherein his own dignity was so nearly concerned. I conceive it the oath of canonical obedience to the archbishop, which consequentially commanded such ceremonies, which Hooper was willing to decline. For, in the king's next letter, wrote thirteen days after to the same purpose, there is mention only of offensive rites and ceremonies, and of no oath at all, as co-incident with the former, and obligatory to such canonical observances. But see the letter:—

"RIGHT reverend father, and right trusty, and well-beloved, we greet you well.—Whereas we, by the advice of our council, have called and chosen our right well-beloved and well-worthy Mr. John Hooper, professor of divinity, to be our bishop of Gloucester, as well for his great learning, deep judgment, and long study, both in the Scriptures, and other profound learning; as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and honest life for that kind of vocation, &c. from consecrating of whom, we understand you do stay, because he would have you omit and let pass certain rites and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby ye think you should fall in *præmunire* of laws: we have thought good, by advice aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures you should run into, and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge therefore.

"Given under our signet, at our Castle of Windsor, the fourth year of our reign."

All would not do. Resolute Ridley stood stiffly to his tackling, and here was old bandying of the business betwixt them, and arguments urged on both sides.

Pro.	*Con.*
1. The ornaments were indifferent of themselves, and of ancient use in the church.	1. The best thing that could be said of them was, that they were useless, being otherwise ridiculous and superstitious.
2. Being enjoined by lawful authority, they became necessary not to salvation, but to church unity; and it was scandalous to decline them.	2. "Cursed be he that removes the bound-marks." Grant them indifferent in themselves, and left so by Divine Wisdom, it was presumption in man to stamp necessity upon them.
3. It would bring the papists over to our church, beholding all things by them used not totally abolished by a spirit of contradiction, but some decent correspondencies still moderately continued.	3. Too much of the serpent, nothing of the dove herein,—to offend those within, to invite those without to the church; driving protestants thence, to draw papists thither.
4. It would cast a slur on the credit of such bishops, who formerly had used those ornaments, as more remiss in religion than such as refused them.	4. The credits of some good men were not to be preserved by destroying the consciences of others.
5. Those that have stubborn wills pretend too often to tender consciences; nor ought a private person to be indulged with the disturbance of the public uniformity of the church.	5. Hooper put himself upon the trial of the Searcher of hearts that no obstinacy, but mere conscience, made him refuse those ornaments.

In a word, all those arguments, which later ages have more amply enlarged, more clearly explained, more cunningly improved, more violently enforced, were then and there first solidly propounded, and solemnly set down on both sides; posterity in this matter having discovered no new mine, but only refined what formerly was found out in this controversy.

At last the great earl of Warwick deserted his chaplain in open field, to shift for himself. Indeed, he had higher things in his head than to attend such trifles; not so much to procure a mitre for his chaplain as a crown for himself, even then secretly laying a design to derive the sceptre into his own family. Yea, Hooper was sent to prison, and kept some days in durance * till at last he condescended to conform himself in his habit to the rest of his brethren, and so was consecrated bishop of Gloucester.

But that which most opens the mouths of papists and other adversaries against Hooper, is, because he who scrupled the poor bishopric of Gloucester afterward held the wealthy bishopric of Worcester *in commendam* with it. We read of a wedge of gold, Joshua vii. 21; and little wedges (say they) widen men's consciences for the receiving of greater: yea, thus the haters of marriage first become guilty of bigamy. But let such know, First: That the diocesses of Gloucester and Worcester lie both contiguous together. Secondly. Many single bishoprics in England are larger than both for extent in land, and number of parishes. Thirdly. No worse a man than St. Dunstan himself had the bishopric of Worcester, and London with it, at the same time, being far more distant and remote. Fourthly. It is not the having of two bishoprics together, but the neglecting of one, is the sin; whereas Hooper, in preaching and visiting, afforded double diligence in his double diocess.

28. *Why Latimer was not restored to the Bishopric of Worcester.*

The mention of Hooper's holding of the bishopric of Worcester *in commendam*, minds me of a difficulty, which, though I cannot answer, I must not omit. It is this: Seeing that Latimer was outed of that bishopric in the days of king Henry VIII. on the account of the Six Articles, why was he not restored to the same under king Edward VI.? especially, seeing Nicholas Heath, his successor, was legally deprived, and the place actually void. Whereas, on the contrary, Hugh Latimer continued Hugh Latimer, without any addition of preferment. Here, first, we must largely trade in negatives. It was not for any want of favour from the king, seeing he stood *rectus in curiâ*, in relation to his majesty. Nor was it because his downright sermons disobliged the courtiers, who generally delight in soft preaching, as in soft clothing, Matt. xi. 18. Nor was it out of sullenness, because he would not be bedded again with that wife which, though unwillingly, had in his absence embraced another. Nor have we any cause to suspect Latimer of Hooper's opinion as distasting ceremonies, and so obstructing his advancement. But we impute it, either to his conscience, (oft-times sharpest in the bluntest men,) because he would not be built on the ruins of another;—especially knowing Heath one of a meek and moderate nature;—or to his age, who, Barzillai-like, 2 Sam. xix. 35, was superannuated for earthly honour; —alas! what needed a square-cap over the many night-caps, which age had multiplied on his reverend head?—or, because he found himself not so fit for government, better for preaching than ordering ecclesiastical affairs; or, lastly, because he prophetically foresaw, that the ingratitude of the English nation would shorten their happiness and king Edward's life; and he was loath to come into a place, only to go out thereof. Sure I am, it was a loud lie, which Parsons * tells us, that Latimer was kept bare, who kept himself bare, living, not in the want, but neglect, yea, contempt, of all worldly wealth. He was confessor-general to all Protestants troubled in mind; yea, he was the corban, or treasury, into which restored ill-gotten goods were cast, to be bestowed on the poor, according to his discretion. And Latimer, by the courtesy of England, ("once a bishop and ever a bishop,") was in civility saluted "Lord," and honoured by all good people that knew him. This I conceive the true cause why Hooper would not be translated to Worcester, but held it *in commendam* with Gloucester,—because Latimer and Heath were both surviving, each accounted a lawful bishop by those of their own religion.

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* His imprisonment not mentioned in MR. FOX, but in "the Troubles of Frankfort," page 35.

29. *Hooper and Ridley reconciled by Afflictions.*

But, when Hooper unwillingly-willing wore those episcopal ornaments, he put on with them a great grudge against Ridley, who enforced him thereunto. Yea, when those his clothes may be presumed half-worn out, his anger was new and fresh as at the beginning: nor were they fully reconciled till their death, in the days of queen Mary. High time then to period their passion, before the sun of their life went down in their wrath! Strange that their heart-burnings could not be quenched, till the fire was kindled which was to burn both their bodies. But it matters not what is the cause, if amendment be the effect. The Jesuit * challengeth the credit of this reconciliation to the catholics, bragging that they made them friends. But, we know, their cruel intention was not to make friends, but ashes, of them. Let the thanks be paid to that Divine Power and Providence, which sanctified their sufferings into an agreement, beside, beyond, above, against, the design and desire of those which inflicted them. Thus, when froward children fall out and fight, a good parent and a good rod do quickly make them friends. See the letters at large in Master Fox which passed betwixt them in prison; wherein, as Hooper had the honour first to offer agreement, let Ridley receive his praise,—that he did fast embrace it. For, as the second blow makes the fray; so, it is not the *tender* but *acceptance* of peace makes the reconciliation. As for their observation, that, of all the Marian martyrs, Hooper and Ridley suffered with most torture, and impute this to a Divine punishment, justly inflicted on them for this their dissension; there is somewhat of curiosity in the observation, and nothing of charity in the application.

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* In "the Examination of Fox's Martyrs," month of February, page 306.

30. *Three Sorts of Nonconformists.*

We must not forget, that this earnest contest was not about the calling, but clothes—not the vocation, but only about the vestments—of bishops. Whereupon the judicious reader will distinguish three ranks (or, if the word be better liked, three classes) of nonconformists, according to their several dates and designs:—

1. Ancient nonconformists, here in king Edward's days, who desired only to shake down the leaves of episcopacy, misliking only some garments about them.
2. Middle nonconformists, in the end of queen Elizabeth and beginning of king James, who struck at the branches thereof,—chancellors and officials, and other appendant limbs, which they endeavoured to remove.
3. Modern nonconformists, who did lay "the axe to the root of the tree," to cut down the function itself, as unlawful and antichristian.

Thus after-ages still made new additions, as if it would be accounted idleness in them, if the strong and active legs of the sons and nephews should not go faster and farther, than the old and feeble feet of their fathers and grandfathers.

31. *The Psalms translated into Metre.*

About this time, David's Psalms were translated into English metre, and (if not publicly commanded) generally permitted to be sung in all churches. The work was performed by Thomas Sternhold,* (an Hampshire-man, esquire, and of the Privy Chamber to king Edward VI. who for his part translated thirty-seven selected Psalms,) John Hopkins, Robert Wisedome, &c. men, whose piety was better than their poetry; and they had drank more of Jordan than of Helicon. These Psalms were therefore translated, to make them more portable in people's memories, (verses being twice as light as the self-same bulk in prose,) as also to raise men's affections, the better to enable them to practise the apostle's precept: "Is any merry? let him sing psalms," James v. 13. Yet this work met afterwards with some frowns in the faces of great clergymen, who were rather contented, than well pleased, with the singing of them in churches: I will not say, because they misliked so much liberty should be allowed the laity (Rome only can be guilty of so great envy) as to sing in churches; rather, because they conceived these singing-psalms erected in cor-rivality and opposition to the reading-psalms, which were formerly sung in cathedral churches; or else, the child was disliked for the mother's sake; because such translators, though branched hither, had their root in Geneva.

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* PARSONS, *ut supra*, page 316.

32. *The Meanness of the Translation endeavoured to be excused.*

Since, later men have vented their just exceptions against the baldness of the translation, so that sometimes they make the Maker of the tongue to speak little better than barbarism, and have in many verses such poor rhyme, that two hammers on a smith's anvil would make better music. Whilst others (rather to excuse it than defend it) do plead, that English poetry was then in the nonage, not to say infancy, thereof; and that, match these verses for their age, they shall go a-breast with the best poems of those times. Some, in favour of the translators, allege, that to be curious therein, and over-descanting with wit, had not become the plain song and simplicity of an holy style. But these must know, there is great difference between painting a face, and not washing it. Many since have far refined these translations, but yet their labours therein never generally received in the church: principally, because un-book-learned people have conned by heart many psalms of the old translation, which would be wholly disinherited of their patrimony, if a new edition were set forth. However, it is desired and expected by moderate men, that, though the fabric stand unremoved for the main, yet some bad contrivance therein may be mended, and the bald rhymes in some places get a new nap, which would not much discompose the memory of the people.

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* BALLEIUS *Cent.* ix. page 728.

33. *The first legal Erection of the Dutch Congregation in London.*

On the twenty-fourth of July, king Edward, by his letters patent, at the request of John a Lasco, free baron of Lasco in Poland, did, by the consent of his Council, give and grant the whole church of St. Augustine's near Broad-street in London, (the choir excepted, formerly possessed by marquess Paulet,) unto the superintendent, and ministers of the Dutch church and other strangers in London, to have and to hold for them, their heirs, and successors, in frank-almonage, to be a meeting-place for them, therein to attend God's word and sacraments. He ordered also, that hereafter it should be called by the new name of "the church of the Lord Jesus;" and incorporated the said superintendent, ministers, and congregation, to be a body politic, for all purposes and intents; empowering them from time to time, in the vacancy of a superintendent, to choose, name, and substitute any able and fit person in that place; provided, that the person so chosen be first presented to the king, his heirs, and successors, to be approved and confirmed by them in the office of the ministry, enjoining all archbishops, bishops, and other officers, *Quòd permittant præfatis superintendenti, et ministris, et successoribus suis, liberè et quietè frui, gaudere, uti, et exercere ritus et ceremonias suas proprias, et disciplinam ecclesiasticam propriam et peculiarem, non obstante, quòd non conveniant cum ritibus et ceremoniis in regno nostro usitatis:*[*] "that they permit the foresaid superintendent, and ministers, and their successors, freely and quietly to hold, enjoy, use, and exercise their own proper rites and ceremonies, and their proper and peculiar church-discipline, notwithstanding that they agree not with the rites and ceremonies used in our kingdom."

34, 35. *Women's Brawls Men's Thralls. Lord Thomas Seymour executed for Treason.*

Now followed the fatal tragedy of the duke of Somerset: and we must recoil a little, to fetch forward the cause thereof. Thomas Seymour, baron of Sudley, and lord admiral, the Protector's younger brother, had married the lady Catherine Parr, the relict of king Henry VIII. A contest arose betwixt their wives about place, the Protectress (as I may call her) refusing to give it to the king's dowager. Yet was their precedency no measuring cast, but clear in the view of any unpartial eye. Nor needed other herald to decide the controversy than the king's own injunctions,[†] wherein, after prayer for his own royal person, ministers were commanded to pray for the queen-dowager even before the king's sisters, Mary and Elizabeth; the Protector, under whom his lady must claim place, being placed last in the list of their devotions.

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[*] The letters are kept in the Dutch church, and exemplified in JOHANNES UITENHOVIUS, in his narration of the Dutch congregation, page 13, &c.

[†] *Vide supra*, in the first of this king, page 307.

The women's discords derived themselves into their husbands' hearts. Whereupon, not long after followed the death of the lord Thomas Seymour, arraigned for designing to translate the crown to himself, though having neither title to pretend unto it, nor effectual interest to achieve the same. Let Adonijah, (1 Kings ii.) and this lord's example, deter subjects from meddling with the widows of their sovereigns, lest in the same match they espouse their own danger and destruction. This lord thus cut off, the Protector stood alone on his own bottom, at which his enemies daily endeavoured to undermine.

36, 37. *A tripartite Accusation. Earl of Warwick, the Protector's grand Enemy. A.D.* 1551.

Soon after the lords of the council resolved to accuse him of many high offences. Of these lords, some were lawyers, as the lord Wriothesley lately—the lord Rich then—lord chancellor; Sir Edward Montague, chief justice, &c. some martialists, as Sir Ralph Sadler, treasurer to the army; and some mere statesmen, as William Paulet, lord treasurer; and their accusations participated of the several conditions of the accusers. The lawyers charge him for bringing Westminster-hall into Somerset-house, keeping there a court of request, and therein determining titles of land to the apparent injury of the subject. Military men taxed him for his sumptuous buildings, having their mortar tempered with the tears of soldiers' wives and children, whose wages he detained; and for betraying Bolougne, and other places in France, to the enemy. Statesmen chiefly insisted on his engrossing all power to himself; that, whereas, by the constitution of the Protectorship, he was to act nothing without the advice of king Henry's executors, he solely transacted matters of the highest consequence without their privity.

Here I must set John Dudley, earl of Warwick, (as a transcendent,) in a form by himself, being a competent lawyer, (son to a judge,) known soldier, and able statesman, and acting against the Protector, to all these his capacities. Indeed, he was the very soul of the accusation, being all in all, and all in every part thereof. And seeing the Protector was free-spirited, open-hearted, humble, hard to distrust, easy to forgive; the other, proud, subtle, close, cruel, and revengeful; it was *impar congressus* betwixt them, almost with as much disadvantage as betwixt a naked and an armed person.

38, 39. *The Protector accused, and imprisoned, yet restored: accused the second Time.*

Hereupon, he was imprisoned at Windsor, in a place anciently called Beauchamp's Tower,* it seems by a sad Prolepsis, but never verified till now, when this viscount Beauchamp (by his original honour) was therein confined; and hence was he removed to the Tower of London. However, although all this happened in the worst juncture of time; namely, in the disjuncture of his best friend, the lord Russel, Privy Seal, then away in the west; yet, by his own innocence, his other friends' endeavour, the king's interposing, and Divine Providence, he was acquitted; and, though outed his Protectorship, restored and continued privy counsellor, as in the king's diary was formerly observed.

But after two years and two months, his enemies began afresh to assault him, hoping that as the first stroke shook, the next would fell him to the ground. Indeed, Warwick, who had too powerful an influence upon all the lords, could not erect his intended fabric of sovereignty, except he first cleared the ground-work from all obstructive rubbish; whereof this duke of Somerset was the principal; in whose absence, the lords met at the council-table, where it was contrived how all things should be ordered in relation to his arraignment.

40, 41. *The dangerous Mistake of Lord Rich's Servant. The Lord Rich resigneth his Chancellor's Place.*

Richard Rich, lord chancellor, (then living in great St. Bartholomew's,) though outwardly concurring with the rest, began now secretly to favour the duke of Somerset; and sent him a letter, therein acquainting him with all passages at the council-board, superscribing the same (either out of haste or familiarity) with no other direction save, "To the Duke;" enjoining his servant, a raw attendant, as newly entered into the family, safely to deliver it. The man made more haste than good speed; and his lord, wondering at his quick return, demanded of him where the duke was when he delivered him the letter: "In the Charter-house," said his servant, "on the same token that he read it at the window, and smiled thereat." But the lord Rich smiled not at his relation, as sadly sensible of the mistake and delivery of the letter to the duke of Norfolk, no great friend of his, and an utter enemy to the duke of Somerset.†

Wonder not if this lord rose early up the next morning, who may be presumed not to have slept all night. He hieth to the court, and, having gotten admittance into the bed-chamber before the king was risen up, fell down on his knees, and desired that his old age might be eased of his burdensome office; pleading, that there ought to be some preparatory interval in statesmen betwixt their temporal business and their death; in order to which, he desired to retire into Essex, there to attend his own devotions. Nor would he rise from the ground till the king had granted his request. And thus he saved himself from being stripped by others, by first putting off his own clothes, who otherwise had lost his chancellor's place for revealing the secrets of the council-board. Some days after, the seal was solemnly fetched from him, and conferred on Dr. Goodrich, bishop of Ely.

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* Fox's "Acts and Monuments."

† This story attested to me by his great-grandchild, the earl of Warwick.

42, 43. *The Duke of Somerset impeached of Treason. Sad Silence.*

The impeachment of the duke went on, nevertheless; and two nets were laid to catch him, that if one broke, the other might hold. He was indicted of treason and felony, Dec. 1st; the former was only to give the report, the latter to discharge the bullet. So great a peer could not be accused of less than high treason, that the offence might appear proportionable to the offender. However, he was acquitted of treason; whereat the people in Westminster-hall gave such a shout, that though the same was intercepted and circumscribed by the House, it is reported to be heard as far as Long-acre.*

But this sound was seconded with a sad silence when he was condemned for felony, by a new-made statute, for plotting the death of a privy counsellor; namely, the earl of Warwick. Here a strange oversight was committed, that he craved not the benefit of the clergy, which could not legally be denied him; on the granting whereof, the ensuing punishment had certainly been remitted: and not long after he was beheaded on Tower-hill, with no less praise for his piety and patience, than pity and grief of the beholders.

44. *A Query for Posterity.*

Posterity is much unsatisfied in the justness of his suffering, and generally do believe, that he himself was the sheep who was here condemned for the slaughter. A good author tells us, that "he lost his life for a small crime, and that upon a nice point, subtilly devised and packed by his enemies."† And yet that the good king himself was possessed of his guilt, may appear by his ensuing letter‡ written with his own hand to a dear servant of his, as followeth: —

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* STOW'S "Annals," page 606.

† CAMDEN'S *Brit.* in Somersetshire.

‡ Transcribed out of the original.

"To our well-beloved servant, Barnaby Fitzpatrick, one of the gentlemen of our chamber.

"EDWARD.—Little hath been done since you went, but the duke of Somerset's arraignment for felonious treason, and the musters of the new-erected gendarmery. The duke, the first of this month, was brought to Westminster-hall, where sate as Judge, or high steward, my lord treasurer; twenty-six lords of the parliament went on his trial. Indictments were read; which were several; some for treason, some for traitorous felony. The lawyers read how Sir Thomas Palmer had confessed, that the duke once minded, and made him privy, to raise the north, after to call the duke of Northumberland, the marquess of Northampton, and the earl of Pembroke, to a feast, and so to have slain them. And, to do this thing, (as it was to be thought,) had levied men a hundred at his house in London; which was scanned to be treason, because unlawful assemblies for such purposes was treason by an Act made the last sessions: also how the duke of Somerset minded to stay the horses of the gendarmery, and to raise London. Crane confessed also the murdering of the lords in a banquet. Sir Miles Partridge also confessed the raising of London; Hamman his man having a watch at Greenwich of twenty weaponed men to resist, if he had been arrested: and this confessed both Partridge and Palmer. He answered, that when he levied men at his house, he meant no such thing, but only to defend himself. The rest very barely answered. After debating the matter from nine of the clock till three, the lords went together, and there weighing that the matter seemed only to touch their lives, although afterward more inconvenience might have followed, and that men might think they did it of malice, acquitted him of high treason, and condemned him of felony, and which he seemed to have confessed. He, hearing the judgment, fell down on his knees, and thanked them for his open trial. After, he asked pardon of the duke of Northumberland, the marquess, &c. whom he confessed he meant to destroy, although before he swore vehemently to the contrary. Thus fare you well.

"*From Westminster, the 20th of December, anno Domini*, 1551."

Hereby it plainly appeareth, that the king was possessed with a persuasion of his uncle's guiltiness: whether or no so in truth, God knoweth; and generally men believe him abused herein. And it seemeth a wonder to me that six weeks (from December 1st to January 22nd) interceding betwixt the duke's condemnation and execution, no means were made during that time to the king for his pardon. But it is plain, that his foes had stopped all access of his friends unto the king.

45, 46. *The Duke's Character. His great Buildings.*

The duke of Somerset was religious himself, a lover of all such as were so, and a great promoter of reformation; valiant, fortunate; witness his victory in Musselburgh-field, when the Scots filled many carts with emptiness, and loaded them with what was lighter than vanity itself,—popish images and other trinkets, wherein they placed the confidence of their conquest. He was generally beloved of martial men; yet no marvel if some did grumble against him, seeing there is no army, save that of the church triumphant, wherein the soldiers at some time or other do not complain against their general. Nor is the wonder great if he sometimes trespassed in matters of state, seeing the most conscientious politician will now and then borrow a point of law, (not to say, take it for their due,) even with an intent never to pay it. He was better to perform than plot, do than design. In a word, his self-hurting innocence declined into guiltiness, whose soul was so far from being open to causeless suspicions, that it was shut against just jealousies of danger.

He built Somerset-house; where many like the workmanship better than either the foundation or materials thereof. For the houses of three bishops,—Landaff, Coventry and Lichfield, and Worcester,—with the church of St. Mary-le-Strand, were plucked down to make room for it. The stones and timber were fetched from the hospital of St. John's. This Somerset-house is so tenacious of his name, that it would not change a duchy for a kingdom, when solemnly proclaimed by king James "Denmark-house," from the king of Denmark's lodging therein, and his sister queen Anne's repairing thereof. Surely it argueth, that this duke was well-beloved, because his name made such an indelible impression on this his House, whereof he was not full five years peaceably possessed.

47. *The King's Instructions to Fitzpatrick for his Behaviour in France. A. D.* 1552.

We lately made mention of Barnaby Fitzpatrick, to whom the king directed his letter, as who was bred and brought up with him from his infancy, though somewhat the older. He was prince Edward's proxy for correction, though, we may presume, seldom suffering in that kind—such the prince's general innocency and ingenuity to learn his book. Yet when such execution was done, as Fitzpatrick was beaten for the prince, the prince was beaten in Fitzpatrick, so great an affection did he bear to his servant. Towards the end of his reign he maintained him in the court of France, both to learn fashions there and send intelligence thence. And it will not be amiss to insert the king's private instructions unto him how he should behave himself in the French court, party for the rarity, partly for the certainty thereof, having it transcribed out of the original of the king's own hand, as followeth :—

"1. First, he shall go in the lord admiral's company; and, at the same lord's departing, he shall have a letter to the French king, which the lord admiral shall deliver, and present him to the French king; and if it shall chance that the French king will give him any pension, entertainment, or reward at his being there for the time he tarrieth there, he shall receive it, and thank his majesty for it, and shall serve when he shall be appointed. Nevertheless, when he is out of the court he shall be most conversant with Mr. Pickering.*

"2. And at his setting forth shall carry with him four servants, and if the wages amount to any great sum, (more than I give him,) that the French king giveth him, to live there after that proportion advertising me of the same.

"3. Also all this winter he shall study the tongue, and see the manner of the court, and advertise me of the occurrences he shall hear; and if he be desirous to see any place notable, or town, he may go thither, asking leave of the king; and shall behave himself honestly, more following the company of gentlemen, than pressing into the company of the ladies there; and his chief pastime shall be hunting and riding.

"4. Also his apparel: he shall wear it so fine as shall be comely, and not much superfluous. And the next summer, when either the king goeth or sendeth any man of name into the wars to be his lieutenant, or to lead an army, he shall desire to go thither; and either himself, or else shall will Mr. Pickering to declare to the French king, how he thinketh not himself to have fully satisfied nor recompensed neither his majesty's good entertainment nor mine expectation who had sent him over, if he should return, having so delicately and idly almost spent the time, without he did at this time of service be desirous to go himself into the wars, by the which thing he might at this time do his majesty service, and also learn to do me service hereafter, yea, and his majesty too, if the case so required. And therefore seeing this nobleman shall now go, that his request is—to have leave to go with him.

"5. Having said this to the French king, he shall depart into the wars, waiting on this nobleman that shall be sent; and there he shall mark the divers fortifications of places, and advantages that the enemy may take, and the ordering and conduct of the armies: As also the fashion of the skirmishes, battles, and assaults, and the plats of the chief towns where any enterprises of weight have been done, he shall cause to be set out in black and white, or otherwise, as he may, and shall send them hither to me, with advertisement of such things as have passed.

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* Afterwards knighted, and supposed suitor to queen Elizabeth.

"6. Furthermore; he shall at all times when he taketh money advertise me of it, and I shall send him. And so, the next year being well spent, upon further advertisement, and taking leave of the French king, he shall return.

"7. And if there arise or grow any doubt in any matter hereafter, in the which he shall need advice, he shall advertise by the post, and shall have answer thereof."

This Barnaby Fitzpatrick, after his return out of France, was created by the king baron of Upper Ossory in Ireland, and died a most excellent protestant, as hereafter we shall show in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

48. *Little Church-work in this Parliament.*

On the 15th of April, the parliament ended which had sat three months at Westminster; though therein nothing of church-matters determined, save a penalty imposed on such who should strike or draw weapon in church or church-yard, with the abolishing of the general holy-days of St. Mary Magdalen and St. George: yet so that it should be lawful for the latter to be solemnly celebrated by the knights of the right honourable Order of the Garter; the orders of which Order were about this time reformed and purged from some ancient superstitions.

49. *An ill Presage.*

Six dolphins were taken in the Thames,* (three near Queenborough, and three above Greenwich, where the Thames is scarce tainted with brackishness,) insomuch that many grave men dispensed with their wisdom, and beheld them with wonder, as not seen before on our shores: a fish much loving man and music, swifter than all other fishes and birds too; yea, than the swallow itself, (if Pliny say true,)† though all their celerity besteaded them not here to escape the nets of the fishermen. Their coming up so far was beheld by mariners as a presage of foul weather at sea; but by statesmen, as a prodigious omen of some tempestuous mutations in our land. And, particularly, they suspected the king's death, though for the present he was very pleasant and merry in his progress about the country, as by his ensuing letter to his former favourite, written in the next August, doth appear:—

"Edward.—The cause why we have not hitherto written unto you have partly been the lack of a convenient messenger, partly because we meant to have something worthy writing ere we would write any thing. And therefore being now almost in the midst of our journey, which we have undertaken this summer, we have thought good to advertise now, since our last letters dated at Greenwich, we departed from thence towards a thing far contrary to that wherein, as we perceive by your diligent advertisement, you and all the country you are in are occupied; for whereas you all have been occupied in killing of your enemies, in long marchings, in painful journeys, in extreme heat, in sore skirmishings and divers assaults; we have been occupied in killing of wild beasts, in pleasant journeys, in good fare, in viewing of fair countries, and rather have sought how to fortify our own, than to spoil another man's. And, being this determined, came to Guildford, from thence to Petworth, and so to Cowdrey, a goodly house of Sir Anthony Browne's, where we were marvellously, yea rather, excessively, banqueted; from thence we went to Halvenaker, [Halnaker,] a pretty house beside Chichester. From thence we went to Warblington, a fair house of Sir Richard Cotton's. And so to Whaltan [Walton,] a fair, great, old house, in times past the bishop of Winchester's, and now my lord treasurer's house. In all these places we had both good hunting and good cheer. From thence we went to Portsmouth town, and there viewed, not only the town itself and the haven, but also divers bulwarks, as Chatertons, Waselford, with others; in viewing of which we find the bulwarks chargeable, massy, well-ramparted, but ill-fashioned, ill-flanked, and set in unmeet places; the town weak, in comparison of that it ought to be, too huge great, (for within the walls are fair and large closes, and much vacant room,) the haven notable great, and standing by nature easy to be fortified. And for the more strength thereof we have devised two strong castles on either side of the haven at the mouth thereof. For at the mouth the haven is not past ten-score over, but in the middle almost a mile over, and in length for a mile and a half able to bear the greatest ship in Christendom. From thence we went to Tichfield, the earl of Southampton's house, and so to Southampton town. The citizens had bestowed for our coming great cost in painting, repairing, and rampiring of their walls. The town is handsome, and, for the bigness of it, as fair houses as be at London. The citizens made great cheer, and many of them kept costly tables. From Southampton we came to Bewley, a little village at the middle of the New Forest, and so to Christchurch, another little town in the same Forest, where we now be. And having advertised you of all this, we think it not good to trouble you any farther with the news of this country; but only, that at this time the most part of England (thanks be to God!) is clear of any dangerous or infectious sickness. We have received all your letters of the 26th of May, of the 19th of June, and the 1st of August. Thus fare you well.

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* Bishop Godwin's "Annals" in this year.

† *Nat. Hist.* lib. ix. cap. 8.

"From Christchurch, the 22nd of August."

50. *A threefold Division of Bishops.*

But, leaving the king in his progress, we come to behold the bishops in their visitations, and find them divided into three sorts:—1. *Zealous Protestants:* As archbishop Cranmer, bishop Ridley, Hooper, Farrer. 2. *Zealous Papists:* As Gardiner, Tunstall, Bonner; which three alone were deprived of their bishoprics, and confined. 3. *Papists in heart*, but outwardly conforming to the king's laws: As Heath, archbishop of York, and many other bishops. Here it is worthy our inquiry why this latter sort, which so complied under king Edward VI. should be so stubborn and obstinate under queen Elizabeth; whereof I can give but this reason assigned,—that, growing older and nearer their graves, they grew more conscientious and faithful to their own (though erroneous) principles, it being in vain to dissemble, now death did approach, though their younger years had been guilty of such prevarications.

SECTION II.

DIGNISSIMO VIRO

CAROLO CHENEY, DE COMITATU BUCK. ARMIGERO,
MECŒNATI SUO MUNIFICENTISSIMO.

ETHELSTANUS, Saxonum monarcha, decreto sanxivit, "si Massere ascenderet, ut ter Magnum Mare transfretaret, per proprium negotium suum, fuit deinde Taini dignus rectitudine."[*] In quâ lege enucleandâ, mihi aliquantillum immorandum; quùm licet tibi (ut alia omnia) expedita, aliis forsitan aliquid nodi ei subesse videatur.

1. *Massere*—Mercatorem designari in confesso est.
2. *Magnum Mare*—Mediterraneum intenditur, quo nomine Sacræ Scripturæ sæpiùs innotescit, Num. xxxiv. 6; Josh. i. 4; xv. 12.
3. *Proprium negotium*—Quâ clausulâ excluditur ser-

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[*] *Regius Codex*, fol. 143, col. 4. SPELMANNI *Concilia*, page 406.

vile genus, ("factores" dicimus,) qui non sui juris, sed dominis rationem redditurì.

4. *Taini*—Intelligimus "melioris notæ generosum."

5. *Dignus rectitudine*—Olet hoc sæculi barbariem.

Sed his verbis voluit rex, ut censeatur *iso-tainus*, atque eundem honoris gradum sortiatur.

Quod si, vir clarissime, illi sæculo tanta contigisset felicitas, ut tu tunc temporis vixisses, quibus titulis te decorandum rex ille censuisset? qui, ortu tuo nobilis, Mare, Parvum, Medium, Magnum, omnia, (multis aquarum terrarumque montibus superatis,) transivisti. Idque non turpis lucri causâ, ut navem mercibus; sed scientiæ ergô, ut mentem dotibus, instructam reportares.

Te igitur in ipsissimo libri mei umbilico (quantùm paginas scriptas, nondum impressas, æstimare potui) collocandum curavi, eo consilio, quo provida natura soli inter planetas medium locum assignavit, ut ex æquo, utrinque totum opus nomine tuo illustraretur.

Deus te, tuamque conjugem, (non magis natalium splendore, quam propriis virtutibus spectabilem,) eousque protegat, dum in dubium venerit, longiorve an beatior vestra vita sit reputanda.

1. *Commissioners sent to inquire about Church-Ornaments.*

LATELY information was given to the king's Council, that much costly furniture, which was embezzled, might very seasonably (such the king's present occasions) and profitably be recovered. For private men's halls were hung with altar-cloths; their tables and beds covered with copes, instead of carpets and coverlets. Many drank at their daily meals in chalices; and no wonder if, in proportion, it came to the share of their horses to be watered in rich coffins of marble. And as if first laying of hands upon them were sufficient title unto them, seizing on them was generally the price they had paid for them. Now, although four years were elapsed since the destruction of colleges and chantries, and much of the best church-ornaments was transported beyond the seas, yet the Privy Council thought, this very gleaning in the stubble would richly be worth the while, and that, on strict inquisition, they should retrieve much plate in specie, and more money for moderate fines of

offenders herein. Besides, whereas parish-churches had still many rich ornaments left in the custody of their wardens, they resolved to convert what was superfluous or superstitious to the king's use. To which purpose, commissions were issued out, to some select persons in every county,* according to the tenor following:—

"INSTRUCTIONS given by the king's majesty to his right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counsellor, the marquess of Northampton, and to the rest of his Highness's commissioners appointed for the survey of church-goods within his majesty's county of Northampton.

"EDWARD.—First. Upon the receipt of the same commission by any one of the same commissioners, he that so shall first receive the commission shall forthwith, with all convenient speed, give knowledge to the rest named in the same commission, and with them shall agree to meet and assemble with that speed they can for the execution of the same commission and these instructions. And if any of the said commissioners shall be dead, sick, or otherwise be so absent out of the country for the service of the king, that he cannot with speed attend the same, in that case the rest of the same commissioners, so that they be to the number appointed by the commission, shall not make any delay from the proceeding in the same commission, but shall forthwith allot their sittings, assemblies, and meetings for the same commission, as in like cases hath been or shall be meet to be used.

"*Item.* For their better and more certain proceeding, the said commissioners shall, in such cases where none of the commissioners be *Custos Rotulorum* of that county, nor hath been since the beginning of our reign, command the said *Custos Rotulorum*, or their deputy, or the clerk of the peace of those parts, to bring or send unto them such books, registers, and inventories, as hath heretofore anywise come to their hands, by indenture, touching the sums, numbers, and values of any goods, plate, jewels, vestments, and bells or ornaments of any churches, chapels, and such like. And likewise the said commissioners shall send to the bishops of every diocess wherein the said county is situate, or to their chancellors, commissaries, or other ecclesiastical officers, in whose hands or custody the like of the aforesaid inventories and registers have command of them, and every of them; they shall receive and take the said books, registers, and inventories: and, that done, the said commissioners shall compare both the same inventories, (that is to say,) as well such as they shall receive and take of the *Custos Rotulorum*, or their deputy, or the clerk of the peace, as of the bishops, or other under-officers;

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* The original, under the king's hand, was lent me by Mr. Thomas Tresham, late of Geddington in Northamptonshire.

and according to the best, richest, and greatest inventories of the said commissioners, shall proceed to make their survey and inquiry: and, by the same, make the searches of the defaults and wants that shall be found. And generally the same commissioners shall, not only by the view of the said registers and inventories, but also by any other means they can better devise, proceed to the due search and inquisition of the wants and defaults of any part of the said goods, plate, jewels, vestments, bells, or ornaments.

"*Item.* For the more speedy obtaining of the said registers and inventories, the said commissioners shall receive special letters of commandment from our Privy Council for the delivery thereof; which letters the said commissioners shall deliver as they shall see occasion.

"*Item.* The said commissioners shall, upon their view and survey taken, cause due inventories to be made, by bills or books indented, of all manner of goods, plate, jewels, bells, and ornaments, as yet remaining, or anywise forthcoming, and belonging to any churches, chapels, fraternities, or guilds, and the one part of the same inventories to send and return to our Privy Council, and the other to deliver to them in whose hands the said goods, plate, jewels, bells, and ornaments, shall remain to be kept preserved. And they shall also give good charge and order that the same goods and every part thereof be at all times forthcoming to be answered, leaving nevertheless in every parish-church, or chapel of common resort, one, two, or more chalices or cups, according to the multitude of the people in every such church or chapel; and also such other ornaments as by their discretion shall seem requisite for the Divine Service in every such place for the time.

"And, because we be informed, that in many places great quantities of the said plate, jewels, bells, and ornaments, be imbecilled* by certain private men, contrary to our express commandments in that behalf; the said commissioners shall substantially and justly inquire and attain the knowledge thereof; by whose default the same is, and hath been, and in whose hands any part of the same is come. And in that point the said commissioners shall have good regard, that they attain to certain names, and dwelling-places of every person or persons, that hath sold, alienated, imbezilled,* taken or carried away, and of such also as have counselled, advised, and commanded any part of the said goods, plate, jewels, bells, vestments, and ornaments to be taken or carried away, or otherwise imbezilled.* And these things they shall as certainly and duly as they can cause to be searched and understand.

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* In this and the succeeding paragraph the word "embezzle" is written in three different forms. See "JOHNSON'S Dictionary" by Todd, under the word *imbecile*.—EDIT.

" Upon a full search and inquiry whereof, the said commissioners, four or three of them, shall cause to be called before them also the persons by whom any of the said goods, plate, jewels, bells, ornaments, or any other the premisses, have been alienated, embezilled, or taken away, or by whose means or procurement the same, or any part thereof hath been attempted, or to whose hands or use any of the same or any profit for the same hath grown ; and, by such means as to their discretions shall seem best, cause them to bring into their the said commissioners' hands, to our use, the said plate, jewels, bells, and other the premisses so alienated, or the true and just value thereof, certifying unto our Privy Council the names of all such as refuse to stand to or obey their order touching the re-delivery and restitution of the same, or the just value thereof; to the intent, that, as cause and reason shall require, every man may answer to his doings in this behalf.

" *Finally.* Our pleasure is, that the said commissioners in all their doings shall use such sober and discreet manner of proceeding, as the effect of this commission may go forward with as much quiet, and as little occasion of trouble or disquiet of the multitude as may be, using to that end such wise persuasions in all places of their sessions as in respect to the place and disposition of the people may seem to their wisdom most expedient; giving also good and substantial order for the stay of the inordinate and greedy covetousness of such disordered people, as have or shall go about the alienating of any the premisses, so as according to reason and order such as have, or shall contemptuously offend in this behalf, may receive reformation, as for the quality of their doings shall be requisite."

In pursuance of these their Instructions, the king's commissioners, in their respective counties, recovered much, and discovered more, of church-wealth and ornaments. For, some were utterly embezzled by persons not responsible, and there the king must lose his right. More were concealed by parties not detectable, so cunningly they carried their stealths, seeing every one who had nimmed a church-bell did not ring it out for all to hear the sound thereof. Many potent persons, well-known to have such goods, shuffled it out with their greatness, mutually connived at therein by their equals, fellow-offenders in the same kind. However, the commissioners regained more than they expected, considering the distance of time, and the cold scent they followed so many years after the Dissolution. This plate and other church-utensils were sold, and advanced much money to the exchequer. An author telleth us,* that amongst many which they found, they left but one silver chalice to every church,—too narrow a proportion to populous parishes, where they

* Sir John Hayward.

might have left two at the least, seeing for expedition-sake, at great sacraments, the minister at once delivereth the wine to two communicants. But they conceived one cup enough for a small parish, and that greater and richer were easily able to purchase more to themselves.

2, 3. *Durham Bishopric dissolved; afterwards restored by Queen Mary.*

All this income rather stayed the stomach, than satisfied the hunger, of the king's exchequer; for the allaying whereof, the parliament, now sitting, conferred on the Crown the bishopric of Durham. This may be called "the English Herbipolis," or *Wirtz-burge;* it being true of both,—

Dunelmia sola judicat ense et stolâ.

The bishop whereof was a palatine, or secular prince, and his seal in form resembleth royalty in the roundness thereof; and is not oval,—the badge of plain episcopacy. Rich and entire the revenues of this see, such as alone would make a considerable addition to the Crown. Remote the situation thereof, out of southern sight; and, therefore, if dissolved, the sooner out of men's minds. Besides, Cuthbert Tunstall, the present bishop of Durham, was in durance, and deprived for his obstinacy; so that so stubborn a bishop gave the state the fairer quarrel with so rich a bishopric,* now annexed to the king's revenue.

Well it was for this see, (though dissolved,) that the lands thereof were not dispersed by sale unto several persons, but preserved whole and entire (as to the main) in the Crown. Had such a dissipation of the parts thereof been made, no less than a state-miracle had been requisite for the re-collection thereof. Whereas now, within two years after, queen Mary restored Tunstall to this bishopric, and this bishopric to itself, re-settling all the lands on the same.

4. *A Wood, rather a Wilderness, of the Pope's Canons.*

By this time, such learned men as were employed by the king to reform the ecclesiastical laws, had brought their work to some competent perfection. Let me enlarge myself on this subject of concernment, for the reader's satisfaction. When the pope had engrossed to his courts the cognizance of all causes, which either looked, glanced, or pointed, in the least degree, at what was reducible to religion, he multiplied laws to magnify himself; whose principal design therein was, not to make others good, but himself great; not so much to direct and defend the good, to restrain and punish the bad, as to ensnare and entangle both. For, such the number of their Clementines, Sextines, Intra- and Extra-vagants, Provincials, Synodals, Glosses, Sentences, Chapters, Summaries, Rescripts, Breviaries, Long and Short Cases, &c. that none could carry themselves so cautiously, but would be rendered obnoxious, and caught within the compass of offending. Though the best was, for money they might buy the pope's pardon, and thereby their own innocence.

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* Yet the duke of Northumberland either was, or was to be, possessor thereof.

5, 6. *Two-and-thirty Regulators of the Canon Law; contracted to eight by King Edward VI.*

Hereupon, when the pope's power was banished out of England, his canon-law, with the numerous books and branches thereof, lost its authority in the king's dominions. Yet because some gold must be presumed amongst so much dross, grain amongst so much chaff, it was thought fit that so much of the canon-law should remain as was found conformable to the word of God and laws of the land. And therefore king Henry VIII. was empowered by Act of Parliament to elect two-and-thirty able persons to reform the ecclesiastical laws, though in his reign very little to good purpose was performed therein.

But the design was more effectually followed in the days of king Edward VI. reducing the number of two-and-thirty to eight; thus mentioned in his letters-patents dated at Westminster, the last year, November 11th: Bishops, Thomas Cranmer, of Canterbury, and Thomas Goodrich, of Ely: Divines, Peter Martyr and Richard Cox: Civilians and Canonists, Dr. William May, and Dr. Rowland Taylor, of Hadley: Common-Lawyers, John Lucas, and Richard Goodrick, esquires.

It was not only convenient, but necessary, that common-lawyers should share in making these church-constitutions, because the same were to be built, not only sure in themselves, but also symmetrical to the municipal laws of the land. These eight had power, by the king's patents, to call in to their assistance what persons they pleased; and are said to have used the pens of Sir John Cheke, and Walter Haddon, doctor in law, to turn their laws into Latin.

7—9. *Laws no Laws, not stamped with royal Authority. A silent Convocation. The true Reason thereof. A. D.* 1553.

However, these had only a *preparing*, no *concluding* power; so that, when they had ended their work, two things were wanting to make these ecclesiastical canons (thus by them composed) have the validity of laws. First. An exact review of them by others, to amend the mistakes therein; as where they call the Common-Prayer Book then used in England, *proprium et perfectum omnis divini cultus judicem et magistrum*,*—a title truly belonging only to the Scripture. Secondly. A royal ratification thereunto; which this king, prevented by death, nor any of his successors, ever stamped upon it. Indeed, I find in an author,† whom I am half-ashamed to allege, that "Doctor Haddon, *anno* 12th or 13th of Elizabeth, delivered in parliament a Latin book, concerning church-discipline, written in the days of king Edward VI. by Mr. Cranmer, Sir John Cheke," &c. which could be no other than this lately mentioned. "Which book was committed by the House unto the said Mr. Haddon, Mr. George Bromley, Mr. Norton, &c. to be translated," I conceive, into English again; and never after can I recover any mention thereof, save that some thirteen years since, it was printed in London.‡

A parliament was called in the last of this king's reign, wherein no church-matter was meddled with, save that therein a subsidy, granted by the clergy, was confirmed; such moneys being the legacy of course, which all parliaments (fairly coming to a peaceable end) bequeath to their sovereign. As for the records of this Convocation, they are but one degree above blanks, scarce affording the names of the clerks assembled therein. Indeed, they had no commission from the king to meddle with church-business; and every Convocation in itself is born deaf and dumb; so that it can neither hear complaints in religion, nor speak in the redress thereof, till first *Ephphatha*, "Be thou opened," be pronounced unto it by commission from royal authority.

Now, the true reason why the king would not intrust the diffusive body of the Convocation with a power to meddle with matters of religion, was a just jealousy which he had of the ill affection of the major part thereof; who, under the fair rind of protestant profession, had the rotten core of Romish superstition. It was therefore conceived safer for the king to rely on the ability and fidelity of some select confidants, cordial to the cause of religion, than to adventure the same to be discussed and decided by a suspicious Convocation.

10, 11. *Forty-two Articles of Religion, ana the King's Catechism; consented and not consented to by the Convocation.*

However, this barren Convocation is entitled "the parent of those articles of religion," (forty-two in number,) which are printed with this preface, *Articuli de quibus in Synodo Londinensi, anno Domini* 1552, *inter episcopos, et alios eruditos viros convenerat.* With these was bound a Catechism, younger in age, (as bearing date of the next year,) but of the same extraction, relating to this Convocation, as author thereof. Indeed, it was first compiled (as appears by the king's patent prefixed) by a single divine, (charactered "pious and learned," [*]) but afterwards "perused and allowed by the bishops, and other learned men," (understand it *the Convocation,)* "and by royal authority commended to all subjects, commanded to all schoolmasters to teach it their scholars."

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* *Titulo de Divinis Officiis*, cap. 6.

† JOHN PENRY, at the end of his preface to his book, entitled, "Reformation no Enemy to Her Majesty."

‡ *Anno* 1640.

Yet very few in the Convocation ever saw it, much less, explicitly consented thereunto: but these had formerly (it seems) passed over their power (I should be thankful to him who would produce the original instrument thereof) to the select divines appointed by the king; in which sense they may be said to have done it themselves by their delegates, to whom they had deputed their authority: A case not so clear but that it occasioned a cavil at the next Convocation in the first of queen Mary,[†] when the papists therein assembled renounced the legality of any such former transactions.

12, 13. *The Death of King Edward VI. who was not cut out of his Mother's Belly, as is commonly reported. Queen Jane's Letter, after her Delivery, to the Lords of the Council.*

Precious king Edward VI. now (July 6th) changed his crown of gold for one of glory. We will something enlarge ourselves, to give posterity his true character, never meeting more virtues in so few years. For his birth, there goeth a constant tradition, that, Cæsar-like, he was cut out of the belly of his mother, Jane Seymour; though a great person of honour, deriving her intelligence mediately from such as were present at her labour, assured me of the contrary. Indeed, such as shall read the calm and serene style of that letter, which I have seen written (though not *by) for* that queen, and signed with her own signet after her delivery, cannot conjecture thence that any such violence was offered unto her. But see the letter:—

"RIGHT trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well; and forasmuch as, by the inestimable goodness and grace of Almighty God, we be delivered and brought in child-bed of a prince, conceived in most lawful matrimony, between my lord the king's majesty and us; doubting not but that, for the love and affection which you bear unto us, and to the commonwealth of this realm, this knowledge shall be joyous, and glad tidings unto you; we have thought good to certify you of this same; to the intent ye might not only render unto God condign thanks and praise for so great a benefice, but also continually pray for the long continuance and preservation of the same here in this life, to the honour of God, joy and pleasure of my lord the king and us, and the universal weal, quiet, and tranquillity of this whole realm.

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[*] *A pio quodam et erudito viro conscripta,* in the king's patent.

[†] See more thereof in the next year.

"Given under our signet at my lord's manor of Hampton-court, the 22nd day of October."[*]

And although this letter was soon after seconded with another[†] of a sadder subject, here inserted, subscribed by all the king's physicians; yet neither doth that so much as insinuate any impression of violence on her person, as hastening her death, but seems rather to cast the cause thereof on some other distemper.

14. *A sadder Letter of her Physicians unto them.*

"These shall be to advise your lordships of the queen's estate. Yesterday afternoon she had a natural lax, by reason whereof she began to lighten, and (as it appeared) to amend, and so continued till towards night. All this night she hath been very sick, and doth rather appare,[‡] than amend. Her confessor hath been with her Grace this morning, and hath done that to his office appertaineth, and even now is preparing to minister to her Grace the sacrament of unction.

"At Hampton-court this Wednesday morning at eight o'clock.

"Your lordships', at commandment,

THOMAS CUTLAND, JOHN CHAMBERS, Priest,
ROBERT KARHOLD, WILLIAM BUTTS,
EDWARD BAYNTAM, GEORGE OWEN."

Impute we here this extreme unction administered to her, partly to the over-officiousness of some superstitious priest; partly, to the good lady's inability, perchance, insensible what was done unto her in such extremity; otherwise, we are confident that her judgment, when in strength and health, disliked such practices, being a zealous protestant. Which unction did her as little good as the twelve masses said for her soul in the city of London, at the commandment of the duke of Norfolk; whether he did it to credit their religion with the countenance of so great a convert, or did it out of the nimiety of his own love and loyalty to the queen, expressing it according to his own judgment, without the consent, if not against the will, of the queen's nearest kindred.

15. *Prince Edward's Towardliness in Learning.*

But, leaving the mother, let us come to the son, who, as he saith of himself in the manuscript of his life, was for the first six years bred and brought up amongst the women, and then consigned to masculine tuition under Dr. Richard Cox and Sir John Cheke, who taught him Latin; and John Belmain, who instructed him in the French tongue. How great and sudden his proficiency in learning was, will appear by this letter, written with his own hand to his father, when about eight years old. And, although some may cavil this letter not to be the prince's, but Cheke's or Cox's in the prince, yet the very matter and style will attest it the genuine issue of his infant-genius.

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[*] Extant in Sir Thomas Cotton's library, *sub Ner.* cap. 10.

[†] Extant, *ibid.*

[‡] *Appair,* in the sense of *impair,* "to become worse."—Edit.

16, 17. *His Letter to his King-Father. Another to Queen Catherine Parr.*

Literæ meæ semper habent unum argumentum, rex nobilissime, atque pater illustrissime; id est, in omnibus epistolis ago tibi gratias pro beneficientiâ tuâ erga me maximâ; si enim sæpius multò ad te literas exararem, nullo tamen quidem modo potui pervenire officio literarum ad magnitudinem benignitatis tuæ erga me. Quis enim potuit compensare beneficia tua erga me? Nimirùm nullus qui non est tam magnus rex ac nobilis princeps, ac tu es, cujusmodi ego non sum. Quamobrem pietas tua in me multò gratior est mihi, quod facis mihi, quæ nullo modo compensare possim, sed tamen adnitar, et faciam quod in me est, ut placeam majestati; atque præcabor Deum, ut diù te servet incolumem. Vale, rex nobilissime atque pater illustrissime.

Majestati tuæ observantissimus Filius,
*EDVARDUS PRINCEPS.**

HATFELDIÆ,
Vicessimo septimo Septembris.

With the increase of his age, his writing was improved, both in the letter, matter, and phrase thereof, as appeareth by what he wrote in Latin, some months after, to his mother-in-law, queen Catherine Parr, in thankfulness for the new-year's gift (the king's and her own picture) she had sent unto him. One may charitably believe that so learned a lady understood the letter without an interpreter; but sure it is, she communicated the same to the king, who joyfully accepted thereof.

Quòd non ad te jamdiù scripserim, regina illustrissima, atque mater charissima, in causâ fuit, non negligentia, sed studium.

Non enim hoc feci, ut nunquam omninò scriberem, sed ut accuratiùs scriberem. Quare spero te futuram contentam et gavisuram, quod non scripserim. Tu enim velles me proficere in omni honestate et pietate, quod est signum insignis et diuturni tui amoris erga me, atque hunc amorem multis beneficiis mihi declarâsti, et præcipuè hac strenâ, quam proximè ad me misisti, in quâ regiæ majestatis et tua

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* See it in Sir Thomas Cotton's library.

effigies ad vivum expressa continetur. Nam plurimùm me delectat vestras imagines absentium contemplari, quos lubentissimè videre cupio præsentes, ac quibus maximè tum naturâ tum officio devinctus sum. Quamobrem majores tibi gratias ago, ob hanc strenam, quàm si misisses ad me preciosas vestes, et aurum cœlatum, aut quidvis aliud eximium. Deus tuam celsitudinem, quam me brevi visurum spero, servet incolumem.

Filius celsitudini tuæ obsequentissimus,
*EDVARDUS PRINCEPS.**

HARTFORDIÆ,
Decimo Januarii.

18. *A Letter to the Earl of Hertford.*

Now our hand is in, but one letter more, (but in date some months before the last,) to his uncle, earl of Hertford, and we have done. For if papists superstitiously preserve the fingers, teeth, yea, locks of hair, of their pretended saints, wonder not if I prize the smallest relics of this gracious prince, never as yet presented to public view.

Natura movet me ut recorder tui, avuncule charissime; et si negotia tua impediunt te ne videas me, ideò do literas ad te, quæ literæ forent testimonium recordationis meæ, quam habeo de te. Quòd si haberem ullum melius monumentum benevolentiæ meæ erga te, quàm literæ sunt, illud ad te mitterem. Puto autem te accepturum literas meas benè non pro bonitate literarum, sed pro benevolentiâ scriptoris. Et tu non eris adeò lætus in accipiendis literis a me, ut ego gaudebo, si intellexero te in bonam partem accepisse illas; quod puto te facturum. Optimè valeas in Christo Jesu.

E. PRINCEPS.

HUNSDONIÆ,
Octavo Novembris.

19, 20. *An Instance of his Piety, and an extraordinary one of the Prevalency of his Prayer.*

Such was the piety of this young prince, that being about to take down something which was above his reach, one of his play-fellows proffered him a bossed-plated Bible to stand upon, and heighten him to take what he desired. Perceiving it a Bible, with holy indignation, he refused it, and sharply reproved the offerer thereof; it being unfit he should trample that under his feet which he was to treasure up in his head and heart. How many now a-days, unable in themselves to achieve their own wicked ends, make God's word their pedestal, that, standing thereon, they may be (not the holier, but) the higher, and the better advantaged, by abusing piety, to attain their own designs!

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* In Sir Thomas Cotton's library, whence I transcribed it.

When crowned king, his goodness increased with his greatness; constant in his private devotions, and as successful as fervent therein: witness this particular: Sir John Cheke, his schoolmaster, fell desperately sick; of whose condition the king carefully inquired every day. At last his physicians told him, that there was no hope of his life, being given over by them for a dead man. "No," saith king Edward, "he will not die at this time, for this morning I begged his life from God in my prayers, and obtained it:" which accordingly came to pass; and he soon after, against all expectation, wonderfully recovered. This was attested by the old earl of Huntingdon, bred up in his childhood with king Edward, unto Sir Thomas Cheke, still surviving, about eighty years of age.

21—24. *His exact Diary. His good Archery and quick Wit. An uncertain Report. The Prayer of King Edward on his Death-bed.*

He kept an exact account, written with his own hand, (and that a very legible one,) of all memorable accidents, with the accurate date thereof. No high honour was conferred, bishopric bestowed, state-office disposed of, no old fort repaired, no new one erected, no bullion brought in, no great sums sent forth of the land, no ambassadors dispatched hence, none entertained here; in a word, no matter of moment transacted, but by him, with his own hand, it was recorded: whose notes herein, though very particular, are nothing trivial; though short, not obscure; as formerly we have made use of some of those which concern our History.

Whilst in health, his body was no less active in exercise than his mind quick in apprehension. To give one instance of both together:—One day, being shooting at butts, (a manful and healthful pastime, wherein he very much delighted,) he hit the very mark. The duke of Northumberland being present, (and, as I take it, betting on his side,) "Well shot, my liege," quoth he. "But you shot nearer the mark," returned the king, "when you shot off my good uncle Somerset's head." And it is generally conceived that grief for his death caused king Edward's consumption, who succeeded not to any consumptive inclination, as hereditary from his extraction, from a father but little past—and a mother just in—the strength of their age.

However, I find in a popish writer,* that "it was said, that the apothecary who poisoned him, (for the horror of the offence, and the disquietness of his conscience,) drowned himself; and that the laundress who washed his shirt, lost the skin off her fingers." But if his history be no better that his divinity, we that justly condemn the one, can do no less than suspect the other.

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* "Image of both Churches," page 423.

We will conclude this king's most pious life with that his most devout prayer on his death-bed, which God heard and graciously answered, for the good of the church of England.*

"Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen. Howbeit, not my will, but thy will be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee; yet, for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health, that I may truly serve thee. O my Lord God! bless thy people, and save thine inheritance. O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England! O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for Jesus Christ's sake!"

26, 27. *Opposers of the Liturgy grow strong. Mr. Calvin's three Reasons for a set Form of Prayer.*

One of the last sermons king Edward heard, was preached before him by Hugh Latimer, at what time their party began to spread and increase who opposed the Liturgy, witness this passage in his sermon: —"I have heard say, when that the good queen that is gone had ordained in her house daily prayer, both before noon and after noon; the admiral getteth him out of the way, like a mole digging in the earth. He shall be Lot's wife to me as long as I live. He was, I heard say, a covetous man. A covetous man, indeed! I would there were no more in England. He was, I heard say, an ambitious man: I would there were no more in England. He was, I heard say, a seditious man, a contemner of Common Prayer: I would there were no more in England. Well! he is gone, I would he had left none behind him."† A passage so informative to the Church History of that age must not pass without some observation thereon.

The good queen that is gone—This was queen Catherine Parr, (the relict of king Henry VIII.) who some two years since died in child-bed.

The admiral—This was Thomas lord Seymour, her husband.

Getteth himself out of the way—Here is the question, on what terms he absented himself, whether on

Popish	or	Nonconformist.
In proof whereof he is compared to "Lot's wife;" which importeth a looking back and reflection on former practice.		Being termed herein "seditious," and not superstitious, it intimates that a factious principle made him distaste the Common Prayer.

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* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," page 1395.

† Latimer's "Sermons," printed *anno* 1607, page 83.

A contemner of the Common Prayer, I wish there were no more—This probably relates unto a potent party disaffected to the Liturgy, which now began to be very considerable in England, but (if the premisses be rightly collected) much to blame in the judgment of godly Master Latimer.

The dislikers of the Liturgy bare themselves high upon the judgment of Master Calvin, in his letter (four years since) to the duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, now no longer a privacy, because publicly printed in his Epistles.

And yet Master Calvin is therein very positive for a set Form, whose words deserve our translation and observation.

Formulam precum et rituum ecclesiasticorum valdè probo, ut certa illa extet.	"I do highly approve that there should be a certain Form of Prayer and ecclesiastical rites.
A quâ ne pastoribus discedere in functione suâ liceat.	"From which it should not be lawful for the pastors themselves to discede.
1. *Ut consulatur quorundam simplicitati et imperitiæ.*	"1. That provision be made for some people's ignorance and unskilfulness.
2. *Ut certius constet omnium inter se ecclesiarum consensus.*	"2. That the consent of all churches amongst themselves may the more plainly appear.
3. *Ut obviam ineatur desultoriæ quorundam levitati, qui novationes quasdam affectant.*	"3. That order may be taken against the desultory levity of such who delight in innovations.
Sic igitur, statum esse catechismum oportet, statam sacramentorum administrationem, publicam item precum formulam.[*]	"Thus there ought to be an established catechism, an established administration of sacraments, as also a public Form of Prayer."

So that it seems not *a* form, but *this* form, of prayer did displease; and exceptions were taken at certain passages still in the Liturgy, though lately reviewed by the bishops and corrected.

27. *Wanton Frowardness justly punished.*

Whilst mutual animosities were heightened betwixt the opposers and assertors of the Liturgy, Providence put a period for a time to that controversy in England. Such who formerly would not—soon after durst not—use the Common Prayer; mass and popery being set up by queen Mary in the room thereof. Thus when children fall out and fight about the candle, the parents, coming in and taking it away, leave them to decide the differences in the dark.

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[*] *Libro Epistolarum*, page 69.

THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK VIII.

CONTAINING

THE PERSECUTIONS UNDER THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

TO THE

RIGHT HON. FRANCIS GREVILLE,

BARON BROKE OF BEAUCHAMP'S COURT.

My Lord,

There is a generation of people in our age called Quakers, which they disclaim as a nickname, though I see not how handsomely they can wave the name, whilst they wear the thing, having contracted a habit of quaking, wherein they delight: of their practices, no less ridiculous than erroneous, two most remarkable :—

First. The casting off of their clothes, which, did it not more wound the modesty of others than their own, I could wish that their going naked might be their punishment for their going naked; that what sometimes they affect of fancy should always be enjoined them by authority ; till the cold converted them into more civility.

In vain do they plead for their practice the precedent of the prophet Isaiah,—going naked for three years, Isaiah xx. 3 ; whose act was extraordinary and mystical, having an immediate command from God for the same. As well may they, in imitation of Hosea, take a known harlot to their wives, Hosea i. 2 ; which, I believe, they would not willingly do, though they have made harlots of other men's wives, if all be true reported of them.

Their other opinion is, that *thou* and *thee* is the omer of respect to be measured out to every single person ; allowing the highest no more, the lowest no less ; " be he" (to speak in their own phrase*) "either king, lord, judge, or officer."

We will take their words asunder, (as the wheels of a watch,) only scour them, and then put them together again.

King—Though none at this present in the land; yet, because these pretend to a prophetical spirit, and there may be one in due time, their words are considerable.

Lord—Here your Honour, with those many persons your peers, are concerned.

Judge—In this place the shoe pinches them, because they bear the sword to punish offenders, Rom. xiii. 4.

Officers—I suppose either civil or military, if they allow of the distinction.

No mention here of ministers. It seems *thou* and *thee* is too good language for us, who are Cains, and Balaams, and dogs, and devils, in their mouths. The best is, the sharpest railing cannot pierce, where guiltiness in the person railed on hath not first wimbled a hole for the entrance thereof.

Their principal argument for their practice is drawn from many places in Scripture, (Exodus xxxiii. 12, five times in one verse,) where *thou* and *thee* are used by God to man, and man to God, and man to man; which cannot be denied.

In opposition whereunto, we maintain, that *thou* from superiors to inferiors is proper, as a sign of command; from equals to equals, is passable, as a note of familiarity; but from inferiors to superiors, if proceeding from ignorance, [it] hath a smack of clownishness; if from affectation, a tang of contempt.

But in answer to their objection from Scripture, we return four things:—

First. *Thou* is not so distasteful a term in Hebrew and Greek as it is in the English; custom of every country being the grand master of language, to appoint what is honourable and disgraceful therein. The Jews had their *racha*, Matt. v. 22, or term of contempt, unknown to us; we, our *thou*, a sign of slighting unused by them.

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* Pamphlet called "the Language of Truth," page 2.

Secondly. It followeth not, because *thou* and *thee* only are set down, that therefore no other additions of honour were then and there given from inferiors to their superiors. A negative argument cannot be framed in this case,—that more respect was not used, because no more expressed in Scripture; it being the design of histories chiefly to represent the substance of deeds, not all verbal formalities.

Thirdly. What inferiors in Scripture wanted in words, they supplied in postures and gestures of submission, even to prostration of their bodies, Gen. xxxiii. 3; 1 Kings i. 16, 23; xviii. 7; which would be condemned for idolatry, if used in England.

Lastly. There are extant in Scripture expressions of respect; as when Sarah termed her husband "lord," which (though but once mentioned in the text) was, no doubt, her constant practice, or else the Holy Spirit would not have taken such notice thereof, and commended it to others' imitation, 1 Peter iii. 6.

But they follow their argument, urging it "unreasonable that any should refuse that coin in common discourse, which they in their solemn devotions pay to God himself. *Thou* and *thee* are current in the prayers of saints clean through the Scripture, as also in our (late-admired) Liturgy: 'We praise THEE, we bless THEE, we worship THEE, we glorify THEE, we give THEE thanks for THY great glory.' "*

It is answered: Those attributes of greatness, goodness, &c. given to God in the beginning of every prayer, do virtually and effectually extend and apply themselves to every clause therein, though, for brevity's sake, not actually repeated.

Thus, "Our Father," in the preface of the Lord's Prayer, relateth to every petition therein: "Our

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* Said or sung after the Communion.

Father, hallowed be thy name." "Our Father, thy kingdom come." "Our Father, thy will be done," &c. And this qualifieth the harshness and rudeness of *thou*, *thee*, and *thy*, when for expedition and expressiveness' sake they are necessarily used.

Your Honour will not wonder at the practice of these Quakers, having read in the prophetical epistles of St. Peter and St. Jude, 2 Peter ii. 10; Jude 8, (last placed, because last to be performed,) that towards the end of the world some shall "not be afraid to speak evil of dignities." These fear where no fear is, and quake where they need not; but fear not where fear is, being bold and impudent where they ought not. They are not afraid, not only to speak against dignities, (which in some case may be done, where they are vicious men,) but against dignities,—the lawful, useful, needful ordinances of God himself.

God grant these may seasonably be suppressed, before they grow too numerous; otherwise, such who now quarrel at the honour, will hereafter question the wealth, of others. Such as now accuse them for ambition for being higher, will hereafter condemn them for covetousness for being broader, than others; yea, and produce Scripture too, proper and pregnant enough for their purpose, as abused by their interpretation. In a word: It is suspicious such as now introduce *thou* and *thee* will, if they can, expel *mine* and *thine*, dissolving all propriety [property] into confusion.

And now, my lord, how silly a thing is that honour which lies at the mercy of such men's mouths, to tender or deny the same! The best is, men's statures are not extended or contracted with their shadows; so as to be stretched out into giants in the morning, shrunk up into dwarfs at noon, and stretched out at night into giants again. Intrinsical worth doth not increase and abate, wax and wane, ebb and flow, according to the fancy of others. May your lordship, therefore, labour for that true honour which consisteth in virtue, and

God's approbation thereof; which will last and remain, how furiously soever the wicked rage, and imagine vain things against it.

Here I presume to present your Honour the lives and deaths of some worthies, contrary to those Quakers in their practice and opinion; I mean, the martyrs in the reign of queen Mary. These despised not their superiors, giving due reverence to those who condemned them, honouring lawful authority, though unlawfully used. These cast not off their clothes, but modestly wore their linen on them at their suffering. These counterfeited no corporal quaking, (standing as firm as the stake they were fastened to,) though, in a spiritual sense, "working out their salvation *with fear and trembling:*" whose admirable piety and patience is here recommended unto your lordship's consideration, by

Your humble servant to be commanded in
all Christian offices,
THOMAS FULLER.

THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK VIII.

SECTION I.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1. *Queen Mary, in Despite of the Duke of Northumberland's Opposition, crowned.* *A.D.* 1553. 1 Mary.

King Edward, tender in years, and weak with sickness, was so practised on by the importunity of others, that, excluding his two sisters, he conveyed the crown to the lady Jane his kinswoman, by that which we may well call *the Testament* of king Edward, and *the Will* of the duke of Northumberland. Thus,—through the pious intents of this prince, wishing well to the Reformation; the religion of queen Mary, obnoxious to exception; the ambition of Northumberland, who would do what he listed; the simplicity of Suffolk, who would be done with as the other pleased; the dutifulness of the lady Jane, disposed by her parents; the fearfulness of the judges, not daring to oppose; and the flattery of the courtiers, most willing to comply,—matters were made as sure as man's policy can make that good which is bad in itself. But the Commons of England, who for many years together had conned loyalty by heart out of the Statute of Succession, were so perfect in their lesson that they would not be put out of it by this new-started design. So that every one proclaimed Mary next heir in their consciences; and, few days after king Edward's death, all the project miscarried. Of the plotters whereof some executed, more imprisoned, most pardoned, all conquered, and queen Mary crowned. Thus, though the stream of loyalty for a while was violently diverted, (to run in a wrong channel,) yet with the speediest opportunity it recovered the right course again.

2. *The Truth of the Carriage of Sir Edward Mountagu in his Drawing up the Will of King Edward VI.*

But now in what manner this will of king Edward was advanced, that the greatest blame may be laid on them who had the deepest guilt, the following answer of Sir Edward Mountagu, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, (accused for drawing up the will, and committed by queen Mary to prison for the same,) will truly acquaint us. The original whereof under his own hand, was communicated unto me, by his great-grandchild, Edward Lord Mountagu of Boughton, and here faithfully exemplified:—

"Sir Edward Mountagu, knight, late Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, received a letter from Greenwich, dated the eleventh day of June last past, signed with the hands of the lord treasurer, the duke of Northumberland, John earl of Bedford, Francis earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Pembroke, the lord Clinton, the lord Darcy, John Gate, William Petre, William Cecil, John Cheke; whereby he was commanded to be at the Court on the morrow by one of the clock at afternoon, and to bring with him Sir John Baker, Justice Bromley, the Attorney and Solicitor-General; and, according to the same, all they were there at the said hour of one of the clock. And, after they were brought to the presence of the king, the Lord Treasurer, the marquess of Northampton, Sir John Gate, and one or two more of the Council, whose names he doth not now remember, were present.

"And then and there the king by his own mouth said, that now in his sickness he had considered the state of this his realm and succession, which, if he should decease without heir of his body, should go to the lady Mary, who was unmarried, and might marry a stranger-born, whereby the laws of this realm might be altered and changed, and his Highness's proceedings in religion might be altered. Wherefore his pleasure was, that the state of the Crown should go in such form, and to such persons, as his Highness had appointed in a bill of articles not signed with the king's hand, which were read, and commanded them to make a book thereof accordingly with speed. And they, finding divers faults, not only for the incertainty of the articles, but also declaring unto the king, that it was directly against the Act of Succession, which was an Act of Parliament, which would not be taken away by no such devise. Notwithstanding, his Highness would not otherwise, but that they should draw a book according to the said articles, which he then took them; and they required a reasonable time of his Highness for the doing thereof, and to consider the laws and statutes made for the Succession; which indeed were and be more dangerous than any of them, they did consider and remember; and so they departed, commanding them to make speed.

"And on the morrow all the said persons met, and, perusing the said statutes, there grew this question amongst them, whether it were presently treason by the words of the statute of *anno primo Edvardi Sexti*, or no treason till it were put in execution after the king's death? because the words of the statute are, 'the king, his heirs, and successors,' because the king can have no successors in his life; but, to be sure, they were all agreed that it were the best and surer way to say to the lords, that the execution of this device, after the king's decease, was not only treason, but the making of this device was also presently treason, as well in the whole council as in them, and so agreed to make their report without doing any thing for the execution thereof.

"And after Sir William Petre sent for the said Sir Edward to Ely-place, who showed him that the lords required great speed in the making of the said book; and he told him,—there were none like to be made for them, for the danger aforesaid. And after that, the said Sir Edward, with the rest of his company, went to the Court, and before all the Council, (the duke of Northumberland being not in the Council-chamber,) made report to the lords, that they had considered the king's articles, and also the Statutes of Succession, whereby it appeared manifestly, that, if they should make any book according to the king's commandment, they should not only be in danger of treason, but also their lordships all; wherefore they thought it their bounden duties to declare the danger of the laws unto them; and for avoiding of the danger thereof they had nothing done therein, nor intended to do, the laws being so dangerous and standing in force.

"The duke of Northumberland, having intelligence of their answer either by the earl of Huntingdon, or by the lord admiral, cometh into the Council-chamber before all the Council there, being in a great rage and fury, trembling for anger, and amongst his rageous talk called the said Sir Edward, 'Traitor;' and further said, that he would fight in his shirt with any man in that quarrel, (as all the whole Council being there will report,) whereby the said Sir Edward, with the rest, were in great fear and dread, in special Mr. Bromley, and the said Sir Edward; for Mr. Bromley told the said Sir Edward after, that he dreaded then that the duke would have stricken one of them; and, after, they were commanded to go home, and so departed in great fear, without doing any thing more at that time, wishing of God they had stood to it, as they did then, unto this time.

"And after the said Sir Edward received another letter dated at Greenwich the 14th of June last past, signed with the hands of the lord treasurer, the earl of Bedford, the marquess of Northampton, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lord Clinton, the lord Cobham, the lord Darcy, William Petre, John Gate, John Cheke, whereby he was commanded to bring with him Sir John Baker, Justice Bromley, and Mr. Gosnold, and to be at the Court on the morrow by one of the clock at afternoon, where all they were at the same hour, and conveyed into a chamber behind the dining-chamber there; and all the lords looked upon them with earnest countenance, as though they had not known them. So that the said Sir Edward, with the other, might perceive there were some earnest determination against them: and at length they were brought before the king himself, there being present all the whole Council.

"And the king demanded of them why they had not made his book, according to his commandment, and refused that to do? with sharp words and angry countenance; and the said Sir Edward opened unto his Highness the cause why they did it not; and he and other had before declared and opened to the Council, that if the writings were made, they were of no effect nor force, but utterly void when the king should decease, and the Statute of Succession not impaired nor hurt, for these will not be taken away but by the same authority they were made, and that was by Parliament. To that said the king, 'We mind to have a Parliament shortly;' not telling when, which was the first time that the said Sir Edward heard of any Parliament to be had. Whereunto he said, if his pleasure were so, all might be deferred to the Parliament, and all dangers and perils saved. Whereunto the king said, he would have this done, and after ratify it by Parliament. And, after, commanded them very sharply upon their allegiance to make it; and there were divers of the lords, that stood behind the said Sir Edward, said, 'and if they refused to do that, they were traitors.' And the said Sir Edward was in great fear as ever he was in all his life before, seeing the king so earnest and sharp, and the said duke so angry the day before, who ruled the whole Council as it pleased him, and were all afraid of him; (the more is the pity!) so that such cowardliness and fear was there never seen amongst honourable men, as it hath appeared.

"The said Sir Edward, being an old weak man and without comfort, began to consider with himself what was best to be done for the safeguard of his life, which was like to chance in that fury and great anger presently. And, remembering that the making of the said writing was not presently treason by the Statute of *anno primo*, because this word '*Successor*' would take no place while the king was living, and determined with himself not to meddle nor execute any thing concerning the same after the death of the king, which he hath truly kept hereunto; and also remembering that the queen's Highness that now is should come by Act of Succession, as a purchaser by the law, might not lawfully punish treason or contempt committed in the king's life, he said unto the king that he had served his most noble father many years, and also his Highness during his time, and loath he would be to disobey his commandment. For his own part, he would obey it, so that his Highness would grant to them his commandment, licence, and commission, under his Great Seal for the doing, making, and executing of all things concerning the same, and, when the things were done, that they might have a general pardon. All which commission and pardon was as much as the said Sir Edward could invent to help this danger over, and beside the things above remembered; which commission and pardon the king granted them, saying, it was but reason that they should have them both, and the commission is passed the Great Seal, and the pardon was signed and (as far as he knew) sealed.

"All the said matters considered, the said Sir Edward said, for his part, he would obey the king's commandment; and so did Mr. Bromley say the same; and the king said to Sir John Baker, 'What say you? you said never a word to-day;' who (as I take it) a reed to the same. Mr. Gosnold required a respite, for he was not yet persuaded to do the thing required. How the said duke and the earl of Shrewsbury handled him, he can tell best himself. And after, upon the said Sir Edward's motion, the king gave him licence to be advised until upon the morrow, who of himself being in great fear was content to obey the king's commandment; and so the doers and makers of the said book, with sorrowful hearts, and with weeping eyes, in great fear and dread devised the said book, according to such articles as were signed with the king's proper hand, above and beneath, and on every side. And their said commission, with articles so signed with the king's hand, and the book drawn in paper, were conveyed from the Court to the lord chancellor's, to be engrossed in parchment and to pass the Great Seal; which was done accordingly.

"And on the morrow next after the last term ended, the said Sir Edward and all the Judges were sent for; he puts his hand to the book in parchment sealed with the Great Seal, and so did many others. The said book of articles so signed remaineth with the lord chancellor, bishop of Ely; but, who conveyed the said paper-book into the Chancery, or who wrote them, or who set their hands to the same book, the said Sir Edward till he see them he cannot tell: but he will not deny but he was privy to the making of them, as he hath before said: and that he came to the knowledge of the matter by the articles unsigned, and by the articles signed with the king's hand, and both delivered unto him by the king's own hands. Who put the king in mind to make the said articles, or who wrote them, or any of them, or by whose procurement or counsel they were made, or by what means he and others were called unto this matter, he knoweth not; but he thinks in his conscience the king never invented this matter of himself, but by some wonderful false compass: he prayeth God, the truth may be known; as he doubts not it will be.

"And further, he and all his company, as well before the king as before the lords at all times, said, that their writings (before they were made, and after they were made) were of no value, force, nor effect, to any intent, constitution, or purpose, after the king's death; and there is no remedy to help this but by Parliament. And, that after the said Thursday, being the morrow after the term last past, that he by any writing, printing, overt deed or act, never did any thing since the same day, in the king's life, nor since the death of the king; for he determined with himself to be no executor of the said devise, whatsoever should chance of it; nor ever meddled with the Council in any thing, nor came amongst them, until the queen's Grace that now is was proclaimed queen in London, nor never executed commission, proclamation, or other commandment from the lady Jane nor her Council, but commanded my son to serve the queen's Grace that now is, and to go to Sir Thomas Tresham and Buckinghamshiremen that went to her Grace to defend her, which he so did to my no little cost."

The case thus stated, these notes follow, written with the same hand:—

"Now that it is to be considered the great fear the said Sir Edward was in, as well by the duke of Northumberland on the one day, as by the king on the other day.

"Also it is to be considered the king's commandment upon their allegiance, by his own mouth, and the articles signed with his Highness's own hand, and also his commission, licence, and commandment under his Great Seal to the said Sir Edward and others, for the making of the said book.

"Also the king's pardon signed with his Highness's hand.

"Also it is to be considered, that the said books were made in the king's life, seven or eight days before his death; and the queen's Highness being successor, by Act of Parliament, to the Crown, and having the same, as a purchaser, may not lawfully by the laws of the realm punish the said offence done in the king's time.

"Also the said Sir Edward hath humbly submitted himself to the queen's Highness, and to the order of the commissioners; which commissioners have ordered the said Sir Edward to pay to her Highness a thousand pounds, who hath already paid thereof five hundred pounds, and the other five hundred pounds are to be paid at the feast of All-Saints come twelve-month. And also to surrender his letters patents of lands to the yearly value of fifty pounds called Eltyngton, which he had of the gift of king Edward VI. which was all the reward he had of the said king Edward for his service, costs, and expenses.

"Also, it is to be considered, that the said Sir Edward is put from his office of the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas, being of the yearly value of six hundred marks; which office the most noble king of famous memory, king Henry VIII. gave him, in consideration of his long service, and also had six weeks' imprisonment.

"Also it is to be considered, that the same Sir Edward hath seventeen children; namely, eleven daughters and six sons: whereof one of the said sons had his leg stricken off by the knee in Scotland at Musselburgh-field, the duke of Somerset being there. And his son and heir, by his commandment, served the queen's Highness with twenty men, to the cost of the said Sir Edward of one hundred pounds, as the gentlemen of Buckinghamshire can report."

So far the late Judge with his own hand: Wherein he affirmeth that he meddled not with the council in any thing afterward, as may appear by his not subscribing the letter of the lords to queen Mary (enjoining, shall I say? or) advising her to desist from claiming the crown, whereto all the privy counsellors subscribed,* only the hand of Sir Edward Mountagu is wanting. And, seeing in the whole transaction of this matter, the obedience rather than invention of Judge Mountagu was required, not to devise, but draw things up according to articles tendered unto him, I cannot believe his † report relating, that "the king used the advice of Justice Mountagu in drawing up the letters patents, to furnish the same with reasons of law, as secretary Cecil with arguments from policy."

3, 4. *Sir R. Cholmley comes off with Loss. Sir James Hales's Honesty.*

Some will wonder that no mention herein of Sir Roger Cholmley, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and in dignity above Sir Edward Mountagu, (at this time but Judge of the Common Pleas,) that he was not employed to draw up the book. But it seems Judge Mountagu's judgment was more relied on, who had been formerly Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and deserted it. Yet the said Sir Roger Cholmley was imprisoned for bare subscribing this will, and, as it seems, lost his place for the same. For, Justice Bromley, though equally guilty with the rest, (so far favour extends in matters of this nature!) was not only pardoned, but, from an inferior Judge, advanced to be successor to Sir Roger Cholmley, and made Judge of the King's Bench.*

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* See them extant in MR. FOX's "Acts and Monuments," *anno* 1553.

† SIR JOHN HAYWOOD in his Edward VI.

Whereas Sir Edward saith, that all the Judges were sent for, and that many put their hands to the book, it intimateth that all did not, but that some refused the same; it being eminently known, to the everlasting honour of Sir James Hales, that no importunity could prevail with him to underwrite this will, as against both law and conscience.

5. *Contest betwixt two Religions.*

Eight weeks and upwards passed between the proclaiming of Mary queen and the Parliament by her assembled; during which time two religions were together set on foot, Protestantism and Popery; the former hoping to be continued, the latter labouring to be restored. And as the Jews' children, after the captivity, spake a middle language betwixt Hebrew and Ashdod, Neh. xiii. 24, so, during the aforesaid *interim* the churches and chapels in England had mongrel celebration of their Divine services betwixt reformation and superstition. For the obsequies for king Edward were held by the queen in the Tower, August 7th, with the dirge sung in Latin, and on the morrow a mass of *requiem*, and on the same day his corpse were buried at Westminster with a sermon-service, and communion in English. No small justling was there betwixt the zealous promoters of these contrary religions. The Protestants had possession on their side, and the protection of the laws lately made by king Edward, and still standing in free and full force unrepealed. Besides, seeing, by the fidelity of the Suffolk and Norfolk Protestant gentry, the queen was much advantaged for the speedy recovering of her right, they conceived it but reason, that as she by them had regained the crown, so they under her should enjoy their consciences. The Papists put their ceremonies in execution, presuming on the queen's private practice and public countenance, especially after she had imprisoned some Protestant and enlarged some Popish bishops; advancing Stephen Gardiner to be lord chancellor. Many which were neuters before, conceiving to which side the queen inclined, would not expect, but prevent her authority in alteration: so that superstition generally got ground in the kingdom. Thus it is in the evening twilight, wherein light and darkness at first may seem very equally matched, but the latter within little time doth solely prevail.

6. *Mr. Jewel pens the first congratulatory Letter to the Queen.*

What impressions the coming-in of queen Mary made on Cambridge, shall, God willing, be presented in our particular History thereof. The sad and sudden alterations in Oxford thereby are now to be handled. Master John Jewel was chosen to pen the first gratulatory letter to the queen, in the name of the University; an office imposed on him by his enemies, that either the refusal thereof should make him incur danger from his foes, or the performance expose him to the displeasure of his friends. Yet he so warily penned the same in general terms, that his adversaries missed their mark. Indeed, all, as yet, were confident that the queen would maintain the Protestant religion, according to her solemn promise to the gentry of Norfolk and Suffolk, though (she being composed of courtship and popery) this her unperformed promise was the first court-holy-water which she sprinkled amongst the people.

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* Sir Henry Spelman's "Glossary" in *Justiciarius*, page 417.

7. *Mary, the new-baptized Mass-bell in Christ's Church.*

And, because every one was counted a truant in popery who did not outrun the law, Dr. Tresham, an active Papist, and an avant-courier before authority, repaired the great bell in Christ-Church, which he new-named, and baptized Mary. And whilst Mr. Jewel was reading the letter he had penned, to Dr. Tresham, for his approbation thereof, presently that bell tolled to mass, (a parenthesis which was not in the letter,) and Tresham breaking off his attention to what was written, exclaimed in a zealous ecstasy, "O sweet Mary! how musically, how melodiously doth she sound!!!" This bell then rung the knell for that time to the truth in Oxford,—henceforward filled with Protestant tears and Popish triumphs.

8. *Alteration by Gardiner's Visitors in Maudlin College.*

Then Stephen Gardiner, visitor of Maudlin's, (as successor to William Wainfleet, bishop of Winchester, founder thereof,) sent commissioners to the college, (whereof Sir Richard Read, the chief, and Dr. Wright, archdeacon of Oxford,) whereby strange effects were produced.

1. Walter Haddon, then president of the college,* (though omitted by Brian Twine, for what cause I know not, in their Catalogue,) willingly quitted his place.

2. Thomas Bentham (that year Censor)† being required to correct the scholars for their absence from popish prayers, ingenuously confessed his sorrow for his compliance in the reign of king Henry

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* LAURENCE HUMPHREY in his Latin "Life of Dr. Jewel," page 71.

† Heylin, as an Oxford man, here again "enacts the critic," by informing our author, that Bentham was not Censor, but Dean of Magdalen's. To this Fuller replies: "I exactly followed the words of Dr. Humphrey, in his Latin Life of Jewel, page 73, *Tho. Benthamus quamvis Censor eo anno:* and I humbly conceive, that, having so good a precedent as Dr. Humphrey, president of that college, I might as well call their Dean *Censor* in English, as he doth in Latin."—EDIT.

VIII. and constantly professed that he would not accumulate sin on sin; adding moreover, that he accounted it not equal, to punish that in others which he himself did willingly and wittingly commit; and thereon was outed of his place.

3. Thomas Bickley was served in the same manner. This was he who, formerly snatching the Host out of the pix at evening-prayer, first rent it with his hands, then trampled it under his feet; and now, expelled, with great difficulty escaped into France.

4. Henry Bull, who about the same time openly in the choir snatched the censer out of his hands who was about to offer idolatrous incense therein, was likewise by the visitors put out of his fellowship.

What shall I speak of learned Laurence Humphrey, painful John Fox, studious Michael Renniger, sweet-natured John Molins, archdeacon of Paul's, Arthur Saul, Peter Morvin, Hugh Kirke, and Luke Purifie, dear brethren in Christ, all at this time forced to forsake their college? So that then Magdalen wept indeed for the loss of so many worthies. All this extremity was executed by these visitors, not as yet empowered by law, the statutes of king Edward standing hitherto unrepealed. But some are so desirous to worship the rising sun, that, to make sure work, they will adore the dawning day; and many of the Oxford scholars thought Prolepsis the best figure in their grammar to foresee what the queen would have done, and to ingratiate themselves by antedating the doing thereof.

9. *Archdeacon Wright a moderate Visitor, who afterwards recanted his Errors, and died peaceably.*

Of all the visitors in Magdalen-college, archdeacon Wright was most moderate, seeking to qualify the cruelty of the rest, as far as he could or durst appear. Blind he was in one eye, but acute and clear-sighted in his mind; and though his compliance for the present cannot be excused, yet commendable was his forwardness, that presently on the crowning of queen Elizabeth, he confessed his errors, and with a weak voice but strong arguments in his sermon, preached in All-hallows, solidly confuted the main of popish opinions. This was his last will and testament, being at the present much decayed in his body, his strength only serving him to give a solemn account of his faith. For soon after he fell sick, and, at the end of eight days, in perfect mind and memory,* peaceably departed this life. Wherefore lying Sanders † is not to be listened to, when reporting that this Wright died raving and distracted; it being usual with him to account all those staring mad who are not stark blind with ignorance and superstition. Let not Sanders be too busy in traducing God's dying servants, lest what he wrongfully chargeth on others justly befall himself, as it came to pass accordingly. For a learned pen * tells us, that he died in Ireland, *mente motus*, which if it amounts not to a madness, I understand not the propriety of that expression.

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* LAURENCE HUMPHREY, *ut prius*, page 76.

† In defence of the pope's monarchy.

10—12. *Mass set up in Corpus-Christi College. Jewel driven out of Corpus-Christi College. Peter Martyr departs the Realm.*

Pass we now from Maudlin's to Corpus-Christi College, where, behold a sudden alteration, mass being presently brought up in the place of the communion. It may seem a wonder, seeing so many superstitious utensils are required thereunto, where the papists got attiring clothes for the theatrical pomp thereof. Yet so it was, that they who to-day visibly had nothing, next day wanted nothing, for the celebration of the mass. Surely, these trinkets were never dropped down from heaven; but such who formerly had been cunning in concealing, were now forward in producing, their wicked wardrobe; and one college afforded enough, not only to suffice itself, but for the present to supply the whole university.

But, how well soever any college kept their superstitious trifles, sure I am Corpus-Christi college lost an essential ornament thereof; namely, Mr. John Jewel, Fellow therein; who, on his refusal to be present at mass, and other popish solemnities, was driven out of the college, and retired himself to Broadgates-Hall; where he continued for a short time in great danger.

It was now high time for Mr. Peter Martyr seasonably to provide for his own security, who, being by birth a stranger, and invited over hither, and placed here by king Edward VI. to be Professor of Divinity in Oxford, had the warrant of the public faith and the law of nations for his safety. Whereupon he solicited for leave to return, which was granted unto him. Well it was that he had protection of proof; otherwise, such was the enmity of the papists, and so sharp-set were the teeth of some persecuting bishops against him, that they would have made this Martyr brook his own name, and have sacrificed his life to their fury.

13, 14. *The Dutch Congregation depart into Denmark. A dear Copy of Verses.*

About the time of his departure, (pardon a short digression,) the Dutch Congregation in London was also dissolved, gaining licence with much ado to transport themselves. These, taking the opportunity of two Danish ships then lying in Thames-mouth, adventured themselves therein, even in the beginning of winter, uncertain where to get any habitation. One hundred seventy and five were embarked in one vessel; from which the other was divided with tempest, and with much danger got at last to Elsinore[*] in Denmark. Had they staid longer in England, until the queen's marriage with king Philip of Spain, (being most of them his native subjects in the Netherlands,) it had been difficult, if not impossible, for them to have procured their safe and public departure.

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* CAMDEN'S *Brit.* in the year 1583.

As for Mr. Jewel, he continued some weeks in Broadgates-Hall, whither his scholars repaired unto him, whom he constantly instructed in learning and religion. Of all his pupils, Edward Year[†] in this one respect was most remarkable, who, by his tutor being seasoned with the love of the truth, made a double copy of verses, against the superstition of the mass, which so enraged Mr. Welsh, the Censor, as I take it, of Corpus-Christi college, against him, that he publicly and cruelly whipped him, laying on one lash for every verse he had made, which I conceive were about eighty in all. Part of them I have here thought fit to insert; and, blessed be God, I may translate and the reader peruse them without any pain and peril, and not at the dear rate whereat the author composed them. I have the rather presented them, because they proved as well prophetical as poetical, comfortably foretelling what afterwards certainly came to pass.

Supplex oro Patris veniant Cœlestis ad aures
   Ex animo paucæ quas recitabo preces :
Ecce patent aditus, patet alti janua cœli !
   Ad summum votis jam penetrabo Deum.
" *Summe Pater, qui cuncta vides, qui cuncta gubernas,*
   Qui das cuncta tuis, qui quoque cuncta rapis,
Effice ne maneat longævos MISSA *per annos :*
   Effice ne fallat decipiatve tuos.
Effice ne cæcos populorum reddat ocellos
   MISSA, *docens verbo dissona multa tuo.*
Effice jam rursus Stygias descendat ad undas,
   Unde trahit fontem principiumque suum."

Respondit Dominus spectans de sedibus altis :
   " *Ne dubites rectè credere, parve puer.*
Olim sum passus mortem, nunc occupo dextram
   Patris, nunc summi sunt mea regna poli :
In cœlis igitur toto cum corpore versor,
   Et me terrestris nemo videre potest ;
Falsa sacerdotes de me mendacia fingunt,
   MISSAM *quique colunt, hi mea verba negant :*

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[*] JOHN UITENHOE *in Narratione de Dissipatâ Belgarum Ecclesiâ*, cap. 2.

[†] So I conceive his name whom LAURENCE HUMPHREY, in Jewel's Life, page 77, calls *Edvardum Annum.*

Duræ cervicis populus me mittere MISSAM
Fecit, et e medio tollere dogma sacrum;
Sed tu crede mihi, vires Scriptura resumet,
Tolleturque suo tempore MISSA *nequam.*"

"Accept, O heavenly Father, I request,
These few devotions from my humble breast!
See, there 's access, heaven's gate open lies,
Then with my prayers I'll penetrate the skies:
'Great God, who all things seest, dost all things sway,
And all things givest, and all things takest away,
Let not the present MASS long-lived be,
Nor let it those beguile belong to thee.
Thy people's eyes keep it from blinding quite,
Since to thy word it is so opposite:
But send it to the Stygian Lakes below,
From whence its rise and source doth spring and flow.'

"The Lord, beholding from his throne, replied,
'Doubt not, young youth; firmly in me confide.
I died long since, now sit at the right hand
Of my bless'd Father, and the world command.
My body wholly dwells in heavenly light,
Of whom no earthly eye can gain a sight.
The shameless priests of me forge truthless lies,
And he that worships MASS my word denies.
A stiff-neck'd people for their sins did make
Me send them MASS, my word away to take.
But, trust me, Scripture shall regain her sway,
And wicked MASS in due time fade away.'"

15—17. *Mr. Jewel's great Fall. Carnal Compliance never profits. Mr. Jewel's seasonable and sincere Recovery.*

But to return to Mr. Jewel: He had not lived long in Broadgates-Hall, when, by the violence of the popish inquisitors being assaulted, on a sudden, to subscribe, he took a pen in his hand, and, smiling, said, "Have you a mind to see how well I can write?" and thereupon underwrit their opinions. Thus the most orient Jewel on earth hath some flaws therein. To conceal this his fault, had been partiality; to excuse it, flattery; to defend it, impiety; to insult over him, cruelty; to pity him, charity; to admire God, in permitting him, true devotion; to be wary of ourselves, in the like occasion, Christian discretion.

Such as go out when God openeth them a door to escape, do peaceably depart; but such who break out at the window, either stick in the psssage, or bruise themselves by falling down on the outside. Jewel may be an instance hereof; whose cowardly compliance made his foes no fewer without him; and one the more (a guilty conscience!) within him. The papists neither loved, nor honoured, nor trusted him any whit the more for this his subscription, which they conceived not cordial, forced from him by his fear. Yea, thereby he gained not any degree of more safety; and his life being waylaid for, with great difficulty he got over into Germany.

"Rejoice not over me, O mine enemy, for though I fall, yet shall I rise again;" as here it came to pass. Coming to Frankfort, he had Dr. Edwin Sandys, (afterwards archbishop of York,) for his board- and bed-fellow, who counselled Mr. Jewel, with the joint advice of Mr. Chambers and Mr. Sampson, his bosom-friends, to make a public confession of his sorrow for his former subscription. Whereupon, on a Sunday, after his forenoon's sermon, in the congregation of Frankfort, he bitterly bewailed his fall, and heartily requested pardon from God and his people, whom thereby he had offended. Wet were the eyes of the preacher, and those not dry of all his auditors. What he fairly requested was freely given; and henceforward all embraced him as a brother in Christ, yea, as an angel of God. Yea, whosoever seriously considereth the high parts Mr. Jewel had in himself, and the high opinion others had of him, will conclude his fall necessary for his humiliation.

18. *The issueless Issue of a Disputation at Oxford.*

But, to return to Oxford, whither, about this time, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were brought to be baited in the disputation, by the fiercest papists of both universities; which worthy bishops, restrained in liberty, debarred from books, deprived of friends, and straitened for time, were brought out of the prison to dispute; and, after the end thereof, thither remanded. Here it is sad to recount those legions of taunts which were passed upon them. They who had three logical terms in every syllogism had far more railing ones after it, in following their argument, and opprobrious improving thereof against the prisoners. Wherefore, when Weston, the Prolocutor, (or obloquutor, rather,) closed all with his vain-glorious brag, *Vicit veritas*, many of the unpartial auditors conceived, that *Vicit vanitas* was a truer conclusion of the disputation; though indeed there could be no proper victory where there was no fair fight,—things not being methodized with scholastical formality, but managed with tumultuous obstreperousness. See all at large in Mr. Fox: to transcribe which would be tedious; exscribe something, imperfect; contract all, obscure. May the reader, therefore, be remitted thither for his perfect satisfaction. Only, I will add: This disputation was but a preparative or prologue to the tragedy of these bishops' deaths; as it were, to dry their bodies, the more aforehand, that afterwards they might burn the brighter and clearer for the same.

19. *Some Oxford-man invited to undertake a proper Task.*

But we leave the prosecution hereof with the impression made by the alteration of religion on every several college in Oxford, to some learned men of that university, as an office proper for them to perform; having, as their education therein, so their advantage thereby in consulting the registers of their several colleges. I have hitherto, and shall hereafter be the shorter in matters of this university, remembering two profitable precepts, for this purpose; the one, *Minus notis, minus diu insistendum:* the other, ΞΕΝΟΣ ΩΝ ΑΠΡΑΓΜΩΝ ΙΣΘΙ "Being a stranger, be not over-busy:" Who confess myself bred in another seminary of learning. Wherefore, if my tongue, long acquainted with Cambridge Sibboleth, have or shall chance to faulter in pronouncing the terms of art, or topical titles, proper to this university, I hope the reader's smile shall be all the writer's punishment. For as I heartily protest the fidelity of my affections to my aunt, and humbly request that my weakness or want of intelligence may no way tend to her prejudice, so I expect that my casual mistakes should meet with a pardon of course; and if any of her own children (which is much to be desired) will hereafter write a particular History of Oxford, I should be joyful if the best *beams* I can bring will but make him *scaffolds*, and the choicest of my corner-stones but serve to fill up the walls of his more beautiful building.

20. *Protestant Bishops withdraw themselves from the Parliament.*

We have something trespassed on time to make our story of Oxford entire, and must now go a little backward. The queen being crowned on the 1st of October, her first parliament began the fifth day following; wherein, God wot, a poor appearance of protestant bishops. For Cranmer of Canterbury was in the Tower for treason. Ridley of London, and Poynet of Winchester, were displaced on the restitution of Bonner and Gardiner. Holgate of York, Bush of Bristol, Bird of Chester, Hooper of Worcester and Gloucester, Barlow of Bath and Wells, Scory of Chichester, Ferrar of St. David's, Coverdale of Exeter, were already deprived either for being married, or delivering some displeasing doctrines. Only two protestant bishops, namely, John Taylour* of Lincoln, and John Harley of Hereford, (on what score I know not,) found the favour to be the last undone, as remaining undeprived at the beginning of the parliament, where they presented themselves according to their duty, and took their place amongst the lords. But presently began solemn mass after the popish manner; which these two good bishops not abiding, withdrew themselves, and shortly both of them died their natural deaths; Providence graciously preventing their violent destructions.

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* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," page 1410.

21. *Popery restored by the rest.*

All the rest of the bishops present in parliament, as Sampson of Coventry and Lichfield, Capon of Salisbury, Thirlby of Norwich, Bulkley of Bangor, Parfew of St. Asaph,* Kitchin of Landaff, though dissembling themselves protestants in the days of king Edward, now returned to their vomit, and the advancing of popery. No wonder, then, if all things were acted according to their pleasure, the Statute of Premunire made by king Henry VIII. and many other good laws of Edward VI. repealed, mass and Latin service with the main of popery re-established.

22. *Six Protestant Champions in the Convocation.*

But in the Convocation, which began few days after, October 18th, amongst all the clergy therein assembled there were found but six which opposed the reduction of popery; namely, 1. Walter Philips, dean of Rochester. 2. James Haddon, dean of Exeter. 3. John Philpot, archdeacon of Winchester. 4. Richard Cheyney, archdeacon of Hereford. 5. John Ailmer, archdeacon of Stow. 6. One whose name is not recorded.† Of these, Mr. Philpot, one of a fervent spirit, (but not to any distemper, as some suspect,) was so zealous against transubstantiation, that he offered, October 25th, to maintain the negative by God's word, and confound any six who should withstand him in that point: "or else," saith he, "let me be burned with as many faggots as be in London before the Court-gates."‡

23. *Weston's Railing on Mr. Philpot.*

But, October 30th, Weston, the Prolocutor in the Convocation, threatened him with the prison; adding that he was a madman, meeter to be sent to Bedlam than continue there. Philpot returned, he would think himself happy to be out of that company. "Nay, lest you slander the house," said Weston, "and say we will not suffer you to declare your mind, we are content you come into the house, as formerly, on two conditions: First. That you be apparelled in a long gown and tippet as we are. Secondly. That you speak not but when I command you." "Then," said Philpot, "I had rather be absent altogether;" and so, it seems, departed the place; and soon after, December 13th, the Convocation ended, having concluded all things to the heart's desire of the papists therein.

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* Ely and Oxford I conceive void at this time.

† Burnet calls him, "Young, chanter of St. David's."—EDIT.

‡ Fox's "Acts and Monuments," page 1413.

24. *Philpot sealeth the Truth with his Blood.*

Afterwards Philpot was troubled by Gardiner for his words spoken in the Convocation. In vain did he plead the privilege of the place, commonly reputed a part of Parliament; alleging also how Weston the Prolocutor once and again assured them, that the queen had given them leave and liberty fully and freely to debate of matters of religion, according to their own conscience. Once at his examination the lord Rich affirmed,* that the Convocation was no part of the Parliament-house; and we must believe him herein, because a lawyer and a lord chancellor: otherwise we have the statute of 8 Henry VI. "that the clergy of the Convocation shall have such liberty as they that come to the Parliament." In fine, Philpot, in defence of the truth, acted the valiant part of a martyr according to his promise, though the scene was altered from the court-gates to Smithfield.

25. *Wyat's Rising to hinder the Spanish Match. A.D.* 1554.

The match of queen Mary with Philip king of Spain was now as commonly talked of as generally distasted. To hinder the same Sir Thomas Wyat, a Kentish knight, took arms, January 20th, with a great party assisting him. Sanders saith, and that very truly, that he was *vir magnæ potentiæ*, being indeed well-born, well-allied, well-learned, well-landed, and well-loved, wanting neither wit, wealth, nor value, though at present all were ill employed by him. Indeed, this his treason may be said to fall in labour, some weeks before the full time thereof, (occasioned by a sudden fright,) and, therefore, no wonder if the issue thereof proved abortive. For Wyat, hearing that one of his dear friends was cast into the Fleet, (though for a cause unrelating to this plot, to which the party was privy,) suspected, as guilt is ever jealous, that this his friend had betrayed the design, which made Wyat anticipate the due date thereof, and break out the sooner into open hostility.

26—28. *The Queen's Herald sent unto him; almost drowned with false Directions; but all ends in Merriment.*

The queen, hearing of his commotion, sent an herald unto him to desist, which herald came to Sir Thomas's house deeply-moated round about, the bridge being drawn up, yet so that a place like a ford pretended a safe passage thereunto. On the inside thereof walked the proper case of a man well habited, and his face carrying no despair of wisdom therein. The herald asked him whether he might safely go over there; to whom the other slightly answered, "Yea, yea." But had not the strength of his horse been more than ordinary, he either had been drowned in the water, or buried in the mud.

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* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," page 1806.

The herald, hardly escaping, fills all the house with complaints, that, being an officer sent from the queen under the protection of the public faith, (having his coat, his conduct, upon him,) he should be so wilfully abused by false directions to the danger of his life by one of Sir Thomas's servants. The knight, highly offended at the fault, (as gentleman enough, and enemy to actions of baseness,) summons all his servants to appear before the herald, vowing that the offender should be sent prisoner to the queen with his legs bound beneath his horse's belly, to receive from her the reward of his wickedness.

The herald challengeth the party at the first sight of him. "Alas!" said Sir Thomas, "he is a mere natural; as will appear, if you please to examine him." "Why, sirrah," said the herald, "did you direct me to come over where it was almost impossible to pass without drowning?" To whom the other answered, "The ducks came over not long before you, whose legs were shorter than your horse's." Hereat the herald smiled out his anger, adding withal, "Sir Thomas, hereafter let your fool wear the badge of his profession on him, that he may deceive no more in this kind." But pass we to matters of more moment: Wyat courteously dismissed the herald; but, denying to desist, marched to Rochester to meet his complices out of the west of Kent, who came short unto him, as intercepted and routed, with Sir Henry Ilsley, their conductor, by the lord Abergavenny, though this loss was presently repaired.

29—32. *The Londoners' Revolt to Wyat. Wyat's Insolence, and Queen Mary's Oration. Southwark entered, and Prisons opened. Southwark left, Kingston marched to.*

For when Thomas duke of Norfolk marched down with five hundred Londoners, in white coats, to resist Wyat, and was now come to Stroud, on the other side of Rochester, the Londoners revolted to Wyat. Thus the most valiant leader cannot make his followers loyal. Yet these Londoners, false to forsake the duke, were faithful not to betray his person; which they might easily have done, if so disposed. Wyat is much elated with this supply, as more in the omen than in itself; who, concluding all Londoners of the same lump, hereby promised himself easy entrance into that city, and hearty entertainment therein.

Wyat's insolency is said to rise with his success; so that, having a treaty with some of the Privy Counsellors in his passage to London, he demanded unreasonable conditions, affirming that he would rather be trusted than trust, and, therefore, requiring the person of the queen, [and] the Tower of London to be committed unto him, with power to displace evil counsellors,—not propounded with more pride, but that with as much scorn they were refused. Mean time, February 1st, queen Mary came to Guildhall, and there made a long oration; and, indeed, if on just occasion she could not speak confidently and pertinently, she was neither daughter to her father nor to her mother. Mr. Fox addeth,* that "she seemed to have perfectly conned her speech without book;" which, if so, sounds nothing to her disgrace, some being for extemporary prayers, but none to my knowledge for extemporary policy. This her oration secured the affections of the citizens unto her, as by the sequel will appear.

Entering Southwark, he enjoineth his soldiers to offer no violence, or take any thing without payment; yet Winchester-House soon felt their fury, though such by his command (a general can but proclaim and punish the breakers of his proclamation) were made exemplary for their rapine. Then were the prisons (and Southwark is well stored with houses of that kind) set open for such as were guilty only of pretended heresy, not felony and murder. But some, who thanked him for his courtesy, refused the acceptance thereof, (a tender conscience is a stronger obligation than a prison,) because as they were legally committed they would be legally discharged.

But now all the towers of the Tower, and the tops of the square steeples near the Bridge-foot, on the other side, were planted with ordnance, (so that both church and state threatened his ruin,) ready to be discharged into Southwark, either to beat down the borough, or to force Wyat to depart; who, perceiving it impossible to force his passage into London over the bridge, and moved with the miserable moans of the Southwarkers, left their borough, Feb. 6th; and, though towards the evening, marched swiftly, silently, secretly to Kingston-upon-Thames. Speed begets speed, quickness causeth success in matters of execution; as here in Wyat's coming to Kingston before any almost had notice of his motion.

33. *The Carelessness of the Queen's Soldiers.*

But Wyat was not so much advantaged with his own expedition, as with the co-incident oversights of the queen's party, (whose carelessness and cowardice met together,) enough to destroy her cause, had not Divine Providence resolved with final success to rectify all human mistakes. First. Such set to order Kingston-bridge did their works by halves, breaking and not breaking it down, so that the substantials standing, the rest were easily repaired for Wyat's safe passage over. Secondly. Two hundred men set to defend the opposite bank quitted their station,* [at] the very sight of two pieces of ordinance planted against them. Thirdly. The queen's scouts lost their eyes, (and deserved to lose their heads,) who could not discover a body of four thousand men marching with a large train of artillery; so that the queen had notice thereof, by the Kentish fugitives, sooner than by her own scouts.

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* "Acts and Monuments," page 1419.

34, 35. *Wyat's March, how retarded. His double Design.*

But time soon gained by Wyat was as soon lost, on the accident of a piece of ordnance breaking its carriage. Now, whilst the army waited the leisure of bringing up this broken piece, (an hour to Wyat being of greater consequence than the greatest gun,) he came short of the time prefixed to such citizens as were fautors of his cause. Otherwise he had been at London in the night, (taking his enemies napping before they dreamed of him,) and all terror is most active in the dark, when the less men see the more they suspect; whereas now it was break of day before they had gotten to Knightsbridge.

Wyat had a double design, and performed them both alike: one, violently to take Whitehall; the other, peaceably to be taken into London. Captain Vaughan, with five hundred Welshmen, (and one would wonder how they could straggle into Kent,) embraced the right-hand way towards Westminster, and then wheeled away to Whitehall, his men shooting their arrows, (regardless where they lighted,) into the windows of the court, but could not force their passage into it. Wyat went directly to Charing-cross, where he met with some opposition, but continued his resolution for London.

36. *Three Tunes of London in three Hours.*

Here one might have observed, that within three hours the tongue of the multitude in London thrice altered their tunes. 1. First they cried; "A Wyat! a Wyat!" every mouth giving the alarm to the next man he met. 2. The next note was, "Treason! treason!" all suspecting that the earl of Pembroke, the queen's general, had revolted, because, hovering aloof in the fields, he suffered Wyat's van and main battle, (cutting off some of the rear,) to march undisturbed, save with one shot, from Knightsbridge to Charing-cross. 3. Their next tune was "Down with the draggle-tails! down with the draggle-tails!" And indeed no wonder if these Kentishmen, marching in the dark, to avoid discovery in the depth of winter, through dirty ways, were richly landed in their clothes, and well-fringed with mire and mud about them.

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* BISHOP GODWIN'S "Annals of England" in queen Mary, page 394.

37, 38. *Wyat stopped at Ludgate. Penitent at his Execution.*

Wyat himself marched directly up the Strand and Fleet-street, with the loss of less than twenty men; and, coming to Ludgate, promised himself entrance into the city. But there he found nothing forbid his admission save a strong gate close-shut, and well-fortified against him with men and ammunition. From that minute he went backward both in motion and success. Returning to Fleet-street, he sat down on a bench over against the Bell Savage, (an inn so called, because given by one Isabel Savage* to the Company of Cutlers,) and there, too late, began to bemoan and accuse his own rashness. Retreating to Temple-bar he was faced with some horse, and after a fight, being moved by a herald to submit himself, "Then will I yield," saith he, "to a gentleman;" and so submitted himself, say most,† to Sir Maurice Berkley; say others,‡ to Sir Clement Paston, being, in neither of them, mistaken for their gentle extraction.

Hence was he carried to Whitehall to be examined, thence to the Tower to be committed. Entering therein, Sir John Bridges, lieutenant thereof, taking him by the collar, with his dagger in his hand, "Ah traitor!" saith he, "I would stab thee myself, but that I know thou wilt be executed." To whom the other calmly replied, "Sir, now it is no mastery." Some days after, (April 11th,) he suffered penitently and patiently on the scaffold, condemning his own act; and therefore we have spoken the less against him, for speaking so much against himself. Fifty of his complices were hanged; four hundred, led with ropes about their necks, pardoned by the queen; and all things still and quieted.

39—41. *The Emperor, why jealous of Cardinal Pole. Pole at last gets leave for England; is ordained Priest, and consecrated Archbishop.*

Long since had queen Mary sent for cardinal Pole in Italy, to come over into England. But Charles the emperor, by the pope's power, secretly retarded his return, fearing it might obstruct the propounded marriage betwixt king Philip his son and queen Mary. Indeed, the queen bare Pole an unfeigned affection; and no wonder to him that considereth, 1. Their age; he being about ten years older,—the proportion allowed by the philosopher betwixt husband and wife. 2. Parentage; she being daughter to king Henry VIII. he

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* Stow's "Survey of London." † Holinshed, Stow, Speed. ‡ Fox, page 1419. § Holinshed.

(by his mother Margaret, daughter to George duke of Clarence) great grandchild to Edward IV.'s father. 3. Education; both, when young, brought up together, the aforesaid lady Margaret being governess of queen Mary in her infancy. 4. Religion; both zealous catholics, and suffering, the queen confinement, the cardinal exile, for the same. His person also and nature were such as might deserve love: and though a cardinal deacon, yet that shallow character might easily be shaved off by the pope's dispensation, so that there was some probability of their marriage; and O how royally religious would their offspring have been, extracted from a crown and a cardinal's cap!

But now, when the marriage with prince Philip was made up, Pole at last got leave for England; and to wipe away all superstition of Lutheranism wherewith he was formerly taxed, he became a cruel —that he might be believed a cordial—papist. For, meeting in Brabant with Emmanuel Tremellius, requesting some favour from him, he not only denied him relief, but also returned him railing terms, though formerly he had been his familiar friend, yea, his godfather,* giving him his name at the font, when Tremellius from a Jew first turned Christian.

Arrived in England, he was first ordained priest, being but deacon before; and then, March 22nd, consecrated archbishop of Canterbury by Heath, archbishop of York, and six other bishops, the queen herself being present thereat, in the Franciscan church at Greenwich, one of those bankrupt convents which her Grace had set up again. Three days after, he was dedicated in Bow-Church in Cheapside, where, rich in costly robes, and sitting on a gilded throne, his pall was presented unto him. Adorned herewith, Pole presently mounts the pulpit, and makes a dry sermon † of the use and honour of the pall, without good language or matter therein, (may they all make such who take for their text what is not in Scripture!) many much admiring the jejuneness of his discourse, as if putting off his parts when putting the pall upon him.

42. *England reconciled to Rome.*

Now sate the second parliament in this queen's reign; wherein she parted with her supremacy to the pope, and Pole, by his power legatine, solemnly reconciled England to the church of Rome, that is, set at open odds and enmity with God and his truth. Then did he dispense with much irregularity in several persons, confirming the institution of clergymen in their benefices, legitimating the children of forbidden marriages, ratifying the processes and sentences in matters ecclesiastical; and his dispensations were confirmed by Acts of Parliament, as in the statutes at large appear. Then was

* *Antiq. Brit. in Polo*, page 351.

† *Ibid.* page 353.

Anthony Brown, viscount Mountacute, Thirlby bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne, sent on a gratulatory embassy to pope Paul IV. to tender England's thanks for his great favours conferred thereon: a sad and certain presage of heavy persecution which immediately did ensue.

SECTION II.

TO MR. THOMAS BOWYER, OF THE OLD JEWRY, MERCHANT.

You may with much joy peruse this sad story of persecution presented unto you, whose grandfather, Francis Bowyer,* brought no fuel to these flames, but endeavoured to quench them. The church is indebted to him for saving reverend Dr. Alexander Nowell, (then schoolmaster of Westminster, designed to death by Bonner,) and sending him safe beyond the seas. Thus he laid a good foundation; to which I impute the firm standing of your family, it being rare to see (as in yours) the third generation in London living in the same habitation. May many more of the stock succeed in the same! the desire of your obliged friend,

T. F.

1. *The Disposing of the future Matter.*

We come now to set down those particular Martyrs that suffered in this queen's reign. But this point hath been handled already so curiously and copiously by Mr. Fox, that his industry herein hath starved the endeavours of such as shall succeed him, leaving nothing for their pens and pains to feed upon. "For what can the man do that cometh after the king? even that which hath been already done," saith Solomon, Eccles. ii. 12. And Mr. Fox appearing sole emperor in this subject, all posterity may despair to add any remarkable discoveries, which have escaped his observation. Wherefore, to handle this subject after him, what is it but to light a candle to the sun? or rather, (to borrow a metaphor from his book,) to kindle one single stick to the burning of so many faggots? However, that our pains may not wholly be wanting to the reader herein, we will methodize these Martyrs, according to the several dioceses, and make on them some brief observations.

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* Afterward sheriff of London, *anno* 1577.

2. *Persecution in the Diocess of Exeter.*

In the diocess of Exeter, (containing Cornwall and Devonshire,) I find but one Martyr, namely Agnes Priest,* condemned by William Stanford, then judge of the assize of Launceston, but burned at Exeter. The tranquillity of these parts is truly imputed to the good temper of James Turberville the bishop ;† one, as genteelly qualified as extracted ; and not so cruel to take away the lives from others, as careful to regain the lost livings to his church : and, indeed, he recovered, to him and his successors, the fee-farm of the manor of Crediton. Yet, to show his sincerity in religion, that he might not seem to do nothing, he dipped his fingers in this poor woman's blood ; but did not afterwards wash his hands in the persecution of any other protestant, for aught we can find in any history.

3. *In the Diocess of Bath and Wells.*

The like quiet disposition of Gilbert Bourn, bishop of Bath and Wells, secured Somersetshire. Indeed, he owed his life, under God, to the protection of a protestant ; for Mr. Bradford, at Paul's Cross, saved him from a dagger thrown at him in a tumult : and this, perchance, made him the more tender to protestants' lives. Yet in the register of his church, we meet with one Richard Lush ‡ condemned by him, though his execution doth not appear; and yet it is probable, that this poor Isaac, thus bound to the altar, was afterward sacrificed, except some intervening angel stayed the stroke of the sword.

4. *In the Diocess of Bristol.*

So also the diocess of Bristol, made up of Dorsetshire and part of Gloucestershire, enjoyed much quietness. John Holyman the bishop did not, for aught I can find, profane himself with any barbarous cruelty. But Mr. Dalby § his chancellor (as an active lieutenant to a dull captain) sent three; namely, Richard Sharpe, Thomas Benton, and Thomas Hale, to the stake, at Bristol, for the testimony of the truth. This Dalby, knowing himself to be low in parts and learning, and despairing otherwise to appear in the world, thought the only way to recommend himself to men's notice, was, to do it by his cruelty.

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* Fox, page 2052. † Holinshed, page 1309. ‡ Fox, page 2004.

§ *Ibid.* page 2052.

5. *In the Diocess of Salisbury.*

More sparks of persecution flew into the diocess of Salisbury, in Wiltshire and Berkshire, under John Capon the bishop, and Dr. Geoffrey his chancellor; for, this Doeg was worse than Saul himself. At Newbury he sent three Martyrs to heaven in the same chariot of fire; Julius Palmer, John Gwin, and Thomas Askin.* Yea, this was but a light flourish, in respect of that great blow he intended, had not heaven prevented him and many others of his bloody crew, by the death of queen Mary; whereby, to use David's phrase, God smote them on the cheek-bone, and brake the teeth of the ungodly, Psalm iii. 7.

6. *In the Diocess of Winchester.*

In the diocess of Winchester, consisting of Hampshire and Surrey, I find no great impression from Stephen Gardiner the bishop, and much marvel thereat. It may be, this politician, who managed his malice with cunning, spared his own diocess, fox-like, preying farthest from his own den. Indeed, he would often stay behind the traverse, and send Bonner upon the stage, (free enough of himself, without spurring, to do mischief,) to act what he had contrived. Yea, I may say of Gardiner, that he had a head, if not a hand, in the death of every eminent protestant; plotting, though not acting, their destruction. And, being lord chancellor of England, he counted it his honour to fly at stout game indeed; contriving the death of the lady Elizabeth, and using to say, that it was vain to strike at the branches, whilst the root of all heretics doth remain. And this good lady was appointed for the slaughter, and brought to the shambles, when the seasonable death of this butcher saved the sheep alive.

7. *The Author's Gratitude to Stephen Gardiner.*

However, as bloody as he was, for mine own part, I have particular gratitude to pay to the memory of this Stephen Gardiner; and here I solemnly tender the same. It is on the account of Mrs. Clarke, my great grandmother by my mother's side, whose husband rented Farnham Castle, a place whither bishop Gardiner retired in Surrey, as belonging to his see. This bishop—sensible of the consumptionous state of his body, and finding physic out of the kitchen more beneficial for him, than that out of the apothecaries' shop, and special comfort from the cordials she provided him—did not only himself connive at her heresy, as he termed it, but also protected her, during his life, from the fury of others. Some will say, this his courtesy to her was founded on his kindness to himself.

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* Fox, page 1940.

But, however, I am so far from detaining thanks from any, deserved on just cause, that I am ready to pay them where they are but pretended due on any colour.

8. *In the Diocess of Chichester.*

Sussex smarted more than all the fore-named counties together, under John Christopherson, bishop of Chichester. This man was well-learned, and had turned Eusebius's "Ecclesiastical History" into Latin, with all the persecutions of the primitive Christians. What he translated in his youth he practised in his age, turning tyrant himself; and scarce was he warm in his bishopric, when he fell a-burning the poor Martyrs; ten in one fire at Lewes,* and seventeen others at several times in sundry places.

9. *In the Diocess of Canterbury.*

In the diocess of Canterbury, cardinal Pole appeared not personally active in the prosecution of any to death. Whilst others impute this to his stateliness, not stooping to so small matters, we more charitably ascribe it to his favouring of the protestant party, having formerly lost the papacy under that imputation. But, seeing it is a true maxim, which a Heathen man layeth down: "It is enough for a private man, that he himself do no wrong; but a public person must provide, that those under him do no injury to others:" I see not, how the cardinal can be excused from the guilt of that innocent blood which Thornton, his suffragan, and Harpsfield, his archdeacon, shed like water in and about the city of Canterbury.

10. *In the Diocess of Rochester.*

The diocess of Rochester, containing the remainder of Kent, was of small extent. But that flock must be very little indeed, out of which the ravenous wolf cannot fetch some prey for himself; Morris † the bishop played the tyrant therein,—being the first in queen Mary's days that condemned a woman (Margery Polley by name) to be burned for religion; with many more who, at Dartford or Rochester, sealed the truth with their lives.

11, 12. *In the Diocess of London under Bonner; under Dr. Story.*

Cross we the Thames to come into Middlesex and Essex,—the diocess of London under bishop Bonner, whom all generations shall call "bloody." St. Paul mentioneth his fighting with beasts at Ephesus after the manner of men, 1 Cor. xv. 32, which some expound, his encountering with people,—*men* for their shape and sex, but *beasts* for their cruel minds and manners. In the same sense we may say, that lion, tiger, wolf, bear, yea, a whole forest of wild beasts, met in Bonner, killing two hundred in the compass of three years. And, as if his cruelty had made him metropolitan of all England, he stood not on distinction of dioceses, but martyred all, wheresoever he met them. Thus Mr. Philpot belonged to Gardiner's jurisdiction, and often pleaded in vain that Bonner was none of his ordinary: yet Bonner, ordinary or extraordinary, dispatched him, who cared not whence men came, but only whither he sent them. No sex, quality, or age, escaped him, whose fury reached from John Fetty, a lad of eight years old, by him scourged to death; even unto Hugh Laverock, a cripple, sixty-eight years old, whom he caused to be burned.

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* Fox, pages 2003, 2024.

† Query—Is MAURICE GRIFFITH the man here intended? Le Neve records him as having been consecrated April 1st, 1554.—EDIT.

Dr. Story, dean of St. Paul's,* must not be forgotten, being under Bonner a most cruel persecutor. Was not this false heraldry cruelty on cruelty? Well; so it seemed good to Divine Providence, as conducing most to the peace of the church, that one place, rather than two, should be troubled with such damnable tyrants. Bonner persecuted by wholesale, Story by retail: the former enjoined—the latter attended—the execution. What Bonner bade—Story beheld—to be performed. Yea, sometimes he made cruel additions of his own invention; as, when he caused a faggot to be tossed in the face of Mr. Denlie the Martyr, when he was ready to be burned; how he was rewarded afterwards for his cruelty, by God's blessing, in due place.

13. *In the Diocess of Norwich.*

Under the same torrid zone of persecution, (but a little more temperate,) lay Norfolk and Suffolk, in the diocess of Norwich. Bishop Hopton was unmerciful in his visitations; but Downing the chancellor played the devil himself; enough to make wood dear in those parts,—so many did he consume to ashes, whose several examinations are at large set down in the "Book of Martyrs."

14. *In the Diocess of Ely.*

Ely diocess, Cambridgeshire, succeeds; whose bishop, Dr. Thirlby, was a learned, discreet, and moderate man; witness his meek behaviour at the degrading of archbishop Cranmer, shedding plentiful tears thereat. But can water and fire, weeping and burning, come from the same person? Surely, so it did here; for afterwards he singled out John Hullier, (as the representative for all the protestants in his diocess,) whom he caused to be burned at Cambridge. The shedding his blood was as giving earnest of his zeal in the popish cause, though afterward he made no farther payment in this kind; justly offending the protestants for doing so much, yet scarcely pleasing the papists because he did no more. As for the execution of William Woolsey, and Robert Pigot, in this diocess; Thirlby was no whit interested therein; but the guilt thereof must be shared betwixt Dr. Fuller the chancellor, and other commissioners.

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* Query? for he is not in BISHOP GODWIN'S Catalogue.

15. *In the Diocess of Peterborough.*

In Peterborough diocess, (consisting of Northamptonshire and Rutland,) I find but one, John Kurde, a shoemaker, burned at Northampton. But this his death I cannot charge on the account of David Poole, the bishop, as consenting thereunto, because William Binsley, bachelor of law, and chancellor of Peterborough, was only his active prosecutor.

16. *In the Diocess of Lincoln.*

Lincoln diocess is next, the largest of the whole kingdom, containing Lincoln, Leicester, Huntingdon, Bedford, and Buckingham, besides parts of Hertford- and Warwick-shires. Now, according to the rules of proportion, who could expect otherwise, but the more men the more martyrs, the greater the province the more grievous the persecution? But it fell out the clean contrary, finding but one martyr in all that space of ground,—a merchant's servant burned at Leicester.* Frivolous is their reason who impute this to the disposition of White, bishop of this diocess, the first half of queen Mary's reign; whom they behold, as poetically given; of more fancy than fury, which vented itself in verses; more pleased to lash the heretics with a satire, than suck their blood by destructive courses. As little credit is to be given to their conceit who ascribe the following tranquillity of this diocese to bishop Watson, White's successor therein; because he was a man so buried in the speculations of school divinity, that it unactived him to be practical in persecution. I say again, both these reasons amount not to any partial cause of the peace of this diocess. For we know full well, that, after the coming-in of queen Elizabeth, this White and this Watson discovered keenness and fierceness of spirit against her, more than any other bishops; insomuch that they threatened her with an excommunication. I conceive the true cause was this: Lincoln diocess, in the reign of Henry VIII. had borne the heat of the day, when Buckinghamshire, alone, as we have formerly observed,† afforded more martyrs than all England besides God therefore thought it fit, that other dioceses should now take their turns; that this of Lincoln, harassed out before, should now lie fallow, whilst other countries, like rest-ground, should suffer persecution; whereon, indeed, "the ploughers ploughed, and made long furrows."

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* Fox, vol. iii. page 706.

† Lib. v. cent. xvi. sect. i. parag. 2, page 5 of this volume.

17. *Quiet in four Dioceses.*

The dioceses of Oxford, Gloucester, Hereford, and Worcester, under their respective bishops, Robert King, James Brook, Robert Parfew, and Richard Pates, enjoyed much quiet; it being true of them what is said of Judea, Galilee, and Samaria, after the conversion of Paul: "Then had the churches rest" throughout all those places, Acts ix. 31. This principally flowed from God's gracious goodness, who would not have all places at once equally embroiled. It is not fit that all the rooms in the house should only be chimney, furnace, or oven; but that it should also afford some other places for quiet repose. And yet I wonder much that we find no fire, and very little smoke, in Gloucestershire, seeing Brook, the bishop thereof, is charactered to be "a great persecutor of protestants."* Indeed, his fury spent itself most abroad; who, either being or accounting himself a great scholar, stickled much at Oxford against archbishop Cranmer, pretending himself to be a commissioner immediately delegate from the pope, and venting his malice against that good prelate, in two orations, only remarkable for their length and bitterness.

18. *In the Diocess of Coventry and Lichfield.*

Ralph Baynes was bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, late professor of Hebrew in Paris, who also wrote a comment on the Proverbs,† and dedicated it to Francis I. king of France. Sure I am, he forgot a passage of Solomon's therein: "But he that hath mercy on the poor, happy is he," Prov. xiv. 21: this Baynes proving a bloody persecutor of God's poor servants in his jurisdiction. The genteel birth and breeding of Mrs. Joyce Lewes was not too high for him to reach at, and the poor condition of Joan Wast, a blind woman in Derby, was not too low for him to stoop to,—condemning them both to death, with many other faithful witnesses of the truth.

19. *In the Diocess of York.*

The archbishopric of York enjoyed much peace and tranquillity under Dr. Nicholas Heath, a meek and conscientious man. It is enough to intimate his moderate temper, equal and disengaged from violent extremities, that *primo Elizabethæ*, in the disputation between the papists and protestants, he was chosen by the Privy Council one of the moderators. And, as he showed mercy in prosperity, he found it in adversity; in the reign of queen Elizabeth, though deposed from his dignity, he reposed in a peaceable quietness. So that his impotent age might rather seem seasonably eased of troublesome greatness, than abridged of any requisites for his comfortable supportation.

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* ISAACSON'S "Chronology of Bishops," page 477.

† PITZÆUS *De Angliæ Scriptoribus*, page 759.

20. *In the Diocess of Chester.*

Dr. Cotes was bishop of Chester, who washed his hands in the blood of Mr. George March, burned at Chester. At whose execution, I understand not the addition of a pitched barrel, placed above his head,—certainly to inflame the flame; but, whether out of kindness, to hasten his death, or cruelty to increase his pain, I dare not decide. Sure I am, Cotes died soon after, and Cuthbert Scot succeeded in his bishopric; one very busy about the burning of Bucer's body in Cambridge, but, otherwise, I find no persecution raised by him in his own diocess.

21, 22. *Peace in the Bishopric of Durham, and of Carlisle.*

The bishopric of Durham had halcyon days of ease and quiet, under God and good Cuthbert Tunstall the bishop thereof; a learned man, of a sweet disposition, rather devout to follow his own, than cruel to persecute the conscience of others. Indeed, he being present in London at the examination of divers martyrs, would sometimes fly out in base and unbeseeming language, (as when he called bishop Hooper "beast" for being married,) yet his passion herein may the rather be pardoned, because politicly presumed to bark the more that he might bite the less, as appeared by his courteous carriage in his own diocess. For I meet with the marginal note in Mr. Fox,* which indeed justly deserved, even in the fairest letters, to be inserted in the body of his book: "Note, that bishop Tunstall in queen Mary's time was no great bloody persecutor. For Mr. Russel, a preacher, was before him; and Dr. Himner, his chancellor, would have had him examined more particularly. The bishop stayed him, saying, 'Hitherto we have had a good report among our neighbours; I pray you, bring not this man's blood upon my head.'" But more of this Cuthbert Tunstall hereafter.

The diocess also of Carlisle was not molested with anygreat troubles under Owen Oglethorp, the bishop thereof; one qualified with a moderate temper. It argueth no less, because afterward he crowned queen Elizabeth; an office which all other bishops then stiffly denied to perform. But, to speak plain English, though the peaceableness of these northern bishoprics proceeded partly from the mildness of those that sate in the episcopal chairs thereof; yet it must be remembered, that even want of matter for persecution to work on, conduced much to the peace of those places; the beams of the Gospel being neither so bright nor so hot in these parts, where ignorance and superstition generally prevailed.

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* Vol. iii. page 958.

22. *The Singularity of the Bishop of Landaff.*

The same may be said of all Wales; where, casting over our eye, we discover no considerable persecution, under the bishops of Asaph and Bangor. But, as for the bishop of Landaff, his proceedings against good Raulins White, whom he caused to be burned at Cardiff, was remarkable, as standing alone without precedent. For he caused his chaplain to say a mass, (the first, I believe, that found out—and last that used—that way,) for the conversion of the said Raulins, though the same proved ineffectual.

24. *The Cruelty of the Bishop of St. David's.*

But Dr. Morgan, bishop of St. David's, is paramount for his cruelty, passing the sentence of condemnation on Robert Ferrar, his immediate predecessor, whom he caused to be burned at Carmarthen. We know whose counsel it was, "This is the heir: come, let us kill him, that the inheritance may be ours," Luke xx. 14. And Morgan never thought himself in quiet possession of his bishopric, whilst Ferrar was as yet in possession of his life. However, herein Morgan out-Bonnered even Bonner himself; who (though not out of pity) of policy did not himself condemn Ridley his predecessor, but procured him to be sent to Oxford, to be sentenced by others; whereas this bishop himself pronounced the sentence on Ferrar; an act which no good man could—and no wise man would—have done.

Thus have we briefly surveyed all the dioceses in England; the universities of Cambridge and Oxford only excepted; which, being peculiars, and exempt from episcopal jurisdiction, are reserved for a particular description, by God's blessing, at the end of this book. Nor do we forget, (though acted out of the continent of England,) that cruel murder in the Isle of Guernsey; where the infant, bursting out of the mother's womb, (the cruel fire being so merciful as to be the midwife, to separate and tender the innocent babe, from the condemned mother, to the charity of the beholders,) was first taken out of the fire, and then cast in again and burned with the mother thereof.*

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* Fox, vol. iii. page 747.

25, 26. *The first and last of the Martyrs. The Sacrament of the Altar, the greatest Snare to Protestants.*

In all this army of martyrs, Mr. John Rogers, burned in Smithfield, February 4th, 1555, led the van; and five martyrs burned at Canterbury, November 10th, 1558, (namely, John Cornford, Christopher Browne, John Herst, John Snoth, and Catherine Knight,) brought up the rear, according to their own prayer (not to say prophecy) at the stake,—that they might be the last; as, by God's mercy, it so proved. All these were executed in the four last years of queen Mary's reign, none suffering in the first year thereof; in which time, the butchers under her did only prepare their shambles for slaughter, whet their knives, and make ready their instruments of cruelty. Comparisons, I know, are odious, and the more when made betwixt persons of eminency. However, to such as peruse the whole story, these proportions will appear true. Of all the Marian martyrs, Mr. Philpot was the best-born gentleman; bishop Ridley, the profoundest scholar; Mr. Bradford, the holiest and devoutest man; archbishop Cranmer, of the mildest and meekest temper; bishop Hooper, of the sternest and austerest nature; Dr. Taylor had the merriest and pleasantest wit; Mr. Latimer had the plainest and simplest heart, &c. O the variety of these several instruments! O their joint harmony in a concert to God's glory!

It is observable, that the Sacrament of the Altar was the main touchstone to discover the poor protestants. Many, indeed, are the differences betwixt us and the Romish church; but on this point the examiners pinched most: haply because in other controverties, protestants (hunted after by those blood-hounds) might take covert under some tolerable distinction, and thereby evade the danger. Whereas this point of the real, corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament, the self-same body that was crucified, was such downright falsehood, it was incapable of any palliation, and was the compendious way to discover those of the contrary opinion. This neck-question, as I may term it, the most dull and duncical commissioner was able to ask; and, thanks be to God, the silliest protestant soul brought before them was able to answer; first, by denying it; then by dying in the defence of his denial.

27, 28. *Cruelty of Papists in pre-torturing Martyrs. Some Commissioners of and by themselves courteous.*

Remarkable was their cruelty in pre-torturing of many, whom afterwards they put to death; herein akin in their proceedings to Pilate,—first scourging, then crucifying Christ. By what law did Edmund Terrill first burn the hand of Rose Allen, and her body afterwards? Even by the same that Bonner first burned the hand of Thomas Tomkins, and then commanded him to be dispatched out of the way; by the same law that Cuthbert Simpson was first cruelly racked, and then burned; even by the law of their own might and malice, not having otherwise any rag of legality to cover the shame of their cruelty. Nature was merciful in appointing, that all men should "once die," Heb. ix. 27: whereas, had these tyrants had the ordering thereof, they would have made divers to have died sundry times; yea, such was their cruelty, that, after once they had eaten up God's servants, Psalm xiv. 4; if possible, they would have chewed the cud upon them the second time.

Some commissioners privately were courteous to the martyrs, who notwithstanding publicly concurred to their condemnation. It is Luther's observation, that, in Scripture, "son of man" is always taken in a good sense, but "sons of men" generally in the worst acceptation. Sure I am, take some of these men sole and single by themselves, they were well-natured, pitiful, and compassionate; but, when in conjunction with others, they became (at least by consenting) as cruel as the rest. What favour did Dr. Fuller, chancellor of Ely, offer William Woolsey, and Robert Piggot, when alone! Yet when in complication with other commissioners, [he] pronounced the sentence of condemnation upon them.

29, 30. *Ministerial Persecutors. Difference in Prisons.*

Pass we now from the *judicial* to the *ministerial* persecutors;—sheriffs, under-sheriffs, bailiffs, promoters, summoners, &c. The locusts "had tails like unto scorpions, and there were stings in their tails," Rev. ix. 10. So here, in officers, the baser the bloodier, the meaner the more malicious; though, by particular exception, some happened to be more merciful than others. Of the twin-sheriffs in London, Mr. Woodroffe and Mr. Chester, the former, like Esau, had his hands rough and hairy, being rugged and surly to God's servants; whilst Mr. Chester, Jacob-like, had smooth hands, kind and courteous to such as suffered. Thus Amrie, as I take it, the sheriff of Chester, was most cruel to Mr. George Marsh; whilst the sheriff of Staffordshire (pity it is Mr. Fox hath not recorded his name) was afterward persecuted for showing so much favour to Mrs. Joyce Lewes at her execution, when he said amen to her prayer, desiring God to "deliver this realm from papistry."*

One prison may, comparatively, be a paradise in respect of another; and generally it is the jailer puts the difference betwixt them. How passionately did poor Jeremy plead!—"Cause me not to return to the house of Jonathan the scribe, lest I die there," Jer. xxxvii. 20. And therefore he took it for a special favour to be sent to the court of the prison. How nasty a place was the dungeon of Malchiah, into which Jeremiah was afterward cast, till Ebed-melech the Black Moor drew him out thence! Jer. xxxviii. 6. Now, amongst the fruitful generation of jails in London, there were (though never a better) some less bad amongst them. I take the Marshalsea to be, in those times, the best for usage of prisoners. But, O the misery of God's poor saints in Newgate, under Alexander the jailer, (more cruel than his name-sake the coppersmith was to St. Paul!) in Lollard's Tower, the Clink, and Bonner's Coal-house,—a place which minded them of the manner of their death, first kept amongst coals, before they were burned to ashes.

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* MR. FOX, vol. iii. page 839.

31. *Dr. Geoffrey's illegal Proceedings.*

It is more than suspicious, that many of these silly souls were hurried to the stake, even against those laws which then stood in force in the realm, before the writ *de hæretico comburendo* was issued out against them. For, what the Jews said to Pilate, "It is not lawful for us to put any man to death," John xviiii. 31; the ecclesiastical censures may say to the secular power in England, "We have no power of life or limb; but the inflicting punishments on both must be devolved to the civil magistrate." Yet Dr. Geoffrey, chancellor of Salisbury, stood not on such legal niceties, but hastened them to the stake;* more minding the end to which, than the justice of the proceedings whereby, he sent them thither.

32, 33. *All the Martyrs not alike cheerful. Of those who died in Prison.*

All who met at last in final constancy manifested not equal intermediate cheerfulness. Some were more stout, bold, and resolute; others more faint, fearful, and timorous. Of the latter was archbishop Cranmer, who first subscribed a recantation, but afterwards recanted his subscription, and valiantly burned at the stake. Thus he that stumbleth, and doth not fall down, gaineth ground thereby; as this good man's slip mended his pace to his martyrdom. It is also observable, that married people, the parents of many children, suffered death with most alacrity: Mr. Rogers and Dr. Taylor may be the instances thereof. The former of these, if consulting with flesh and blood, had eleven strong reasons to favour himself; I mean, a wife and ten children: all which abated not his resolution.

Beside these who were put to death, some scores (not to say hundreds) died, or rather were killed, with stench, starving, and strait usage in prison. I am not satisfied in what distance properly to place these persons. Some, perchance, will account it too high, to rank them amongst Martyrs; and, surely, I conceive it too low, to esteem them but bare Confessors. The best is, the heraldry of heaven knows how to marshal them, in the place of dignity due unto them; where, long since, they have received the reward of their patience.

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* Fox, vol. iii. page 896.

34. *Queen Mary's Death, Life to many.*

Miraculous was God's Providence, in protecting many which were condemned to the stake. It is part of the praise of his power, "to hear the groaning of the prisoner, to loose those that are appointed to death," Psalm cii. 20. In David's expression, "there was but a step between them and death," 1 Sam. xx. 3; which step also had been stepped, had not one instantly stepped aside; I mean, the seasonable death of queen Mary. She—melancholic in mind, unhealthful in body, little feared of her foreign foes, less beloved by her native subjects, not over-dear to her own husband, unsuccessful in her treaties for peace, and unfortunate in her undertakings for war, having deceived the gentry of Norfolk and Suffolk by her false promises—was deceived herself by a false conception, and, having consumed so many of God's saints by fire, died herself by water, an hydropical tympany.

35, 36. *Protestants' Mercy for Papists' Malice. God's Judgments must warily be dealt with.*

Observable was the mercy of the Protestants to these persecutors, after the power was delivered into their hands, under the reign of queen Elizabeth; by whom none of the aforesaid tyrants were prosecuted or molested, for any act of cruelty done by them in the days of queen Mary. Nor suffered they in the least degree, on their former account, except they ran on a new score of contempt against the queen and state; as such bishops who, in the first of her reign, refused the oath of supremacy. Otherwise, all such as conformed to her government were not only permitted to enjoy their old, but admitted to new, preferment: witness Mr. Binsley, chancellor of Peterborough, who condemned John Kurde of Northampton; yet in queen Elizabeth's days had the archdeaconry of Peterborough conferred upon him. Thus, while Papists heap faggots on Protestants, Protestants, according to Solomon's counsel, Prov. xxv. 22, heap coals on them, courtesies and civilities, to melt them, if possible, into remorse.

But, though the Protestants showed much mercy to the Papists, their persecutors, yet the God of the Protestants manifested much justice in their woful and wretched deaths. I confess, God's best servants sometimes have had sad and sudden ends: witness good

Eli himself, who fell down, and brake his neck, 1 Sam. iv. 18. I confess likewise, that some wicked men, who have lived like lions, have died (to use the common country-phrase) like lambs; or, to use the expression of the Psalmist, "they have no bands in their death," Psalm lxxiii. 4; so fairly and quietly do they expire. It is not good, therefore, to be over-tampering in this particular, (our Saviour himself retrenching the censoriousness of the Jews, for falling so heavy on the memories of those on whom the tower of Siloe fell, Luke xiii. 4,) and infallibly to infer, from their fatal death, their final damnation. However, when a remarkable death suddenly follows a notorious, wicked life, even such passengers as are posting in the speed of their private affairs are bound to make a stand, and solemnly to observe the justice of God's proceedings therein; the rather, because Bellarmine, our adversary, affirmeth,* that, *infelix exitus adversariorum*, "the unhappy end of the adversaries thereof," is one of the marks of the true church. These cautions premised, take a few of many signal fatalities of these wicked persecutors.

37, 38. *God's Hand visible on many of the Persecutors. What Use to be made of the Martyrs' Sufferings.*

Morgan, bishop of St. David's, (who sentenced Ferrar his predecessor,) not long after was stricken in so strange a sort that his meat would rise up, sometimes out of his mouth, sometimes out of his nose, most horrible to behold, but more terrible to endure; and so continued till his death. Judge Morgan, who condemned the lady Jane, soon after ran mad, and so died; having always in his mouth, "Lady Jane! Lady Jane!" Dunning, the bloody chancellor of Norwich, died suddenly, taken (as some say) sitting in his chair. Berrie, the remorseless commissary in Norfolk, fell down suddenly to the ground with a heavy groan, and never stirred after. Thornton, the suffragan of Dover, looking upon his men playing at bowls, was, upon a sudden, struck with a palsy, had thence to his death-bed, and, being advised by some to remember God, "Yea, so I do," saith he, "and my lord cardinal too." Dr. Geoffrey, the bloody chancellor of Salisbury, died suddenly on a Saturday,—the day before he had appointed more than ninety persons to be examined by inquisition. Mr. Woodroffe, that cruel sheriff of London, being but a week out of his office, was so stricken by the hand of God, that, for seven years' space till his dying day, he was not able to move himself in his bed. Burton, the cruel bailiff of Crowland, was poisoned to death with the stench of a crow's dung, muting on his face. What shall I speak of Dale, the Promoter, eaten up with lice? Alexander, the keeper of Newgate, consumed with offensive rottenness? Robert Balding, smitten with lightning, at the taking of William Seaman? Clarke, who hanged himself in the Tower,—with many more? So that we may conclude with the prophecy of Moses: "Rejoice, O ye nations, with his people: for he will avenge the blood of his servants, and will render vengeance to his adversaries, and will be merciful unto his land, and to his people," Deut. xxxii. 43.

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* *De Notis Ecclesiæ*, lib. iv. cap. 17.

And now, to take our leaves of those martyrs, what remains but, 1. That we glorify God in and for their patience, "who had given such power unto men," Matt. ix. 8? 2. That we praise God, that true doctrine at this day may be professed at an easier rate than in that age. In fairs and markets, for the most part, commodities are sold dearest in the morning, which towards evening may be bought at a lower price. Sure I am, they paid most for the protestant religion at the dawning of the day from popery, (life or limb was the lowest price thereof,) which since may be purchased at a cheaper pennyworth. 3. That we embrace and defend that doctrine, which they sealed with their lives; and, as occasion shall be offered, to vindicate and assert their memories from such scandalous tongues and pens as have or shall traduce them.

39. *Parsons's Cavil against the Martyrs' Calling, answered.*

It is inconsistent with our History, here to enter the lists with that railing book which Parsons, the Jesuit, hath made against those good martyrs. Only be it remembered, that his cavil-general is chiefly at their calling, because they were most mechanics, weavers, shoemakers, &c. An exception lying as well against just Joseph, a carpenter; hospitable Simon, a tanner; zealous Aquila and Priscilla, tent-makers; attentive Lydia, a purple-seller. And is it not injurious to infer their piety to be less, because their painfulness was more? If it be farther objected, that it is improbable that these silly souls should be more illuminated with knowledge than the great doctors of the Romish church; know that Christ's birth was revealed to the shepherds in their calling, "watching their flocks by night," Luke ii. 8, and concealed from the priests and pharisees, the pretended shepherds of Israel; and God might give more light to these industrious artificers than to their idle Masters of Arts.

40. *Poverty and Piety oft go together.*

"Behold your calling," saith the apostle, "how not many wise men after the flesh," &c. "but God hath chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise," 1 Cor. i. 26, 27. And, always in time of persecution, the church is like a copse, which hath in it more underwood than oaks. For, great men consult with their safety; and, whilst the poorer sort (as having little to lose) boldly embrace religion with both arms, the rich too often do only behold it at a distance with a smiling countenance, but dare not adventure to entertain it, except with very great secrecy. We conclude all with this observation,—that such martyrs as were artificers by their vocation humbly continued in the station wherein Divine Providence had placed them, none presuming (as too many now a-days) to invade the ministerial function, not adventuring to preach, save only that their real sermon of patience at their death.

41. *A Catalogue of Confessors, with their Places of Refuge.*

So much for the first form of Christians in those days, which were martyred. A second sort succeeds of such, who, being confessors for the faith, fled into foreign parts from persecution. This their removal is not only defended from cowardice, but warranted for Christian policy, by our Saviour's precept: "But when they persecute you in this city, flee into another," Matt. x. 23. Had all fled, religion had been at a loss for champions to defend her for the present; had none fled, religion might have been at a loss for champions to maintain her for the future. We will give-in a particular, both of such eminent persons, and of the places wherein they were entertained; partly, that such places may receive their deserved praise for their hospitality to exiles; and partly, that our harbouring the banished Dutch, (flying many years after from the cruelty of duke d' Alva,) in London, Norwich, Canterbury, Colchester, and Sandwich, may appear, not so much the giving of a free and fair courtesy, as the honest paying of a due debt, and wiping-off an old score run on trust by our great-grandfathers.

1. Some seated themselves at Embden, in East-Friezland, a staple town of English merchants. I find neither the names nor number of those that harboured here; only it appears that John Scorie, late bishop of Chichester, was here superintendent of the English congregation in Embden.

2. Some seated themselves at Wesel, then in the dominions (as I take it) of the duke of Cleves, but bordering on the Low Countries, in the possession of the king of Spain. The English meeting here was rather a chapel than a church; or, rather a tabernacle than a chapel; because soon set up, and as suddenly taken down again. For they, who formerly had fled so far from Mary were now loath to live too near to Philip; and, for fear of so potent a neighbour, quickly forsook this place, and disposed themselves elsewhere, in these four following church-colonies.

3. Some seated themselves at Arrow,* a small city in Switzerland, on the banks of the river Arrola, belonging to the republic of Berne. The most noted men abiding here were Thomas Leaver, Robert Poumall, Richard Langhorne, Thomas Turpin, —— Boys, —— Willford, —— Upchaire.

4. Some seated themselves at Strasburgh, where they found most courteous entertainment. The most eminent English abiding here, as may be collected from their solemn joint subscription to a letter,† were James Haddon, Edwin Sandys, Edmond Grindal, John Huntington, Guido Eaten, John Geoffrey, John Peader, Thomas Eaten, Michael Reymuger, Augustine Bradbridge, Arthur Saule, Thomas Steward, Christopher Goodman, Humfrey Alcocson, Thomas Lakin, Thomas Crafton.

5. Some seated themselves at Zurich. This was no formed congregation of pastors and people, but rather, a flock of shepherds, and therefore the letters unto them carry this style in their superscription, "To the Students at Zurich." But behold their names: Robert Horne, Richard Chambers, Thomas Leaver, Nicholas Karvile, John Mullings, Thomas Spencer, Thomas Bentham, William Cole, John Parkhurst, Roger Kelke, Robert Beamont, Laurence Humfrey, Henry Cockcraft, John Pretio.

6. Some seated themselves at Frankfort-on-the-Maine;‡ where they found the state very favourable unto them. And this was the most visible and conspicuous English church beyond the seas; consisting of John Bale, Edmond Sutton, John Makebraie, William Whittingham, Thomas Cole, William Williams, George Chidley, William Hammon, Thomas Steward, Thomas Wood, John Stanton, William Walton, Jasper Swyft, John Geofrie, John Graie, Mighell Gill, John Samford, John Wood, Thomas Sorby, Anthonie Cariar, Hugh Alford, George Whetnall, Thomas Whetnall, Edward Sutton, John Fox, Laurence Kent, William Kethe, John Hollingham.

Here we omit their petty sanctuaries, having (like David) "places where himself and his men were wont to haunt," 1 Sam. xxx. 31; Deesburgh, Worms, &c. where their straggling numbers amounted not to the constitution of a church. If these congregations be compared together, Embden will be found the richest for substance; (there the merchants which bear the bag;) Wesel, the shortest for continuance; Arrow, the slenderest for number; Strasburgh, of the most quiet temper; Zurich had the greatest scholars; and Frankfort had the largest privileges. Nor let any wonder, if some in these catalogues, assigned to one colony, were afterwards found in another; seeing the apostle's expression, "We have here no biding city," Heb. xiii. 14, hath in it a single truth in time of peace, and at least a double one in time of persecution; men flitting from place to place, as they were advised by their own security. Know also, that, beside these, (the first founders of these several congregations,) many additional persons, coming afterwards out of England, joined themselves thereunto.

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* "Troubles of Frankfort," printed *anno* 1575, page 185.

† *Ibid.* page 23.

‡ *Ibid.* pages 20, 25.

42, 43. *A Brief Introduction to the Troubles of Frankfort. A Church at Frankfort first granted to the English.*

Come we now to set down the sad troubles of Frankfort, rending these banished exiles asunder into several factions. This, I dare say, if the reader takes no more delight in perusing than I in penning so doleful a subject, he will show little mirth in his face, and feel less joy in his heart. However, we will be somewhat large, and wholly impartial, in relating this sorrowful accident; the rather, because the penknives of that age are grown into swords in ours, and their writings laid the foundations of the fightings now a-days.

The English exiles came first to Frankfort, June 24th, and, on the 14th of July following, by the special favour and mediation of Mr. John Glauberg, one of the chief senators of that state, had a church granted unto them: yet so, as they were to hold the same in coparceny with the French protestants, they one day and the English another; and on Sunday alternately to choose their hours, as they could best agree amongst themselves. The church was also granted them with this proviso,—that they should not dissent from the French in doctrine or ceremony, lest thereby they should minister occasion of offence.* On the 29th of the same month, our English with great joy entered their new church, and had two sermons preached therein, to their singular comfort. About which time they constituted their church, choosing a minister and deacons for a time; and, out of conformity to the French, abrogated many things formerly used by them in the church of England; as, namely, 1. They concluded, that the answering aloud after the minister should not be used. 2. The Litany, surplice, and other ceremonies in service and sacraments, they omitted, both as "superfluous and superstitious." 3. In place of the English Confession, they used another, adjudged by them of more effect, and framed "according to the state and time."† 4. The same ended, the people sung a psalm in metre, in a plain tune. 5. That done, the minister prayed for assistance of God's Spirit, and so proceeded to the sermon. 6. After sermon, a general prayer for all states, and particularly for England, "was devised," which was ended with the

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* "Troubles of Frankfort," page 6.

† *Ibid.* page 7.

Lord's prayer. 7. Then followed a rehearsal of the Articles of Belief; which ended, the people sung another psalm, as before. 8. Lastly. The minister pronounced the blessing: "The peace of God," &c. or the like; and so the people departed.

What is meant by "framing their Confession according to the state and time," I understand not, (must our Confessions, as our clothes, follow the fashions of the state and place we live in?) except it be this,—that it was made more particularly, not only for sinners, but for exiles, acknowledging their present banishment, justly inflicted on them for their offences. The "prayer devised" after sermon, according to the genuine sense of the word, seems no extemporary prayer then conceived by the minister, but a set form formerly agreed upon by the congregation. Thus have we a true account of their service. Conceive it only of such things wherein they differed from the English Liturgy, not of such particulars wherein they concurred therewith; the cause (as I conceive) why no mention of reading of psalms and chapters in their congregation. These certainly were not omitted, and probably were inserted betwixt the Confession and singing the first psalm.

44—46. *Other English Congregations invited to Frankfort. Those of Zurich quickened by Importunity; but refuse to communicate with them.*

Thus settled in their church, their next care was to write letters, dated August 1st, to all the English congregations, at Strasburgh, Zurich, Wesel, Embden, &c. to invite them, with all convenient speed, to come and join with them at Frankfort. This is "the communion of saints;" who never account themselves peaceably possessed of any happiness until (if it be in their power) they have also made their fellow-sufferers partakers thereof. However, this their invitation found not any great entertainment amongst the other English church-colonies; all delaying, and some denying, to come; but especially those of Zurich were most refractory, and showed least inclination to repair to Frankfort.

This occasioned several reiterated letters from Frankfort; pressing and requiring those of Zurich "deeply to weigh this matter of God's calling, and the necessity of uniting themselves in one congregation." Let none say that Frankfort might as well come to Zurich as Zurich to Frankfort; because the English-Zurichians (though not in number) in learning and quality equalled, if not exceeded, those of Frankfort. For Frankfort was nearer to England, and more convenient for receiving intelligence thence, and returning it thither. Besides, all Christendom met at Frankfort twice a-year,—the vernal and autumnal mart: and grant there was more learning at Zurich, there were more books at Frankfort, with conveniences to advance their studies. But chiefly, at Frankfort the congregation enjoyed most ample privileges; and it was conceived it would much conduce to the credit and comfort of the English church, if the dispersed handfuls of their exiles were bound up in one sheaf, united into one congregation, "where they might serve God in purity of faith, and integrity of life, having both doctrine and discipline free from any mixture of superstition."

Notwithstanding this their importunity, those of Zurich made no other addresses to Frankfort than by dilatory letters excusing themselves from coming thither. Some saw no absolute necessity, that all the English should repair to one place; conceiving it rather safer, to adventure themselves in several bottoms, and live in distinct colonies. Others were displeased with the imperative style of the letter from Frankfort, requiring them to come thither; exceeding the bounds of counsel for convenience, into command for conscience: yea, charging recusancy herein as a sin on the soul of the refusers. They pleaded, they were already peaceably seated, and courteously used at Zurich: and, to go away before they had the least injury offered them, was to offer an injury to those who so long and lovingly had entertained them. Some insisted on the material point,—how they should be maintained at Frankfort; there being more required to their *living* there, than their bare *coming* thither. But the main was, those of Zurich were resolved no whit to recede from the Liturgy used in England under the reign of king Edward VI. and, except these of Frankfort would give them assurance, that, coming thither, they should have the full and free use thereof, they utterly refused any communion with their congregation.

SECTION III.

TO THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR HENRY WROTH, KNIGHT.

SIR,

IT is my desire fitly to suit my Dedications to my respective patrons, that what is wanting in the worth of the present may be partly supplied in the properness thereof; which made me select this parcel of my History for your patronage. I find Sir Thomas Wroth, your great-grandfather, of the bedchamber and a favourite to king Edward VI. who, as I am informed, at his death passed out of the arms of him, his faithful servant, into the embraces of Christ, his dearest Saviour. Soon after Sir Thomas found a great change in the English Court, but no alteration (as too many did to their shame) in his own conscience, in preservation whereof he was fain to fly beyond the seas. To be a fugitive, is a sin and shame; but an honour, to be a voluntary exile for a good cause. Hence it is that I have seen, in your ancient house at Durance, the crest of your arms,* with the extraordinary addition of *sable wings*, somewhat alluding to those of bats, to denote your ancestor's dark and secret flight for his safety. However, God brought him home again, on "the silver wings of the dove," when peaceably restoring him, in the days of queen Elizabeth, to his large possessions. In a word: I may wish you and yours less mediate trouble than he had in the course of his life, but cannot desire you more final happiness in the close thereof.

T. F.

1. *Mr. Knox chosen constant Minister at Frankfort.*

About this time Mr. John Knox came from Geneva, and was chosen by the congregation of Frankfort for their constant minister. Let none account it incongruous, that, among so many able and eminent English divines, a Scotchman should be made pastor of the English church, seeing Mr. Knox's reputed merit did naturalize him (though a foreigner) for any protestant congregation. At which time also Mr. Chambers and Mr. Edmond Grindal came thither as agents, with a letter from the congregation of Strasburgh. This Strasburgh, as, in the position thereof, it is almost seated in the just midway betwixt Zurich and Frankfort; so the English there residing embraced a moderate and middle expedient, betwixt the extremities of the two foresaid congregations. These made a motion, "that they might have the substance and effect of the Common-Prayer Book, though such ceremonies and things, which the country could not bear, might well be omitted."† Knox and Whittingham asked them, what they meant by "the substance of the book;" and whilst the other wanted commission to dispute the point, the motion for the present came to no perfection.

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* Namely, a lion's head erazed.

† "Troubles of Frankfort," page 24.

2. *The Liturgy of England tendered to Mr. Calvin, and his Censure thereof.*

However, it gave occasion that Mr. Knox and others in Frankfort drew up in Latin a platform, or description of the Liturgy, as used in England under king Edward, and tendered the same to the judgment of Mr. Calvin in Geneva, to pass his sentence thereon. This is that Mr. Calvin whose care of all the churches is so highly commended by some; and as much censured is he by others, as "boasting himself in another man's line," and meddling with foreign matters which did not belong unto him. Take Mr. Calvin's judgment herein from his own letter, bearing date January 20th following: "In the Liturgy of England, I see there are many tolerable foolish things; by these words I mean, that there is not that purity which were to be desired. These vices, though they could not at the first day be amended, yet, seeing there was no manifest impiety, they were for a season to be tolerated. Therefore it was lawful to begin of such rudiments or *a-be-ce-daries;* but so that it behoved the learned, grave, and godly ministers of Christ to enterprise further, and to set forth something more filed from rust, and purer." This struck such a stroke, especially in the congregation of Frankfort, that some therein, who formerly partly approved, did afterward wholly dislike; and more, who formerly disliked, did now detest, the English Liturgy.

3—5. *Dr. Cox and Others arrive at Frankfort. The Senate of Frankfort interpose for Knox. Mr. Knox accused of High Treason, and departs from Frankfort.*

In this case stood matters in Frankfort, when Dr. Richard Cox, with some of his friends out of England, arrived there. This Doctor was a man of a high spirit, deep learning, unblamable life, and of great credit amongst his countrymen; for he had been tutor unto Edward VI. And well may the nurse herself be silent, whilst the well battling of the babe pleads aloud for her care and diligence; as here the piety and pregnancy of his prince-pupil added much to Dr. Cox's deserved reputation. He, with others, coming into the congregation, March 13th, discomposed the model of their service; first, answering aloud after the minister; and, on the Sunday following, one of his company, without the consent and knowledge of the congregation, got up into the pulpit, and there read all the Litany.* Knox, highly offended hereat, in the afternoon, preaching in his course out of Genesis, of Noah's nakedness in his tent, took occasion sharply to tax the authors of this disorder, avowing many things in the English book to be superstitious, impure, and imperfect; and that he would never consent they should be received into the congregation.

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* "Troubles of Frankfort," page 38.

Here I omit many animosities and intermediate bickerings betwixt the opposite parties; especially at one conference, wherein Dr. Cox is charged to come with his inartificial argument *ab authoritate, Ego volo habere*,* "I will have it so." In fine, Knox's party, finding themselves out-voted by Dr. Cox's new recruits out of England, got one voice on his side, which was louder and stronger than all the rest; I mean, the authority of the senate of Frankfort, interposing on his behalf: and, Mr. John Glauberg, principal procurer of their congregation, (as is aforesaid,) publicly professed, that if the reformed order of the congregation of Frankfort were not therein observed, "as he had opened the church-door unto them, so would he shut it again."†

"The wringing of the nose," saith wise Agur, Prov. xxx. 33. "bringeth forth blood; so the forcing of wrath bringeth forth strife." See here the Coxian party, depressed, embrace a strange way to raise themselves, and accuse Knox to the state for no less than high treason against the emperor in an English book of his, entitled, "An Admonition to Christians;" first privately preached in Buckinghamshire, and now publicly printed to the world. Eight places therein were laid to his charge: the seven last may well be omitted, the first was so effectual to the purpose, wherein he called the emperor, "no less an enemy to Christ than was Nero." Strange, that words spoken some years since, in another land and language, against the emperor, to whom Knox then owed no natural allegiance, (though since a casual and accidental one, by his removal into an imperial city,) should, in this unhappy juncture of time, be urged against him, by exiles of his own religion, even to no less than the endangering of his life. But, what said Rachel of Leah? "With great wrestlings have I wrestled with my sister, and I have prevailed," Gen. xxx. 8: with *great* rather than *good* wrestlings. Such, too often, is the badness of good people, that, in the heat of passion, they account any play to be fair-play, which tends to the overturning of those with whom they contend. Hereupon, the state of Frankfort (as an imperial town, highly concerned to be tender of the emperor's honour) willed Knox to depart the city; who, on March 25th, 1556, to the great grief of his friends and followers, left the congregation.

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* "Troubles of Frankfort," page 40.

† *Ibid.* page 43.

6—8. *Officers chosen in the new-modelled Congregation. Whittingham heads the opposite Party. Arbitration refused by the Party of Dr. Cox.*

After the departure, or rather the driving away, of Mr. Knox, Dr. Cox and his adherents clearly carried all, and proceeded to the election of officers in their congregation.* But, first, for a fit title for him that was to take charge of their souls; then for a proper person for that title. 1. Bishop (though first in nomination) was declined, as improper, because here he had no inspection over any diocess, but only a cure of a congregation; on which very account Mr. Scorie, (though formerly bishop of Chichester,) when preacher to the congregation of Embden, took upon him the title of "superintendent." 2. Superintendent was here also waved, as the same in effect; only a bad Latin word instead of a good Greek. 3. Minister also was misliked for the principal preacher, though admitted to signify his *assistants;* perchance, as a term of too much compliance with the opposite party. 4. Pastor at last was pitched upon, as freest from exception, most expressive of the office, and least obnoxious to offence.

Then was Mr. Whitehead chosen their pastor;† yet so as two ministers, four elders, and four deacons, were joined to assist him. And, because this was then as well an university as a congregation of the English, Mr. Horne was chosen Reader of the Hebrew, Mr. Mullings of the Greek, and Mr. Traherne was made Lecturer of Divinity. In this new-modelled congregation, I find no office by name assigned unto Dr. Cox, (more honour for him to make all than to be any officer,) who was virtually influential upon all, and most active (though not in the doctrinal) in the prudential part of church-government.

As for "the oppressed congregation," (so their opposites style themselves,) it was headed by William Whittingham, one (though of less authority, yet) of as much affection to the cause as Knox himself. This party continued their dislike to the Liturgy, calling it "the Great English Book," offended, it seems, with the largeness thereof.‡ And they affirmed, (may the report lie on the reporters to avouch it!) how Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, did present a book of prayer, a hundred times more perfect than the Liturgy used in king Edward's days, yet the same could not take place; because he was matched with so wicked a clergy, in convocation with other enemies." § Besides this their old grudge against the Common Prayer, they were grieved afresh, in this election of new officers in the English congregation, that their old officers were neither legally continued, nor fully discharged, nor friend-like consulted with, nor fairly asked their consent; but no notice at all taken of them.

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* "Troubles of Frankfort," page 31.

† *Ibid.* page 52.

‡ *Ibid.* page 40.

§ *Ibid.* page 43.

In a word, never arose there a greater "murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews, because their widows were neglected in their daily ministrations," Acts vi. 1, than here a heart-burning, in the Whittinghamian against the other party, for the affront offered to their old officers, in this new election.

Here, Aug. 17th, a moderate motion was made—that the difference might be compromised, and referred to arbitrators, which should be equally chosen on both sides. To this Dr. Cox's party would in no wise consent; whether because those pretended arbiters would be no arbiters, but parties, and widen the wound by dressing of it; or because, being already possessed of the power, they would not divest themselves of the whole to receive but part again from the courtesy of others. However, this party lost much reputation by the refusal. For, in all controversies, that side recusant to submit itself to a fair arbitration, contracts the just suspicion, either that their cause is faulty, or the managers thereof froward and of a morose disposition. In fine, as when two swarms of bees daily fight in the same hive, the weakest grow so wise as to seek themselves a new habitation; so here, Whittingham and his adherents resolve to depart, and to seek their several providences in another place.

9, 10. *The two Parties part asunder. The Names of such as went to Geneva.*

But, alas! these two sides had a sad parting blow. "The oppressed congregation" complained, that, instead of their *Vale*, they had a volley of ill words discharged at them; amongst which, none so mortal to their reputation as the word "schismatic," wherewith the Coxians branded them at their departure. Much fending and proving there was betwixt them, whether "schismatic" was properly applicable to such who, agreeing in doctrine, dissented only in superfluous ceremonies. In conclusion, nothing was concluded amongst them as to agreement. And now, no pity showed at their departure, no sending of sighs or shedding of tears, on either side; the one being as glad of the room they left, as the other were desirous of their own removal.

If any be curious to know the names of such who separated themselves from this congregation of Frankfort, this ensuing catalogue will acquaint him therewith:* William Williams, William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Christopher Goodman, Thomas Cole, John Fox, Thomas Wood, William Kethe, John Kelke, John Hilton, Christopher Soothous, Nicholas Purfote, John Escot, Thomas Grafton, William Walton, Laurence Kent, John Hellingham, Anthonie Carier. Of these, Mr. Fox, with a few more, went to Basil; the rest settled themselves at Geneva, where they were all most courteously entertained. And now, who can expect less but that those still remaining at Frankfort, as the same in opinion, should be the same in affection, and live in brotherly love together? But, alas! man, while he is man, will be man; and satan, the sower of tares, did set a sad dissension betwixt them, which we come now to relate.

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* Taken out of their subscription to a letter, in "the Troubles of Frankfort," page 47.

11—13. *The sad Difference betwixt Mr. Ashley and Mr. Horne. Horne and the Elders, in Discontent, quit their Places; whereat the Church is highly offended. A. D.* 1557.

There was an eminent member of the congregation in Frankfort, Mr. Ashley by name, one of a worshipful degree,* and (as it seems) of a spirit (not to say stomach) no whit beneath his extraction. Now, Jan. 14th, there happened some high words at supper betwixt him and Mr. Horne, then pastor of the congregation; yet so that all the difference, by the seasonable mediation of the guests, was then seemingly composed. But, two days after, Mr. Ashley was convented before the elders; where it was laid to his charge, that, at the time and place aforesaid, he had spoken words slanderous to them and their ministry. Ashley appealed from them, as an adversary part against him, (and therefore no competent judges,) unto the whole congregation, (as men of estimation with both parties,) to hear and determine the difference betwixt them.

Hereat Mr. Horne and the elders were highly offended, pleading that they had received authority from the whole church to hear and decide such cases, and were resolved not to depart with the power, so legally delegated unto them. And whereas many meetings were made of Mr. Ashley's friends to debate his business, Mr. Horne and the elders condemned them, as tending to schism; accounting their own presence so of the quorum to any lawful assembly, that, without it, all conventions were conventicles. Yea, Mr. Horne and the elders, perceiving that Mr. Ashley's friends (being most numerous in the congregation) would bring his cause to be determined by the diffusive church, fully and freely forsook their ministry and service therein, Feb. 2nd; preferring rather willingly to un-pastor, and dis-elder themselves, than to retain the place without the power, title without the authority, due thereunto.

This deserting of their duty was, by others, interpreted a high contempt of the congregation; especially when, two days after, a full church met with an empty pulpit, wherein none to teach the people. The Ashleyans (being far the major part) took exception that Horne and the elders should so slightly and suddenly quit what before they had so seriously and solemnly accepted; as if their pastoral charges were, like their clothes or upper-garments, to be put off at pleasure, to cool themselves in every heat of passion. Besides, these men, being married in a manner to their ministerial functions, could not legally divorce themselves without mutual consent, and the church's approbation thereof.

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* "Troubles of Frankfort," page 55.

14—16. *Inquiry how to proceed against the Pastor and Elders, if accused. Mr. Chambers accused of Injustice. The Scandal of this Dissension.*

Soon after the state of the controversy was altered, Mr. Ashley's business being laid aside, and another of a higher concernment taken up in the room thereof; namely, how the congregation should proceed against the pastor and elders, in case they were accused for misdemeanour. For hitherto no provisions were made, in the constitutions of this church, to regulate this case, if chancing to occur: Whether, because the compilers of those constitutions charitably presumed on the integrity of all such officers, or omitted the making any law against them, in favour to themselves, (as most probable to obtain such places,) or because no canons can at once be completed, but a reserve must be left for the additions of others to perfect the same. But now, Feb. 14th, eight were appointed to regulate the manner of the proceeding of the congregation against pastor and elders, if peccant, who were without (or rather above) censure, according to the old discipline; which still inflamed the anger of Mr. Horne and his party.

A party much advantaged by Mr. Chambers's siding therewith, because he was keeper of the charity conferred on, and contributions collected for, the congregation. Now, where goeth the purse, there goeth the poor; most in want were of Horne's side, in the hope of the larger relief. This made others complain of Chambers, as an unjust steward of the church's treasure, too free to such as he affected, and bountiful only of taunts and ill terms to those of a different judgment, making neither men's need nor deserts, but only his own fancy, the direction of his distributions.

Now began their brawls to grow so loud, that their next neighbours overheard them; I mean, the state of Frankfort took notice thereof, to the shame of all, and the grief of all good in the English nation. For how scandalous was it that exiles of the same country, for the same cause, could not agree together! But man in misery, as well as "man in honour, hath no understanding." Yea, they began to fear, lest many Dutchmen, hitherto their bountiful benefactors, should for the future withdraw their benevolences, conceiving these exiles wanted no money, who had such store of animosities, and probably poverty would make them more peaceable amongst themselves. Their discords were the worse, because the vernal mart at Frankfort did approach; and it would be welcome ware, and an useful commodity for popish merchants meeting there, to carry over into England, and all the world over, the news of their distractions.

17, 18. *By the Magistrate interposing, they are made short Friends. New Discipline makes new Distractions.*

Hereupon the magistrate of Frankfort interposed to arbitrate their differences; but whether of his own accord, or by the secret solicitation of others, is uncertain. Sure it is, both parties solemnly disavowed any secret practice to procure the same. Feb. 28th, the magistrate interposed in his counsels rather than commands, appearing very upright, and unbiassed to either party. For, though at first he seemed to favour Horne and his complices, out of that general sympathy which a magistrate beareth to all public officers; yet afterwards quitting their cause, he bent all his endeavours to make a reconciliation. By his edict it was ordered, that the former pastors were put out of the functions, and made private men; that new ones, or the same again, (if the church so pleased,) were to be chosen in their rooms; that the treasure of the congregation should be kept jointly and distributed by the deacons, who, at an appointed time, should account for the same to the minister and elders. And the day after, March 1st, leave was given them to devise a new discipline (with convenient speed) amongst themselves, and tender the same, when drawn up, to the magistrate for his ratification. In fine, all seemingly were made friends, in token whereof they (both parties) joined hands together.

Soon after, fifteen were appointed to draw up a form of new discipline. But this new discipline occasioned new grudges, or rather revived the old ones. Though short the book, it was long before fully finished, because such as were concerned therein drew the sheets thereof several ways. Some would have the old discipline stand still in full force, others would have it only altered, others totally abolished. When the discipline was new drawn up, some required months, and the most moderate more days, of deliberation before they would subscribe it. In conclusion: whereas the whole congregation of Frankfort consisted then but of sixty-two, (understand them masters of families, beside women, children, and servants,) forty-two subscribed this new discipline, March 30th, and the rest refused.

19—21. *Mr. Horne and his Party protest against it. The Matters put to Moderators. A kind of Agreement made.*

Presently they proceeded to the election of new pastors and ministers; when Mr. Horne, issuing into the church with his party, cast a bundle of paper-bills on the table standing in the middle of the church: a table surely set there, not for the inflaming of discords, but the celebration of that sacrament which should cement them all in a comfortable communion. Those bills contained their refusals to concur in this election, because they could not in their consciences allow the discipline whereby it was made. However, the rest went on with their choice: and no one, saving Mr. Wilford, being formerly of the ministry, was now again elected. Whereof this reason was rendered, because they with Mr. Horne had willingly relinquished their functions, and it was but just to take that from them which they cast away from themselves. Besides, it is said, that some of them gave it out,—that if they should be re-elected they would not accept thereof.

Hitherto we have had no mention for a long time of Dr. Cox; and it may seem much, that the activity of his spirit should be so long concealed; which makes some presume him absent all the while. But let such know, that Dr. Cox engaged in the former controversy, in defence of the Liturgy, set forth in king Edward's reign, as concerning his sovereign's honour and general interest of the English church concerned therein; whereas he hitherto stood neuter in this difference of Mr. Horne and his complices, as beholding it of narrower extent and less consequence betwixt particular persons. Whereupon the magistrate of Frankfort, (not at leisure himself, because of the business of the mart, to examine the matter,) appointed him, with Dr. Sandys, and Richard Berty, Esq. as men of estimation with both parties, to hear and determine the difference betwixt them.

By the powerful mediation of which umpires, they were persuaded into some tolerable agreement, though it was no better than a palliate cure. But I am weary of their dissensions, and therefore proceed to some more acceptable subject. Only let me add, that this whole story of their discords, with the causes and circumstances thereof, is taken out of "The Troubles of Frankfort," a book composed in favour of the opposers of the English discipline; and when the writer is all for the plaintiff, the discreet reader will not only be an unpartial judge, but also somewhat of an advocate for the defendant.

22, 23. *The wonderful Providence in the Maintenance of these poor Exiles. Yet Something they carried over with them.*

It is no less pleasant to consider, than admirable to conceive, how these exiles subsisted so long, and so far from their native country, in so comfortable a condition; especially, seeing Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, solemnly vowed so to stop the sending of all supplies unto them, that, "for very hunger they should eat their own nails, and then feed on their fingers' ends." But threatened folk live long; and before these banished men were brought to that short bill of fare, the bishop was first all eaten up of worms himself. To reduce their subsistence within compass of belief, let the following particulars be put together.

Most of these clergy-exiles were men well preferred in king Edward's reign. These as they were dissuaded by the due consideration of their ever-living God from being solicitously over-carking for the future, so were they advised by their daily beholding of their consumptionish and ever-dying king to be providentially careful for the time to come. This made them make hay in the sun-shine; and then got they good feathers, wherewith afterwards they did fly beyond the seas.

24, 25. *The Bounty of the banished Gentry to their Fellow-Sufferers; and of the Londoners unto them.*

Some persons of much worship and wealth were amongst them, who bountifully communicated to the necessities of others. Of these the principal:—

Sir John Cheke,* of whom largely hereafter; Sir Richard Morisin of Cashiobury in Hertfordshire; Sir Francis Knollys, afterwards Privy Counsellor to queen Elizabeth; Sir Anthony Cook, father-in-law to Cecil after Lord Burghley, and famous for his learned daughters; Sir Peter Carew, renowned for his valour in Ireland, where he died, *anno* 1576; Sir Thomas Wroth, richly landed at and nigh Durance in Middlesex; Dame Dorothy Stafford, afterwards of the bedchamber to queen Elizabeth; Dame Elizabeth Berkeley.

These, accounting all their fellow-sufferers their fellows, forgot themselves to remember the afflictions of Joseph; being advanced so much the higher in the esteem of all who were wise and virtuous, by how much they degraded themselves in their helpful condescension to their inferiors.

Many pious persons residing in England, but chiefly in London, (which commonly counterpoiseth the charity of all the land besides,) were very free towards their relief. Some of these, conscious to themselves of cowardly compliance with the superstitions of the times, hoped in some degree to lessen their offence, by their liberality to such exiles as were more constant and courageous than themselves in the cause of the truth. And although great the distance betwixt London and Zurich, yet merchants have long arms, and by their bills of exchange reach all the world over. Richard Springham and John Abel, merchants of London, gave much, and sent more to their support, as being entrusted to make over the gifts of many good people, utterly unknown to such as received them.

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* HUMPHREY in his large Latin "Life of Jewel," page 88.

That is the best charity, which, Nilus-like, hath the several streams thereof seen, but the fountain concealed. Such silent and secret bounty, as good at all times, to avoid vain-glory, is best in bad times, to prevent danger. As for Thomas Eaton, a London merchant, but living in Germany, he was, saith my author,* *communis hospes*, "the host-general" of all English exiles; thanks (and that forced on him against his will) being all the shot his guests paid at their departure.

26—28. *Foreign Liberality unto them; improved by their own Industry, and by God's Blessing above all.*

The king of Denmark, Henry prince palatine of Rhine, Christopher duke of Wirtenburg, Wolfgang duke of Bipont, &c. with all the states and free cities wherein the English sojourned, were very bountiful unto them. So were the Dutch divines, especially those of Zurich; and take them in order as my foresaid author nameth them: Bullinger, Pellican, Bibliander, Simler, Wolfius, Lavater, Zuinglius, whose short stipends would scarce reach to maintain themselves; and yet their thrift and charity stretched them so as therewith also to relieve others. Nor let learned Gesner be forgotten, that great natural historian, and no less loving of men, than knowing in beasts, fowls, and fishes. As for Peter Martyr, he had a petty college in his house at Strasburgh, (whereof Mr. Jewel was the vice-master,) wherein most of the clergy paid (if any) easy rates for their diet therein.

Some of the English scholars subsisted partly by their own pains, —the making of books, the copies whereof were very beneficial unto them. Say not, "This argued salable souls (savouring more of the stationer than the scholar) to sell their books;" yea, that "it was a kind of Simony in them to make profit of those their parts which God had freely bestowed upon them." For as it betrayeth a mercenary mind, in those who, having plenty themselves, will sordidly contract for their copies, so such authors who are in want are faulty in being wanting to their own just relief, if neglecting moderate benefit by their own endeavours. Thus John Bale much advantaged himself, by his folio edition of his "Centuries." Mr. Fox gained by his first (and least Latin) "Book of Martyrs." Mr. Laurence Humphrey was no loser by his making and setting forth his three books *De Nobilitate*, which he entitled *Optimates*, as by translating PHILO *De Nobilitate*, and ORIGEN *De Rectâ Fide*, out of Greek. Others employed themselves in overseeing and correcting the press, especially about the English Bible, with the Geneva notes thereon.

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* HUMPHREY, *ut prius*.

Such sums attained by their own industry, though small in bulk, were great in blessing, a Divine benediction being always invisibly breathed on painful and lawful diligence. Thus the servant employed in making and blowing of the fire, (though sent away thence as soon as it burneth clear,) oft-times getteth by his pains a more kindly and continuing heat, than the master himself, who sitteth down by the same; and thus persons industriously occupying themselves, thrive better on a little of their own honest getting, than lazy heirs on the large revenues left unto them.

29. *Queen Mary's Sickness, believed, enlivens the Credit of English Exiles.*

One thing much kept up the credit of the English exiles, with the merchants and bankers beyond the seas; namely, the certain and constant report of queen Mary's decaying condition, daily consuming though increasing, wasting though swelling, with an hydropical distemper, which could not be kept so close under the key of confession, but that it became the public discourse at home and abroad. And although many reports of queen Mary's death were shot out at random, (whereof one, some months after, hit the mark,) and the same were proved to be false, yet thereby the news of her sickness gained a general belief. This gave reputation to such English in Germany as were known to be possessed of estates in their own country, enabling them with trust to borrow convenient sums from any creditors, who would make probable adventures for their advantage, beholding the English very responsible in an approaching reversion.

30—32. *Sir John Cheke's unprosperous Return; recanteth (orally) and died for Grief thereof. History rectified in his Parentage, Parts, and Posterity.*

So much of our English exiles, whom our pen will shortly handle under a better notion. Return we to Sir John Cheke, lately mentioned, with a promise to enlarge his story, though so sad in itself we would willingly (but for wronging of the truth) have buried the same in silence. Well and welcome, loved and respected, was this knight at Strasburgh, when he would needs return for Brabant *ut uxorem duceret*, " to marry a wife," saith the printed Sleidan, but by mistake, (for he was married some years before, to a lady which long survived him,) instead of *ut uxorem educeret*, " that he might fetch forth and bring home his wife," lately it seems, come out of England into the Low Countries. He is said first to have consulted the stars,* (would he had not gone so high, or else gone higher for his advice,) being too much addicted to judicial astrology. Now, whether here the error was in the art itself, as false and frivolous, or in his misapplying the rules thereof, (not well understanding the language of the stars,) more sure it is, his journey had sad success. For in his return from Brussels to Antwerp, no whit secured by his own innocence, nor by the promise of the lord Paget, nor by the pledging of Sir John Mason for his public protection, nor by the intercession of his friend Feckenham (abbot of Westminster) to queen Mary, he (with Sir Peter Carew) was beaten from his horse, tied hand and foot to the bottom of a cart, thence conveyed hoodwinked to the next haven, and so shipped over under hatches unto the Tower of London.

Here all arts were used on him, which might prevail to drive or draw an easy soul, surprised on a sudden, to make him renounce his religion, until hard usage in prison, joined with threatenings of worse, and fair promises on his submission, drew from his mouth an abrenunciation of that truth which he so long had professed and still believed, and thereupon was restored to his liberty, but never to his contentment. For such is the tyranny of papists, that they are not satisfied to take men's consciences captive by their cruelty, except also they carry them about in public triumph, as here Bonner got Sir John Cheke, unawares, to sit in the place where godly martyrs were condemned.† And although he then did nothing, but sit still, sigh, and be silent; yet shame for what he had done, sense of what others suffered, and sorrow that his presence should be abused to countenance cruelty, brought him quickly, Sept. 13th, to a comfortable end of a miserable life, as carrying God's pardon and all good men's pity along with him.

Since his death, his memory hath done some penance, (I say not, to satisfy the failings in his life,) being wronged in his parentage, abused in his parts, and mistaken in his posterity. For the first, a learned pen‡ (but too free in dealing disgraceful characters on the subjects thereof) styleth him a man of mean birth, and generally he is made only the son of his own deserts. Whereas Mr. Peter Cheke, Sir John's father, living in Cambridge, (where Sir John was born, over against the cross in the market-place, and where, by the advantage of his nativity, he fell from the womb of his mother into the lap of the Muses,) was descended of the family of the Chekes of Moston in the Isle of Wight, (where their estate was about three hundred pounds a-year, never increased nor diminished till sold outright some twenty years since,) out of which Richard Cheke, in the reign of king Richard II. married a daughter of the lord Mountagu. As for Duffield, his mother, she was a discreet and grave matron, as appeared by the good counsel and Christian charge she gave this her son, when coming to take his farewell of her, and betake himself to prince Edward's tuition.* For his parts, the foresaid author, with the same breath, termeth him, "so far as appears by the books he wrote, pedantic enough;" that is, too much, to such as understand his Meiosis. But had he perused all his works, and particularly his "True Subject to the Rebel," he would have bestowed a better character upon him. Another writer can find "no issue left of his body, saving one son bearing his father's name;"† whereas he had three sons by his wife, as appears on her monument in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields: 1. Henry the eldest, secretary to the Council in the North, who, on Frances Ratcliffe, sister to the last earl of Sussex of that family, begat Sir Thomas Cheke, of Pyrgo in Essex, blessed with a happy issue. 2. John, a valiant gentleman, and Edward, both dying without any posterity. But these things belong to heralds, not historians.

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* Fox's " Acts and Monuments," tome iii. page 701. † Fox, *ibidem*. ‡ Sir John Hayward in the " Life of Edward VI." page 8.

33—37. *The Pilgrimage of the Duchess of Suffolk. True and sad Errantry. The Vanity of Relations. God, the best Debtor, makes just Payment.*

The sufferings of Catherine duchess of Suffolk, baroness Willoughby of Eresby, late widow of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, since wife to Richard Bertie, esquire, must not be forgotten: a lady of a sharp wit, and sure hand to drive her wit home, and make it pierce where she pleased. This made bishop Gardiner to hate her much for her jests on him, but more for her earnest towards God, the sincerity of her religion; and thereupon she was forced, with her husband and infant daughter, to fly beyond the seas.

It would tire our pen to trace their removals from their house (the Barbican in London) to Lion's-Key, thence to Leigh, thence over seas (being twice driven back again) into Brabant; thence to Santon, a city of Cleveland; thence to Wesel, one of the Hanse-

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* The mother of my aged and worthy friend, Mr. Jackson of Histons, was, with many others, present thereat.

† One that set forth his Life in Oxford, *anno* 1641.

Towns; thence to Weinheim in the Palatinate; thence to Frankfort; thence, by many intermediate stages, into Poland. Every removal ministered them matter of new difficulties to improve their patience, new dangers to employ their prayers, and new deliverances to admire God's Providence; especially in their passage from Santon to Wesel, in a cold February, and a great thaw after a long frost, on foot, in a dark night and rainy weather, through ways unknown, without guide to direct or company to defend them, leaving certain foes behind, and having but suspected friends before them.* The end of their journey was worse than the journey itself, finding first, at Wesel, no inn to entertain them, able to speak little High Dutch for themselves, and others willing to speak in comfort to them. In a word, it would trouble one's head to invent more troubles than they had all at once; and it would break one's heart to undergo but half so many, seeing their real sufferings out-romanced the fictions of many errant adventures.

No English subject had like foreign relations with this lady; and yet they rather afflicted than befriended her. She had been wife to him who had been husband to a queen of France; yet durst not go into that country. By the confession of bishop Gardiner himself, she and queen Mary were the only English ladies of Spanish extraction and alliance; yet was it unsafe for her to stay in any part of the Spanish dominions. The emperor owed her, as executrix to her husband duke Charles, great sums of money; yet durst she not demand payment, lest the creditrix should be made away, and so the debt satisfied.

Yet a higher Emperor, even God himself, seemed in some sort indebted unto her ("He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord,") for her bounty at home, in the height of her honour, to foreigners, protestants especially, in distress.

And now that good Debtor, God's Providence, made full payment thereof by inciting the king of Poland, at the mediation of the Palatine of Wilna, as he, at the instance of John baron a Lasco, (who formerly in England had tasted of this lady's liberality,) to call this duchess, with her husband and family, to a place in Poland of safety, profit, credit, and command, where they comfortably continued till the death of queen Mary. During these their travels, Peregrine Bertie (carrying his foreign nativity in his name) was born unto them, afterwards the valiant Lord Willoughby of Eresby. To conclude: let this virtuous lady's example encourage all to be good to all godly in distress, seeing *hospes hodie, cras hospes*, " the entertainers to-day may want entertainment to-morrow."

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* See it at large in Fox, tome iii. page 928.

38—40. *Why the Parliament so silent in Church-matters, as also the Convocation. A grand Subsidy granted.*

My pen hath been a long time an exile from England, and now is willing to return to its native soil, though finding little comfort to invite it thither, and less to welcome it there. Only I find a parliament called, January 21st, solely commendable on this account,—that it did no more mischief in church-matters. Indeed, the two former parliaments had so destroyed all things in religion, they gave a writ of ease to the rest in this queen's reign to do nothing.

The same reason may be rendered of the silence in the Convocation, where John Harpsfield, archdeacon of London and prolocutor, preached also the Latin sermon. His text,* (how suiting to the occasion, let him answer it,) Matthew xxi. 2: *Ite in castellum quod contra vos est, &c.* where Christ sends two disciples to fetch him the ass and the ass's colt.

The clergy gave the queen a subsidy of eight shillings in the pound, (confirmed by Act of Parliament,) to be paid in four years. In requital whereof, by Pole's procurement, the queen privileged them from showing their horses with the laity; yet so as they should muster them up for the defence of the land under captains of their own choosing.

41. *Queen Mary somewhat stout, though more devout.*

Here we meet with a piece of valour in queen Mary, daring to oppose the pope, and showing that her mother queen Catherine's devotion had not drowned in her all the spirit of king Henry her father. Pope Paul IV. wholly favouring the French faction, and perfectly hating cardinal Pole, (whom he beheld as the principal promoter of the late wars in France,) sent cardinal William Peito, (born of an ancient family at Chesterton in Warwickshire,†) to ease him in England of his legative power. But the queen so ordered the matter, that by her prerogative she prohibited Peito entrance into England, and got the aforesaid power established and confirmed on cardinal Pole.

42. *The Death of Stephen Gardiner.*

Somewhat before we saw a great wonder; namely, the death of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, not that he died, (being past sixty,) but that he who lived so zealous a Papist should die more than half a Protestant, as wholly one in the point of man's justification by the free mercies of God and merits of Christ.‡ John White, born in Winchester diocess, (first schoolmaster, then warden, of Winchester school,) was by the premisses so tempted to be also bishop there, that it made him digest the Simony to succeed Gardiner; though on condition to pay a thousand pounds a-year out of that bishopric to cardinal Pole for his better support.

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* Register of Canterbury in cardinal Pole.

† CAMDEN'S *Brit.* in Warwickshire.

‡ FOX'S "Acts and Monuments."

43. *Trinity College in Oxford founded by Sir Thomas Pope.*

But the most pleasant object to entertain us at this time in England, is the beholding of two fair and fresh foundations in Oxford: the one, Trinity College, built by Sir Thomas Pope, in the place where long since Thomas Hatfield, bishop—and Robert Walworth, prior—of Durham, had built a College for Durham monks, which, at the present much decayed and ruinated, was by Sir Thomas re-edified and endowed. I find this Mr. Pope (as yet unknighted) principal visitor,* at the dissolution of abbeys, into whose hand the seal of St. Alban's itself was first surrendered. Now, as none were losers employed in that service, so we find few refunding back to charitable uses; and, perchance, this man alone the thankful Samaritan who made a public acknowledgment, Luke xvii. 16.

PRESIDENTS.—Thomas Sleithurst, Arthur Yeldard, Ranulph Kettle, Dr. Hannibal Potter, Dr. Robert Harris.

BISHOPS.—Robert Skinner, bishop of Oxford; Robert Wright, bishop of Lichfield; Gilbert Ironside, afterwards bishop of Hereford.

BENEFACTORS.—Dame Elizabeth Powlet.

LEARNED WRITERS.—John Selden, William Chillingworth.†

Insomuch that therein is at this present a President, twelve Fellows, twelve Scholars, besides Officers and Servants of the foundation, with many other Students; the whole number being a hundred thirty-three.

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* WEAVER'S "Funeral Monuments," page 112.

† After supplying Fuller with two bishops of this college,—Dr. Skinner and Dr. Wright,—Heylin proceeds: "Because our author can find no learned writers of this college neither, I will supply him with two others in that kind also. The first whereof shall be JOHN SELDEN, of the Inner Temple, *ὁ ϖερὶ ϖᾶν ϖεπαιδευμένος*, that renowned humanitian and philologer, some time a commoner of this house, and here initiated in those studies in which he afterwards attained to so high an eminence. The second, WILLIAM CHILLINGWORTH, an able and acute divine, and once a Fellow of this college; whose book, intituled *The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation*, written in defence of Dr. Potter's book called *Charity mistaken*, commended by our author, (vol. i. lib. iii. page 424,) remains unanswered by the Jesuits, notwithstanding all their brags beforehand, to this very day: which book, though most ridiculously buried with the author at Arundel, *(Get thee gone, thou accursed book, &c.)* by Mr. Francis Cheynel, the usufructuary of the rich parsonage of Petworth, shall still survive unto the world in its own value, when the poor three-penny commodities of such a sorry haberdasher of small wares shall be out of credit. Of this pageant see the pamphlet called *Chillingworthi Novissima*, printed at London, *anno* 1644." Fuller's reply is: "If the Animadverter had written a *History of Cambridge*, perchance he would have made as many and great omissions. Bishop Wright is entered, where he ought, a Warden of Wadham: the rest shall be inserted in the next edition, with my worthy friend Mr. Gilbert Ironside, of the same foundation."—EDIT.

44, 45. *St. John's College in Oxford founded by Sir Thomas White. The Occasion* (ut aiunt) *thereof.*

The other, St. John's College erected by Sir Thomas White, (born at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire,) a bottomless fountain of bounty, if we consider the ponds which he filled, and, besides, the running streams which flowed from him. Of the first kind were the cities of London, Bristol, and Coventry, on which he severally bestowed great sums of money to purchase lands therewith. His running stream, I account that his gift which I may call "the circulation of charity," being a legacy of one hundred pounds delivered out of Merchant Taylors' Hall on St. Bartholomew's day, and lent gratis to four poor clothiers for ten years, in twenty-three several corporations. Thus, as a wise merchant, he conceived it safest to adventure his bounty in sundry bottoms.

But the master-piece thereof was his founding of St. John's College in Oxford. Indeed, his liberality baited first at Gloucester Hall, which place he re-edified. But so small a hall was too little to lodge so large a soul in, which sought for a subject of greater receipt. A tradition goes of his dream, that he should in time meet with a place, where two elms grew of the same height, and where his further purpose should take effect.* Come we from what he dreamed to what he did, who, finding belike that tree-mark, by it he built and endowed St. John's College. And being himself free of the Company of Merchant Taylors in London, (where he was lord mayor,) he ordered that that school should be a prime nursery to his college; and out of it the most pregnant scholars are annually elected into this his foundation. It is now lately enlarged with addition of a new court, and other benefactions, by the liberality of William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury; whose body though it be obscurely buried at Allhallows Barking, grateful posterity will deservedly behold this building as his lasting monument.

PRESIDENTS.—Alexander Belcher, [Belsire,] William Elie, William Stoker, John Robinson, Tobias Matthew, Francis Willis, Ralph Hutchinson, John Buckeridge, William Laud, William Juxon, Richard Baily, Francis Cheynell, Thankful Owen.

BISHOPS.—Toby Matthew, archbishop of York; John Buckeridge, bishop of Ely; Rowland Searchfield, bishop of Bristol; William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury; William Juxon, bishop of London; Dr. Boyle, bishop of Cork.

BENEFACTORS.—Sir William Craven, knight; Sir William

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* STOW'S "Survey of London," page 91.

Paddie, knight, doctor of physic, commoner of the college. He gave freely towards the buildings, and furnishing of their library, purchased to the college two perpetual patronages, and much beautified the chapel.

LEARNED WRITERS.—Edmund Campian, Gregory Martin, Humphrey Ely, Henry Holland, Fellows of this House, and violent papists; John Case, doctor of physic; William Laud, in his learned book against Fisher.*

The above-mentioned Dr. Case, some time Fellow of this college, married a wife, kept house in Oxford, and scholars in his house; teaching many youth logic, ethics, and philosophy. The university was so far from beholding this as an infringing of their privileges, that, out of honour to this doctor's abilities, his scholars by special grace were so far favoured, that they were made as capable of degrees as if admitted gremials in the university. At this day St. John's hath a President, fifty Fellows and Scholars, a Chaplain, and a Clerk; beside Servants, Commoners, and other Students; being, in all, a hundred and twenty.

46—48. *Calais lost, the Queen melancholy; her Grief at her Husband's Absence, and Death of a Dropsy.*

Queen Mary every day waxed more and more melancholy, whereof several causes are assigned. Some conceive her sorrowing, that by negligence the key of France, Calais, was slipped from her girdle, which her predecessors wore by their sides more than two hundred years. But, now it is gone, let it go; it was but a beggarly town, which cost England ten times yearly more than it was worth in keeping thereof, as by the accounts in the exchequer doth plainly appear.†

Others ascribe her sadness to her husband's absence, which had many (and made more) occasions to go and stay beyond the seas, after he had found England not so useful as he expected, as having neither power therein, nor profit thereby, (though as much as on the articles of marriage was promised him,) half so much as he had promised to himself. Besides, queen Mary's person was no gainer (scarce a saver) of affection, having her father's feature,—a face broad and big, with her mother's colour,—a somewhat swarthy complexion.

As queen Mary was not over-fair, king Philip was not over-fond, especially after he began to despair of issue from her. Indeed, her physicians hoped her to be with child, till her misconceived pregnancy proved a dropsy, at the last whereof she died, Nov. 17th, having reigned five years and odd months. As for the suggestion of Osorius the Spaniard, that the English protestants attempted to poison her, a learned author returns,[*] *Nihil hujusmodi dictum nec scriptum, fictum nec pictum*, being the bare inventions of his scandalous tongue.

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* PITZÆUS *De Scriptoribus Anglicis*.

† And in a manuscript of Sir Robert Cotton's own making.

49—51. *The Death of Cardinal Pole; his good Inclinations to be a Protestant; leaveth all his Estate to Italians.*

Within few hours after her death, died cardinal Pole, archbishop of Canterbury: one who the longer he lived in England, the less he had of an Englishman, daily more and more Italianating himself, and conversing most with the merchants of that country. Practising the principles of Italian thrift, his pomp was rather gaudy than costly, and attendance ceremonious more than expensive. By bills of exchange, he made over much money to Venice and Rome; and fearing a bank in England, (if queen Mary should fail,) provided himself a bank beyond the seas. He procured of the queen the patronage of nineteen benefices unto his see,[†] promised and intended to repair the palace at Canterbury. He was buried in his own cathedral with this short and modest epitaph on his plain monument, DEPOSITUM CARDINALIS POLI.

He always had a favourable inclination to protestants, though, to wipe off the aspersion of Lutheranism, at last he grew somewhat severe against them, but expressing it in rather wronging the dead, (whose bones he burned,) than hurting the living. The papists accuse him for too much indulgence to the married clergy, because only parting them from their wives, and depriving them from their livings; but, soon afterwards,[‡] preferring the same persons to benefices of far better revenue. He was an absolute protestant in the point of justification, much offended with the proud error of Osorius therein; thus expressing himself, *Non potest viribus humanis nimium detrahi, nec addi Divinæ Gratiæ*,[§] "Too much cannot be taken away from man's power, nor given to God's grace."

He left Aloisius Priol, a gentleman of Venice, his sole executor, to dispose of his estate to pious uses, chiefly on the relief of foreigners. In England he had no want of near kindred, and some of them (for all their high birth) near akin to want. Yet he, passing them by, ordered that his whole estate should be conferred on Italians; some condemning, some commending him, for the same, as a deed of gratitude, because those of that nation had formerly for many years relieved his necessities. His executor so honestly discharged his trust therein, that he freely disposed the whole estate to the true intent of the testator, insomuch that he left not any thing thereof unto himself; save only two small books; namely, a breviary and a diurnal,[*] for mere memorial. Thus died cardinal Pole; neither of Italian physic wilfully taken by himself, as an English author insinuates;[†] nor of poison given to him by the protestants, as a Spanish writer suggests;[‡] but of a quartan fever then epidemical in England, and malignant above the ordinary nature of that disease.

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[*] HADDON *contra Osorium*, lib. i. fol. 25.

[†] *Antiq. Brit. in Vitâ Poli.*

[‡] SANDERS *De Schismate Anglicano*, lib. ii. page 307.

[§] HADDON *contra Osorium*, lib. ii. fol. 58.

52, 53. *Queen Mary's double Funeral Sermons; her deserved Praise.*

The funerals of queen Mary were performed with much solemnity and true sorrow of those of her own religion. White,[§] bishop of Winchester, preached the sermon, taking for his text Ecclesiastes ix. 4: "A living dog is better than a dead lion." One not present at the place might easily tell whom he made the lion, and whom the dog. Indeed, he strewed all the flowers of his rhetoric on queen Mary deceased, leaving not so much as the stalks to scatter on her surviving sister. This White, being "a tolerable poet," (for so one charactereth him,[‖]) was an intolerable flatterer, and made use of his poetical licence in the praise of popery. More modest and moderate was the sermon of Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, taking for his text Ecclesiastes iv. 2: "I praise the dead rather than the living," who preached also the obsequies of queen Mary;[¶] either that he did it as an act of supererogation, or because it was conceived the more state for so great a prince to have a duplicate of such solemnities. The best is, the protestants of that age cared not how many (so it be funeral) sermons were preached for her.

However, take queen Mary in herself abstracted from her opinions, and by herself secluded from her bloody counsellors, and her memory will justly come under commendation. Indeed, she knew not the art of being popular, and never cared to learn it, and generally (being given more to her beads than her book) had less of learning, (or parts to get it,) than any of her father's children. She hated to equivocate in her own religion; and always was what she was, without dissembling her judgment or practice for fear or flattery; little beloved of her subjects, to whom though once she remitted an entire subsidy, yet it little moved their affections, because, though liberal in this act, she had been unjust in another,—

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[*] *Antiq. Brit. in Vitâ Poli.*

[†] MR. FOX'S "Acts and Monuments," page 2102.

[‡] PAUL OSORIUS.

[§] PITZÆUS *De Scriptoribus Anglicis.*

[‖] CAMDEN in his "Elizabeth" in *anno* 1559, page 23.

[¶] PITZÆUS *De Scriptoribus Anglicis.*

her breach of promise to the gentry of Norfolk and Suffolk. However, she had been a worthy princess, had as little cruelty been done under her as was done by her. Her devotion always commanded her profit, and oftentimes did fill the church with the emptying of her own exchequer.

54. *Her and her Ladies' Bounty to the Hospitals of the Savoy.*

Take one instance of many: The hospital of the Savoy in the Strand, founded by her grandfather king Henry VII. and since dissolved, was by her erected again. And whereas the utensils thereof had lately been embezzled, (the house been left as bare as the poor people which were brought therein,) her maids of honour, out of their own wardrobe, furnished it with beds, blankets, and sheets.[*] Were any of those ladies still alive, I would pray for them, in the language of the Psalmist: "The Lord make all their bed in their sickness," Psalm xli. 3. And he is a good bed-maker indeed, who can and will make it fit the person, and please the patient. But seeing such long since are all deceased, it will be no superstition to praise God for their piety, and commend their practice to the imitation of posterity.

55. *The Place of her Burial.*

Her body was interred in the chapel of king Henry VII. in the aisle on the north side thereof, and afterwards the corpse of her sister, queen Elizabeth, were buried in the same vault. Over both, king James afterwards erected a most sumptuous monument; though the epitaph inscribed thereon taketh no notice at all of queen Mary, as destined and designed solely to the memory of queen Elizabeth. But Mary's name still surviveth in many Roman catholic families, being (though never mother herself) godmother to many of her servants' sons, giving her own (Anthony Maria, Edward Maria, &c.) as an addition to their Christian names.

56. *God paveth the Way for Queen Elizabeth's coming to the Crown.*

Many great persons, chiefly of the clergy, followed her into another world; whether out of a politic sympathy, that, being raised by her, they would fall with her: or that, foreseeing alteration of religion and their own ruin, they died to prevent death, heart-broken with sorrow. Besides, at this time there was a strange mortality, different from other infections, not sweeping but choosing, which did principally single out men of wealth and quality.[†]

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[*] STOW in his "Survey of London," page 491.

[†] *Communis quædam lues ex ardore febrium per universos Angliæ ordines permeabat et in illis maximè divites, et honorantes personas depopulabatur.*—HADDON *contra Osorium*, fol. 25.

Whilst such as make uncharitable applications parallel this to the plague of the Israelites, "which slew the wealthiest of them," Psalm lxxviii. 31, we will only conceive, that God, intending to plant-in queen Elizabeth, first cleared the ground by removing such as probably would oppose her. Neither was it a small advantage unto her, that the parliament sat at her sister's death; after which they only continued so long as jointly and publicly to proclaim Elizabeth queen, and then they were dissolved, Nov. 18th.* Now, though her title was free from doubt, yet it was not so clear from cavils, but that one, considering the power of the English papists at this time, and their activity at all times, will conclude they might have (though not hurt) troubled, and (though not hindered) disturbed her succession. Whereas now, being so solemnly proclaimed, it gave much countenance and some strength to her right, being done by the whole state in so weighty a manner that it crushed in pieces all hopes of private oppositions. Thus those whom God will have to rise shall never want hands to lift them up.

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* HOLINSHED, page 1170.

THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK IX.

CONTAINING THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

TO THE

HONOURABLE GEORGE BERKELEY,

SOLE SON TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

GEORGE BARON OF BERKELEY.

I HAVE ever dissented from their opinion who maintain, that the world was created a level champaign, mountains being only the product of Noah's flood, where the violence of the waters aggested the earth, gored out of the hollow valleys. For we read how in that deluge "the mountains were" (not then as upstarts first caused, but as old standards newly) "covered," Gen. vii. 20.

As much do I differ from their false position who affirm, that, "all being equal in the loins of Adam and womb of Eve, honour was only the effect of human ambition in such whose pride or power advanced themselves above others." Whereas it was adequate to the creation, as originally fixed, in eldership or primogeniture, and afterwards, by Divine Providence, (the sole fountain thereof,) conferred on others; either out of love, by nothing less than his express *commission*, for their good; or [out of] hatred, by somewhat more than his bare *permission*, for their ruin.

The three sons of David serve us for the threefold division of honour: 1. Absalom said, "O that I were made judge in the land!" 2 Sam. xv. 4. 2. Adonijah exalted himself, saying, "I will be king," 1 Kings i. 5. 3. Solomon said nothing; but David said, (and God confirmed his words,) "Assuredly he shall reign after me," 1 Kings i. 17.

The first sought, by secret ambition, to surprise his father's subjects. The second went a more bold and blunt way to work, by open usurpation. But both finally miscarried. The third reached not at all at honour, but only happily held what was put into his hands.

But when outward greatness (as in the last instance) is attended with inward grace, all Christian beholders thereof are indebted to a double tribute of respect to that person whose HONOUR is martialled according to the apostolical equipage: "But GLORY, HONOUR, and PEACE," &c. Rom. ii. 10. See how it standeth like a shield in the middle, with "glory" and "peace" as supporters on each side. And this is that honour, the zealous pursuit whereof I humbly recommend unto you.

Nor will you be offended at this my counsel, as if it imported a suspicion of your present practice, who know well what St. Paul saith, "Edify one another, even as also ye do," 1 Thess. v. 11. It is no tautology to advise good people to do what they do. Such precepts are praises; such counsels, commendations: and in this notion do I tender my humble advice to your consideration.

Remember the modesty of David in asking: "ONE thing have I desired of the Lord," Psalm xxvii. 4; namely, to be constantly present at his public service. And behold the bounty of God in giving three for one! —"And he died in a good old age, full of days, riches, and honour," 1 Chron. xxix. 28. Such measure may you assuredly expect from Him, if, before and above all things, seeking for that one thing which is needful,—the rather because God hath done great things for you already, for which you have cause to rejoice.

A great and good man said to his fellow-servants, "Seemeth it a small thing to you to be son-in-law to a king?" 1 Sam. xviii. 23. A greater honour was done to your first ancestor, who was son to a king, namely, to Harding king of Denmark, whence Fitz-Harding, your most ancient surname. But labour, Sir, for a higher honour than both; even to be led by God's Spirit, and then you shall be, even in the language of the apostle himself, *Fitz-Dieu,* A SON OF GOD, Rom. viii. 14.

Now, as your eminent bounty unto me may justly challenge the choicest of my best endeavours, so the particular motive inducing me to dedicate this Book to your Honour, is, because it containeth the reign of queen Elizabeth, to whom you are so nearly related; whose grandmother proved her heir by Anne Boleyn her mother.* In which capacity some of that queen's (or rather the lady Elizabeth's) movables and jewels, which were her mother's, descended unto her. You may therefore challenge an interest most properly in this part of my History.

And now, what remaineth but my humble and hearty prayers to the Divine Majesty for his blessing on your self, and on your hopeful issue, that God would plentifully pour all his favours of this and a better life upon them?

Suspect me not, Sir, for omitting, because not expressing, your noble consort. We find in the fourth commandment, "Thou, and thy son, and thy daughter," &c. where divines render this reason why the wife is not mentioned,—because the same person with the husband. On which account, your second self is effectually included within the daily devotions of

Your bounden orator,
THOMAS FULLER.

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* The heir-general of George Carey lord Hunsdon, whose grandmother Mary was second sister to Anne Boleyn.

THE

CHURCH HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK IX.

SECTION I.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1. *Her slow but sure Pace of Reformation.* *A. D.* 1558. 1 Elizabeth.

For the first six weeks, the queen and her wise Council suffered matters to stand in their former state, without the least change; as yet not altering, but consulting what should be altered. Thus our Saviour himself coming into the temple, and finding it profaned with sacrilege, when he looked round about upon all things, departed for that evening, Mark xi. 11; contenting himself with the survey of what was amiss, and deferring the reformation thereof till the next morning. But on the 1st of January following,* being Sunday, (the best new-year's gift that ever was bestowed on England,) by virtue of the queen's proclamation, the Litany was read in English, with Epistles, and Gospels, in all churches of London, as it was formerly in her Grace's own chapel.

2. *The Forwardness of private Men in public Reformation variously censured.*

But some violent spirits, impatient to attend the leisure (by them counted the laziness) of authority, fell beforehand to the beating-down of superstitious pictures and images, and their forward zeal met with many to applaud it. For idolatry is not to be permitted a moment; the first minute is the fittest to abolish it. All that have power have right to destroy it, by that grand charter of religion whereby every one is bound to advance God's glory. And if sovereigns forget, no reason but subjects should remember their duty.* But others condemned their indiscretion herein: for though they might reform their private persons and families, and refrain to communicate in any outward act, contrary to God's word, yet public reformation belonged to the magistrate, and a good deed was by them ill done for want of a calling to do it. However, the papists have no cause to tax them with over-forwardness in this kind; the like being done by them in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, whilst the laws of king Edward VI. stood as yet in full force, when they prevented authority, as hath been formerly observed;† thus, those who are hungry, and have meat afore them, will hardly be kept from eating, though grace be not said, and leave given them by their superiors.

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* Holinshed first year of queen Elizabeth, page 1172.

3. *The Letter from the English Church at Geneva to those at Frankfort, about Accommodation in Ceremonies, comes too late.*

Now the tidings of queen Elizabeth's peaceable coming to the crown was no sooner brought beyond the seas, but it filled the English exiles with unspeakable gladness, being instantly at home in their hearts, and not long after with their bodies. I knew one right well, whose father, amongst them, being desperately diseased, was presently and perfectly cured with the cordial of this good news; and no wonder if this queen recovered sick men, which revived religion itself. Now the English church at Geneva, being the greatest opposer of ceremonies, sent their letter by William Ceth, to all other English congregations in Germany, and especially to those of Frankfort, congratulating their present deliverance, condoling their former discords, counselling and requesting "that all offences heretofore given or taken might be forgiven and forgotten, and that, for the future, they might no more fall out about superfluous ceremonies."‡ But this letter came too late, because the principal persons concerned in that controversy, with whom they sought a charitable reconciliation, were departed from Frankfort, (I think, towards England,) before the messenger arrived; and so the motion missed to take effect. Some suppose, had it come in season, it might have prevailed much, that both parties, in gratitude to God, would, in a bone-fire of their general joy, have burned this unhappy bone of dissension cast betwixt them. Others, considering the distance of their principles and difference of their spirits, conceive such an agreement neither could be wrought, nor would be kept betwixt them. For it is the property of cold to congregate together things of different kinds; and if the winter of want, pinching them all with poverty, could not freeze their affections together, less likely was it that the warmth of wealth, in their native soil, would conjoin them in amity, but rather widen them further asunder; as, indeed, it came to pass. For as the rivers of Danubius and Savus in Hungary, though running in the same channel, yet for many miles keep different streams visible in their party-coloured waters, which do rather touch than unite; yea, the fishes peculiar to one stream are not found in another; so these opposite parties, returning home, though concurring in doctrine under the general notion of protestants, were so reserved in several disciplines to themselves with their private favourites and followers, that they wanted that comfortable communion which some hoped and all wished would be amongst them; till at last they broke out into doleful and dangerous opposition, whereat all papists clap, and protestants wring their hands, which our fathers found begun, ourselves see heightened, and know not whether our children shall behold them pacified and appeased.

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* Heylin calls this "our author's master-piece, and a fair ground-work for the seditious and rebellious for the times ensuing." In his defence, Fuller replies: "The Animadverter hath dealt most unfairly with me, in citing by the halves what I have written, and leaving out what immediately followed, and what he ought to have inserted. I appeal to such who knew me in the university, to those that have heard my many sermons on this subject in London, and elsewhere, but especially to my book called *Truth maintained*, made against Mr. Saltmarsh, wherein I have heartily, largely, and to my power strongly vindicated, *Non licet populo, renuente magistratu, reformationem moliri*,"—"It is not lawful for the people, on the refusal of the magistrates, to attempt a reformation."—EDIT.

† See cent. xvi. in this volume, pages 375, 377, 401. ‡ It was dated December 15th, but not received till about January 2nd. See "the Troubles at Frankfort," page 162.

4. *Alteration of Religion enacted by the Parliament.*

But now a parliament began at Westminster, January 25th; wherein the laws of king Henry VIII. against the see of Rome were renewed, and those of king Edward VI. in favour of the protestants revived, and the laws by queen Mary, made against them, repealed. Uniformity of prayer and administration of sacraments was enacted, with a restitution of first-fruits, tenths, &c. to the crown: for all which we remit the reader to "the Statutes at large." It was also enacted, "that whatsoever jurisdictions, privileges, and spiritual pre-eminences, had been heretofore in use by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever, to visit ecclesiastical men, and correct all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, and enormities, should be for ever annexed to the imperial crown of England; if the queen and her successors might by their letters patents substitute certain men to exercise that authority; howbeit with proviso, that they should define nothing to be heresy, but those things which were long before defined to be heresies, out of the sacred canonical Scriptures, or of the four œcumenical councils, or other councils, by the true and proper sense of the Holy Scriptures, or should thereafter be so defined by authority of the parliament, with assent of the clergy of England assembled in a synod. That all and every ecclesiastical persons, magistrates, receivers of pensions out of the exchequer, such as were to receive degrees in the universities, wards that were to sue their liveries, and to be invested in their livings; and such as were to be admitted into the number of the queen's servants, &c. should be tied by oath to acknowledge the queen's majesty to be the only and supreme governor of her kingdoms," (the title of Supreme Head "of the church of England," liked them not,) "in all matters and causes, as well spiritual as temporal, all foreign princes and protestants being quite excluded from taking cognizance of causes within her dominions."

5. *Papists' Exceptions against the Queen's Supremacy.*

5. But the papists found themselves much aggrieved at this ecclesiastical power, declared and confirmed to be in the queen. They complained that the simplicity of poor people was abused, the queen declining the title "Head," and assuming the name "Governor of the Church;" which, though less offensive, was more expressive. So, whilst their ears were favoured in her waving the word, their souls were deceived with the same sense under another expression. They cavilled how king Henry VIII. was qualified for that place and power, being a layman; [*] king Edward double debarred for the present, being a laychild; queen Elizabeth totally excluded for the future, being a laywoman.[†] They object also, that the very writers of the "Centuries," though protestants, condemn such "headship of the church" in princes; [‡] and Calvin, more particularly, sharply taxeth bishop Gardiner for allowing the same privilege to king Henry VIII.[§]

6. *The same, how defended by Protestant Divines.*

Yet nothing was granted to the queen, or taken by her, but what in due belonged unto her, according as the most learned and moderate divines have defended it. For, first, they acknowledged that Christ alone is the Supreme Sovereign of the church,[||] performing the duty of a head unto it, by giving it power of life, feeling, and moving; and him hath God appointed to be "head of the church," Ephes. i. 22; and "by him all the body furnished, and knit together, by joints and bands, increaseth with the increasing of God," Col. ii. 19. This headship cannot stand on any mortal shoulders, it being as incommunicable to a creature as a creature is incapable to receive it. There is also a peculiar supremacy of priests in ecclesiastical matters,—to preach the word, minister the sacraments, celebrate prayers, and practise the discipline of the church; which no prince can invade without usurpation and the sin of sacrilege: for incense itself did stink in the nostrils of the God of heaven, and "provoked his anger," 2 Chron. xxvi. 19, when offered by king Uzziah, who had no calling thereunto. Beside these, there is that power which Hezekiah exercised in his dominions; commanding the Levites and priests to do their duty, and the people to serve the Lord. And to this power of the prince it belongeth to restore religion decayed, reform the church corrupted, protect the same reformed. This was that supremacy in causes and over persons as well ecclesiastical as civil, which was derived from God to the queen, annexed to the crown, disused in the days of her sister (whose blind zeal surrendered it to the pope,) not now first fixed in the crown, by this act of state, but by the same declared to the ignorant that knew it not, cleared to the scrupulous that doubted of it, and asserted from the obstinate that denied it.

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[*] SANDERS *De Schismate Anglicano*, lib. iii. page 316.

[†] HART against Rainolds, page 673.

[‡] *In Præfatione Centuriæ VII.*

[§] Upon Amos vii. 3.

[||] RAINOLDS against Hart, page 38.

7. *How Dr. Rainolds answereth the Exceptions to the contrary.*

"As for Calvin, he reproveth not" (reader, it is Dr. Rainolds whom thou readest) "the title of *Head*, as the protestants granted it, but that sense thereof which popish prelates gave; namely, Stephen Gardiner, who did urge it so as if he had meant thereby that the king might do things in religion according to his own will, and not see them done according to God's will; namely, that he might forbid the clergy marriage, the laity the cup in the Lord's supper. And the truth is, that Stephen Gardiner was shamelessly hyperbolical in fixing that in the king which formerly, with as little right, the pope had assumed." * Whether he did it out of mere flattery, as full of adulation as superstition, equally free in sprinkling court and church holy-water, and as very a fawning spaniel under king Henry VIII. as afterwards he proved a cruel blood-hound under queen Mary his daughter; or because this bishop, being in his heart disaffected to the truth, of set purpose betrayed it in defending it, suiting king Henry's vast body and mind with as mighty, yea, monstrous a power, in those his odious instances, straining the king's authority too high, on set purpose to break and to render it openly obnoxious to just exception. The Centuriators, also, well understood, do allow and confess the magistrate's jurisdiction on ecclesiastical matters; though, on good reason, they be enemies to this usurpation of unlawful power therein.† But I digress, and therein transgress, seeing the large prosecution hereof belongs to divines.

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* Against Hart, page 673.

† *Idem ibidem.*

8. *Sanders confuted of Falsehood.*

But Sanders taketh a particular exception against the regular passing of this Act, "Elizabeth showing much queen-craft in procuring the votes of the nobility, feeding the earl of Arundel with fond hopes that she would marry him,* and promising the duke of Norfolk a dispensation from his wife, which he could not with such expedition obtain from the pope; and yet, saith he, when all was done, it was carried in the House of Lords but by three voices."† Here, not to mention how, in the greatest councils, matters of most high concernment have been determined with as few as three clear decisive suffrages, this suggestion of Sanders is a loud untruth; for the Act having easily passed the House of Commons, found none of the temporal nobility in the House of Lords to oppose it, save only the earl of Shrewsbury,‡ and Anthony Brown, viscount Mountacute, who had formerly been employed to reconcile the kingdom of England to his Holiness. As for the bishops, there were but fourteen, and the abbot of Westminster then alive; of whom, four being absent, (whether voluntarily or out of sickness, uncertain,) the rest could not make any considerable opposition. If any other artifice was used in cunning contriving the business, the protestants were not aforehand, but just even with the papists, who had used the same subtilty in their own cause in the first parliament of queen Mary.

9. *The Acts of this Year's Convocation.*

But now, to remove into the Convocation, which at this time was very small and silent: For, as it is observed in nature, when one twin is of an unusual strength and bigness, the other, his partner born with him, is weak and dwindled away; so here, this Parliament being very active in matters of religion, the Convocation (younger brother thereunto) was little employed and less regarded. Only after a mass of the Holy Ghost had been celebrated, Edmond Bonner, bishop of London, (in the vacancy of the archbishop of Canterbury, president of the Convocation,) began with a speech to this effect: "That although it had been an ancient and laudable custom to begin such meetings of the clergy with a Latin sermon, yet such now was not to be expected; partly, because the archbishop was dead, who was to design the preacher, and partly, because they had received a mandate from the Privy Council that no such sermons should be made in that church, till they were further informed by the queen and her council." § In the third session on Friday, Nicholas Harpsfield, doctor of law, and archdeacon of Canterbury, was chosen Referendary or Prolocutor for the clergy,* a place of some credit, but little pains to discharge, seeing the only remarkable thing which passed in this Convocation was certain Articles of Religion, which they tendered to the Parliament,† February 18th, which here we both transcribe and translate, requesting the reader not to begrudge his pains to peruse them; considering they are the last in this kind that ever were represented in England by a legal corporation in defence of the popish religion. And though error doth go out with a stink, yet it is a perfume that it does go out: we are so far from denying a grave to bury them, that we will erect the monument over this ashes of these dead errors.‡

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* *De Schismate Anglicano*, page 329. † *Idem*, page 303. ‡ CAMDEN'S Elizabeth in this year, page 19. § *Liber Synod. anno Dom.* 1559, folio 15.

Reverendi in Christo patres ac domini colendissimi. Quoniam famâ publicâ referente ad nostram nuper notitiam pervenit, multa religionis Christianæ dogmata publico et unanimi gentium Christianarum consensu hactenus recepta et probata, ac ab apostolis ad nos usque concorditer per manus deducta, præsertim articulos infra scriptos in dubium vocari: Hinc est quod nos Cantuariensis provinciæ inferior secundarius clerus in uno, (Deo sic disponente ac serenissimæ dominæ nostræ reginæ, decani et capituli Cant. mandato, brevi Parliamenti, ac monitione ecclesiasticâ solitâ declaratâ id exigente,) convenientes, partium nostrarum esse existimavimus, tum nostræ, tum eorum, quorum cura nobis committitur, æternæ saluti omnibus quibus poterimus modis prospicere. Quocirca majorum nostrorum exemplis commoti, qui in similia sæpe tempora inciderunt, fidem quam in articulis infra scriptis, veram esse credimus, et ex animo profitemur ad Dei laudem, et honorem officiique et aliarum nostræ curæ commissarum exonerationem præsentibus duximus publicè auferendam affirmantes, et sicut Deus nos in die judicii adjuvet asserentes:—

Primò. Quòd in sacramento altaris virtute Christi verbo suo a sacerdote debitè prolato assistentis, præsens est realiter sub speciebus panis et vini naturale corpus Christi conceptum de virgine Mariæ, item naturalis ejus sanguis.

Item. Quòd post consecrationem, non remanet substantia panis et vini, neque alia ulla substantia, nisi substantia Dei et hominis.

Item. Quòd in missâ offertur verum Christi corpus, et verus ejusdem sanguis, sacrificium propitiatorium pro vivis et defunctis.

Item. Quòd Petro apostolo et ejus legitimis successoribus in sede apostolicâ, tanquam Christi vicariis data est suprema potestas pascendi et regendi ecclesiam Christi militantem et fratres suos confirmandi.

Item. Quòd authoritas tractandi et diffiniendi de iis quæ spectant

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* *Liber Synod. anno Dom.* 1559, folios 6, 8.

† To the bishops, that they might present them to the parliament, &c.

‡ Copied by me out of the original.

ad fidem, sacramentum, et disciplinam ecclesiasticam hactenus semper spectavit et spectare debet tantùm ad pastores ecclesiæ, quos Spiritus Sanctus in hoc in ecclesiam Dei posuit et non ad laicos.

Quam nostram assertionem, affirmationem, et fidem, nos inferior clerus prædictus considerationes prædictas vestris paternitatibus tenore præsentium exhibemus, humiliter supplicantes, ut quia nobis non est copia hanc nostram sententiam et intentionem aliter illis quos in hâc parte interest notificandi, vos, qui patres estis, ista superioribus ordinibus significare velitis: quâ in re officium charitatis ac pietatis (ut arbitramur) præstabitis, et saluti gregis vestri (ut par est) prospicietis, et vestras ipsi animas liberabitis.

"Reverend fathers in Christ and our honourable lords. Whereas by the report of public fame it hath come unto our knowledge, that many doctrines of the Christian religion hitherto received and approved by the unanimous consent of Christian nations, and with joint agreement, as by hands, deduced from the apostles unto us, (especially the articles under-written,) are now called into question: Hence it is, that we the inferior and secondary clergy of the province of Canterbury assembled in one body, (God so disposing it, and the command of our lady the queen's most excellent majesty, together with the mandate of the dean and chapter of Canterbury, the parliament-writ, and all due and wonted ecclesiastical monition declared so requiring it,) conceived it to belong unto us to provide for the eternal salvation both of ourselves, and such as are committed to our charge, by all means possible for us to obtain. Wherefore stirred up by the examples of our predecessors, who have lived in the like times, that faith which in the articles under-written we believe to be true, and from our souls profess to the praise and honour of God, and the discharge of our duty, and such souls as are committed unto us, we thought in these presents publicly to insert, affirming and avowing as God shall help us in the last day of judgment:—

"First. That in the sacrament of the altar by the virtue of Christ's assisting, after the word is duly pronounced by the priest, the natural body of Christ conceived of the virgin Mary is really present, under the species of bread and wine, also his natural blood.

"*Item.* That, after the consecration, there remains not the substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance, save the substance of God and man.

"*Item.* That the true body of Christ, and his true blood, is offered a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead.

"*Item.* That the supreme power of feeding and governing the militant church of Christ, and of confirming their brethren, is given to Peter the apostle, and to his lawful successors in the see apostolic, as unto the vicars of Christ.

"*Item.* That the authority to handle and define such things which belong to faith, the sacraments, and discipline ecclesiastical, hath hitherto ever belonged, and only ought to belong, unto the pastors of the church, whom the Holy Spirit hath placed in the church of God, and not unto laymen.

"Which our assertion, affirmation, and faith, we the lower clergy aforesaid so represent the aforesaid considerations unto your fatherhoods by the tenor of these presents; humbly requesting, that, because we have not liberty otherwise to notify this our judgment and intention to those which in this behalf are concerned, you who are fathers would be pleased to signify the same to the lords in parliament: wherein, as we conceive, you shall perform an office of charity and piety, and you shall provide (as it is meet) for the safety of the flock committed to your charge, and shall discharge your duty towards your own soul."

This remonstrance exhibited by the lower House of Convocation to the bishops, was, according to their requests, presented, March 3rd, by Edmond Bonner, bishop of London, to the Lord Keeper of the broad seal of England in the parliament; and (as the said bishop, in the eighth session, March 10th, reported) he generously and gratefully received it. But we find no further news thereof, save that in the tenth session, an account was given in, by both universities in an instrument under the hand of a public notary, wherein they both did concur to the truth of the aforesaid articles, the last only excepted.

11. *The Disputations betwixt the Papists and Protestants at Westminster.*

But we may probably conceive that this Declaration of the popish clergy hastened the Disputation appointed on the last of March in the church of Westminster, wherein these questions were debated:—1. Whether service and sacraments ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue? 2. Whether the church hath not power to alter ceremonies, so all be done to edification? 3. Whether the mass be a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead?

POPISH DISPUTANTS.—White, bishop of Winchester; Watson, bishop of Lincoln; Baynes, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield; Scot, bishop of Chester; Dr. Cole, dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Langdale, archdeacon of Lewes; Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury; Dr. Chedsey, archdeacon of Middlesex.

MODERATORS.—Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York; Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal.

PROTESTANT DISPUTANTS.—John Scory, late bishop of Chichester; David Whitehead; Robert Horne; Edmond Guest; Edwin Sands; John Aelmer; Edmond Grindal; John Jewel.*

The passages of this disputation (whereof more noise than fruit, and wherein more passion than reason, cavils than arguments) are largely reported by Mr. Fox. It was ordered that each side should tender their judgments in writing, to avoid verbal extravagancies; as also in English, for the better information of the nobility and gentry of the House of Parliament, their auditors; and that the papists should begin first, and the protestants answer them. But in the second day's disputation, this order was broken by the popish bishops, who, quitting their primacy to the protestants, stood peremptorily upon it, that they themselves would deliver their judgments last; alleging in their behalf the fashion of the Schools, that, because they had the negative on their side, the others ought first to oppose; citing also the custom of the Courts at Westminster, where the plaintiff pleadeth before the defendant, conceiving themselves in the nature and notion of the latter, because maintaining those opinions whose truth, time out of mind, was established. Chester, more open than the rest, plainly confessed, that if the protestants had the last word, they would come off *cum applausu populi*, "with applause of the people;" which themselves, it seems, most desired. Whereby it appears what wind they wished for, not what was fittest to fan the truth, but what would blow them most reputation. In this refusal to begin, Winchester and Lincoln behaved themselves saucily and scornfully, the rest stiffly and resolutely; only Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, (who it seems the second day was added to the popish disputants,) carried it with more meekness and moderation. Hereupon the Lord Keeper cut off this Conference, with this sharp conclusion: "Seeing, my lords, we cannot now hear you, you may perchance shortly hear more of us."

12, 13. *The Papists complain of partial Usage. The Protestants triumph on the other Side.*

Yet need we not behold the frustration of this meeting, as a private doom, peculiarly to this Conference alone, but as the general destiny of such public colloquies; which, like sycamore trees, prove barren, and which the larger the leaves of the expectation, the less the fruits of success. The assembly dissolved, it were hard to say, which were louder,—the Papists in complaining, or the Protestants in triumphing. The former found themselves aggrieved that they were surprised of a sudden, having but two days' warning to provide themselves: That Bacon, the moderator, (though well skilled in matters of equity, ignorant in matters of divinity,) was their zealous enemy, to whom the archbishop was added only for a stale: That to call such fundamental points of doctrine into question, would cause an unsettledness in religion of dangerous consequence both to single souls and to the church in general: That it was unlawful for them, owing obedience to the see apostolic, without leave of his Holiness first obtained, to discuss these truths long since decided in the church.

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* There is some difference in the number and names of both parties. Mr. Fox neither agreeth with Mr. Camden nor with himself.

The Protestants, on the other side, slighted the Papists' plea of want of warning, seeing (besides that both sides were warned at the same time) that party sent a challenge, and gave the first defiance in their late Declaration: and now it was senseless in them to complain, that they were set upon unawares: That if the truths were so clear as they pretended, and their learning so great as was reputed, little study in this case was required: That Bacon was appointed moderator, not to decide the matters controverted, but to regulate the manner of their disputation, whereunto his known gravity and discretion, without deep learning, did sufficiently enable him: That it was an old policy of the papists to account every thing fundamental in religion, which they were loath should be removed; and that the receiving of erroneous principles into the church, without examination, had been the mother of much ignorance and security therein; for the preventing of the farther growth whereof, no fitter means than an unpartial reducing of all doctrines to the trial of the Scriptures: That their declining the disputation manifested the badness of their cause, seeing no paymaster will refuse the touch or scales, but such as suspect their gold to be base or light: That formerly papists had disputed those points when power was on their side, so that they loved to have syllogisms in their mouths, when they had swords in their hands.

14—16. *Nine Bishops now dead; three fled beyond the Seas. A Note of Worcester.*

It remaineth now, that we acquaint the reader, how the popish bishops were disposed of, who now fell under a four-fold division:—1. Dead; 2. Fled; 3. Deprived; 4. Continued.

1. There were nine of the first sort, who were the death-guard of queen Mary, as expiring either a little before her decease; namely, John Capon, bishop of Salisbury; Robert Parfew, bishop of Hereford; Maurice Griffith, bishop of Rochester; William Glynn, bishop of Bangor. These were queen Mary's ushers to her grave.

Or, as expiring a little after her departure, as Reginald Pole, archbishop of Canterbury; John Hopton, bishop of Norwich; James Brookes, bishop of Gloucester; John Holyman, bishop of Bristol; Henry Morgan, bishop of St. David's; these were queen Mary's train-bearers to the same.

2. Three only made their flight beyond the seas; namely, 1. Thomas Goldwell, of St. Asaph, who ran to Rome, and there procured of the pope the renewing of the indulgences, for a set time, to such as superstitiously repaired to the well of St. Winnifride. 2. Cuthbert Scot, of Chester, who afterwards lived and died at Louvain. 3. Richard Pate, of Worcester, whose escape was the rather connived at, because, being a moderate man, he refused to persecute any protestant for his difference in religion.

Be it here remembered, that the see of Worcester had nine bishops successively; whereof the four first, (being all Italians,) none of them lived there; the five last, (Latimer, Bell, Heath, Hooper, Pate,) none of them died there, as either resigning, removed, or deprived; and all five were alive together in the reign of queen Mary. As for Pate, we find him thus subscribing the Council of Trent, *Richardus Patus, Episcopus Wigorniensis*, under-writing only in his private and personal capacity, having otherwise no deputation as in any public employment.

17—19. *The Rest restrained. A Prison to be envied. Some living in their own Houses.*

3. The third sort succeeds, of such who, on the refusal of the oath of supremacy, were all deprived, though not restrained alike. Bonner was imprisoned in the Marshalsea; a jail being conceived the safest place to secure him from people's fury, every hand itching to give a good squeeze to that sponge of blood. White and Watson, bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, died in durance; their liberty being inconsistent with the queen's safety, whom they threatened to excommunicate.

As for bishops Tonstal and Thirlby, they were committed to archbishop Parker. Here they had sweet chambers, soft beds, warm fires, plentiful and wholesome diet, (each bishop faring like an archbishop, as fed at his table,) differing nothing from their former living, save that *that* was on their own charges, and *this* on the cost of another. Indeed, they had not their wonted attendance of superfluous servants, nor needed it, seeing a long train doth not warm but weary the wearer thereof. They lived in free custody; and, all things considered, custody did not so sour their freedom, as freedom did sweeten their custody.

The rest, though confined for a while, soon found the favour to live prisoners on their parole; having no other jailor than their own promise. Thus Poole of Peterborough, Turbervile of Exeter, &c. lived in their own or their friends' houses. The like liberty was allowed to Heath, archbishop of York, who (like another Abiathar, 1 Kings ii. 26, sent home by Solomon to his own fields in Anathoth) lived cheerfully at Chobham in Surrey, where the queen often courteously visited him.

20—22. *Cruelty causelessly complained of. One Bishop continued. A List of Persons deprived.*

Popish writers will persuade people, that these bishops were cruelly used in their prisons, should their hyperbolical expressions be received as the just measure of truth. *Carceribus variisque custodiis commissi, longo miseriarum tædio extincti sunt*, saith Sanders.[*] *Confessor obiit in vinculis*, saith Pitzæus of White. A great cry and a little pain! Many of our poor protestants in the Marian days said less, and suffered more. They were not sent into a complimental custody; but some of them thrust into the prison of a prison, where the sun shined as much to them at midnight, as at noonday. Whereas abbot Feckenham, of Westminster, (who, as a parliamentary baron, may go in equipage with the other bishops,) may be an instance how well the papists were used after their deprivation. For he grew popular for his alms to the poor;[†] which speaks the queen's bounty to him, in enabling him (a prisoner) to be bountiful to others.

4. Only one bishop conformed himself to the queen's commands, and was continued in his place; namely, Anthony Kitchen, *aliàs* Dunstan, of Landaff. Camden calls him, *sedis suæ calamitatem*, "the bane of his bishopric," wasting the lands thereof by letting long leases; as if it were given to binominous bishops (such as had two names) to be impairers of their churches, as may appear by these four contemporaries in the reign of king Henry VIII. John Capon, *aliàs* Salcot, spoiled Salisbury; John Voisey, *aliàs* Harman, spoiled Exeter; Robert Parfew, *aliàs* Warton, spoiled St. Asaph; Anthony Kitchen, *aliàs* Dunstan, spoiled Landaff.

I know what is pleaded for them,—that physicians in desperate consumptions prescribe the shaving of the head, (which will grow again,) to save the life; and that these bishops, fearing the final alienation of their lands, passed long leases for the prevention thereof; though whether policy or covetousness most shared in them herein we will not determine. Only I find a mediate successor of Kitchin's[‡] (and therefore concerned to be knowing therein) much excusing him from this common defamation of wronging his see, because many forged leases are countenanced under the pretence of this passing the same.

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[*] *De Schismate Anglicano*, page 335.

[†] CAMDEN'S "Elizabeth" *in hoc anno.*

[‡] GODWIN in the Bishops of Landaff.

As for the numbers of recusants which forsook the land at this time, the prime of them were, Henry lord Morley; Sir Francis Inglefield; Thomas Shelley and John Gage, esqrs. As for the nuns of Sion, and other votaries wafted over, we have formerly treated of them in our "History of Abbeys." Nor were there more than eighty Rectors of churches, fifty Prebendaries, fifteen Masters of Colleges, twelve Archdeacons, twelve Deans, with six Abbots and Abbesses, deprived at this time of their places throughout all England.

23—26. *Matthew Parker designed Archbishop: his due Commendation. The Queen's Letter for his Consecration; the Manner thereof; the Legality of his Consecration.*

Now the queen and her council accounted it high time to supply the church of Canterbury (which hitherto had stood vacant a year and three weeks)* with an archbishop. Dr. Matthew Parker is appointed for the place; born in Norwich, bred in Cambridge, master of—benefactor to—Bennet College there, chaplain to queen Anne Boleyn, (a relation which, next his own merits, befriended him with queen Elizabeth for such high and sudden advancement,) then to king Henry VIII. dean of the college of Stoke-juxta-Clare; a learned and religious divine. He confuted that character which one gives of antiquaries, that "generally they are either superstitious or supercilious," his skill in antiquity being attended with soundness of doctrine and humility of manners. His book called *Antiquitates Britannicæ* hath indebted all posterity to his pen: which work our great critic † cites as written by Mr. Joscelin, one much employed in the making thereof. But we will not set the memories of the patron and chaplain at variance, (who loved so well in their lives' time,) nor needeth any writ of partition to be sued out betwixt them, about the authorship of this book, though probably one brought the matter, the other the composure thereof.

The queen had formerly sent order, July 18th, to Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury, (an exquisite civilian, and therefore one who may be presumed critical in such performances,) and to the chapter there, to choose Matthew Parker their archbishop, which, within fourteen days after, August 1st, was by them accordingly performed. This done, she directeth her letters patents in manner and form following:—

ELIZABETHA Dei gratiâ, &c. Reverendis in Christo patribus,

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* Counted from Pole's death to Parker's consecration.

† MR. SELDEN "Of Tythes," cap. ix. page 256.

Antonio Landavensi episcopo, Wilhelmo Barlow quondam Bath, et Well. ep. nunc Cicestrensi electo, Joh. Scory quondam Cicestrensi episcopo, nunc electo Herefor. Miloni Coverdalio, quondam Exoniensi episcopo, Johanni suffraganeo Bedford, Johanni suffraganeo Thetford, Johanni Bale Osserensi episcopo. Quatenus vos, aut ad minus quatuor vestrûm, eundem Matthæum Parkerum in archiepiscopum, et pastorem ecclesiæ cathedralis et metropoliticæ Christi Cantuariensis prædictæ, sicut præfertur, electum, electionemque prædictam confirmare et eundem magistrum Matthæum Parkerum in archiepiscopum, et pastorem ecclesiæ prædictæ consecrare, cæteraque omnia et singula peragere, quæ vestro in hac parte editorum et provisorum, velitis cum effectu, &c. Dat. sexto Decembris, anno secundo Elizabethæ.[*]

But the old bishop of Landaff appeared not at the consecration, December 6th; terrified, say the papists, by Bonner's threats, so as to absent himself; which others do not believe. For, he that feared not the lion out of the grate,—would he be frighted with the lion within the grate? If Bonner, when at liberty, could not deter him from taking the oath of supremacy, improbable it is that, when now detained prisoner in the Tower, he could dissuade him from his obedience to his sovereign. More likely it is, that his absence (as also bishop Bale's and the suffragan's of Thetford) was occasioned by their indisposition of body, and infirmity of old age.

But the other four bishops appeared,—William Barlow, John Scory, Miles Coverdale, and John Hodgskins; by whom Matthew Parker was solemnly consecrated, December 17th, in manner and form following:—The east part of the chapel of Lambeth[†] was hung with tapestry, the floor spread with red cloth, chairs and cushions are conveniently placed for the purpose. Morning Prayer being solemnly read by Andrew Peerson, the archbishop's chaplain, bishop Scory went up into the pulpit, and took for his text,[‡] "The elders which are among you I exhort, who also am an elder and a witness of the sufferings of Christ," &c. 1 Peter v. 1. Sermon ended, and the sacrament administered, they proceed to the consecration. The archbishop had his rochet on, with Hereford, and the suffragan of Bedford; Chichester wore a silk cope, and Coverdale, a plain cloth-gown down to his ancles. All things are done conformable to the book of ordination, Litany sung, the queen's patent for Parker's consecration audibly read by Dr. Vale. He is presented, the oath of supremacy tendered to him, taken by him, hands reverently imposed on him, and all with prayers begun, continued, concluded. In a word, though here was no theatrical pomp to make it a popish pageant; though no sandals, gloves, ring, staff, oil, pall, &c. were used upon him; yet there was ceremony enough to clothe his consecration with decency, though not to clog it with superstition.

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[*] *Registrum Parkeri*, tome i. fol. 3.

[†] *Ibid.* fol. 9.

[‡] *Ibid.* fol. 10.

This his consecration is avowed most legal, both according to canon and common law. In the latter it was ordered by king Henry VIII. that an archbishop should not be consecrated but by an archbishop and two bishops; or by four bishops, in case an archbishop was wanting, as here it was performed.* Object not, that one of these four was but a suffragan; seeing, such, by the laws of the land, though not able to vote as barons in parliament, had episcopal power to all purposes and intents.† Neither cavil, that Coverdale henceforward led a private life, being always a bishop *quoad characterem*, and for the present *quoad jus et titulum*, (Exeter, his former bishopric, being actually void by the deprivation of Turberville,) though refusing to be so *quoad possessionem*. As for the canonical part of his consecration, six of the most eminent doctors of that faculty England then afforded gave it under their hands, that the same was exactly observed.

27—30. *The impudent Lie of the Nag's Head. Neale's Testimony (the sole Witness thereof) confuted. A silent Witness pretended in vain.*

Yet, notwithstanding all circumstances so solemnly performed, some impudent papists have raised a lie, that Matthew Parker was consecrated *ad caput manni*, "at the Nag's Head," a tavern in Cheapside. Indeed, they show a place therein, just against the bar, so anciently arched, that an active fancy (which can make any thing of any thing) may create to itself a top or tester of a pulpit thereof, though the like thereunto may be seen elsewhere in the city. But that this lie of the Nag's Head was bred in a knave's brains, doth plainly appear. For why should a rich man be a thief? Seeing all churches in England were equally open unto them to pick and choose at pleasure, why should they steal a clandestine consecration in a place so justly obnoxious to censure? Were not the Canaanites and Perizzites then in the land? Were not many prying papists then mingled amongst protestants? which consideration alone would command them to be cautious in their proceedings. Besides, that mock pulpit, shown at this day at the entrance of that tavern, was inconsistent with the secrecy, (which is said to be their design,) who would rather have made choice of an inner and more remote room for that purpose. But when once one Jesuit had got this shameless lie of the Nag's Head (I cannot say by the tail, but) by the ears, instantly Champney, Fitz-Simon, Persons, Killison, Constable, and all the whole kennel of them, bawl it out in their books to all posterity.

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* *Anno regni* 25.

† 26th of Henry VIII. cap. 14.

All the authority the papists produce for their Nag's-Head consecration is ultimately resolved into the single testimony of one Thomas Neale,* chaplain to bishop Bonner, and some time Hebrew professor in Oxford. But was this Neale known or unknown to the bishops, pretended in this tavern-assembly? If known, as most probable he was, (Bonner's chaplains bearing their master's mark, the indelible character of cruelty stamped upon them, as the wolf is too well known to the sheep,) it is utterly unlikely they would permit a person vowing open opposition to their proceedings, to be present thereat. If Neale were unknown, the English bishops (whom the papists, though they call "heretics," do not count fools) would not admit a stranger to their privacies of such importance; seeing, commonly in such case, men's jealousies interpret every unknown face to be a foe unto them.

To the testimony of Neale, one endeavours to twist the witness of John Stow, to prove this Nag's-Head consecration :† a silent witness, who says nothing herein, if either we consult his "Chronicle" of our kings, or his "Survey of London;" he neither speaks words nor makes any signs thereof. But, saith the Jesuit, Stow, though prudently omitting to print it, told the same to some of his private friends. I pray, to whom? Where and when? and what credible witnesses do attest it? Be it referred to the ingenuity of our very adversaries, whether their bare surmises, without any proof, be to be believed before the public records, faithfully taken when the thing was done, carefully preserved ever since, entirely extant at this day, and truly transcribed here by us! Besides, Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham, (not more famous for the coronet of a count than the crown of old age,) alive in the latter end of the reign of king James, being requested of a friend whether he could remember Matthew Parker's consecration, gave an exact account of the same solemnly performed in Lambeth chapel, being himself an eye-witness thereof, and an invited guest to the great feast kept there that day, therefore the more observant of all particular passages thereat, because the said archbishop was related to him as a kinsman. Let such as desire further satisfaction herein, consult learned Mason,‡ (whom king James justly termed a "wise builder in God's house,") who hath left no stones unturned to clear the truth, and stop the mouth of malicious adversaries. Let the papists, therefore, not be so busy to cast dirt on our bishops; but first fall on washing the face of their own pope, even John the twelfth, whom an excellent author* reporteth to have ordained a deacon in a stable, for which two cardinals reproved him. And let these three stories be told together,—that the empress Helen was the daughter of an hostler;—that archbishop Cranmer himself was an hostler; and that our first bishops in queen Elizabeth's days were consecrated in the Nag's Head. I say, let these three be told together; because wise and good men will believe them together, as all coming forth of the forge of falsehood and malice.

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* A curious co-incidence in name between the originator of this oft-refuted slander, and the zealous propagator of it in more modern times—the author of "the History of the Puritans."—EDIT.

† CHAMPNEIUS, page 501.

‡ *De Ministerio Anglicano*, lib. iii. cap. 8, 9, &c.

Now, though we are not to gratify our adversaries with any advantages against us, yet so confident is our innocence herein that it may acquaint the world with that small foundation on which this whole report was bottomed:—Every archbishop or bishop presents himself in Bow Church, accompanied thither with civilians; where any shall be heard who can make any legal exceptions against his election. A dinner was provided for them at the Nag's Head in Cheapside, as convenient for the vicinity thereof; † and from this spark hath all this fire been kindled, to admonish posterity, not only to do no evil, but also, in this captious age, to refrain from "all appearance thereof."

31. *Sees supplied with Protestant Bishops.*

Parker, thus solemnly consecrated, proceeded, with the assistance of the aforesaid bishops, to the consecration of other grave divines; and not (as Sanders lewdly lies) that these new-elected bishops, out of good fellowship, mutually consecrated one another; some whereof were put into bishoprics void,—By the natural death of the former bishops; as Salisbury, Rochester, Gloucester, Bristol, Bangor: Or, by their voluntary desertion; as Worcester and St. Asaph: Or, by their legal deprivation; as all other sees in England.

Suffice it at this time to present a perfect catalogue of their names, sees, with the dates of their consecrations, referring their commendable characters to be set down, when we come to their respective deaths.

PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

1. Edward Grindal, consecrated bishop of London, December 21st, 1559.

2. Richard Cox, consecrated bishop of Ely, December 21st, 1559.

3. Edwin Sandys, consecrated bishop of Worcester, December 21st, 1559.

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* Luitprandus, lib. vi. cap. 7.

† This the lord chancellor Egerton affirmed to bishop Williams.

4. Rowland Merick, consecrated bishop of Bangor, December 21st, 1559.

5. Nicholas Bullingham, consecrated bishop of Lincoln, January 21st, 1559.

6. John Jewel, consecrated bishop of Salisbury, January 21st, 1559.

7. Thomas Young, consecrated bishop of St. David's, January 21st, 1559.

8. Richard Davies, consecrated bishop of St. Asaph, January 21st, 1559.

9. Thomas Bentham, consecrated bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, March 24th, 1559.

10. Gilbert Barclay, consecrated bishop of Bath and Wells, March 24th, 1559.

11. Edmond Gwest, consecrated bishop of Rochester, March 24th, 1559.

12. William Alley, consecrated bishop of Exeter, July 14th, 1560.

13. John Parkhurst, consecrated bishop of Norwich, September 1st, 1560.

14. Robert Horne, consecrated bishop of Winchester, February 16th, 1560.

15. Edmond Scambler, consecrated bishop of Peterborough, February 16th, 1560.

16. Richard Cheiney, consecrated bishop of Gloucester, April 19th, 1562.

PROVINCE OF YORK.

1. Thomas Young, translated from St. David's to York, February 20th, 1560.

2. James Pilkington, consecrated bishop of Durham, March 2nd, 1560.

3. John Best, consecrated bishop of Carlisle, March 2nd, 1561.

4. George Downham, consecrated bishop of Chester, May 4th, 1561.

The other bishoprics were thus disposed of: Richard Cheiney held Bristol *in commendam* with Gloucester; Barlow and Scory, bishops in king Edward's days, were translated, the one to Chichester, the other to Hereford. As for the bishopric of Oxford, as it was void as this time, so it continued for some years after.

32. *Mr. Gilpin refuseth the Bishopric of Carlisle.*

We must not forget how the bishopric of Carlisle was first proffered to Bernard Gilpin, that patriarchal divine, rector of Houghton in the north; as may appear by the ensuing letter of Edwin Sandys,* bishop of Worcester, wrote unto him:—

"MY MUCH AND WORTHILY RESPECTED COUSIN,

"HAVING regard unto the good of the church of Christ, rather than to your ease, I have, by all the good means I could, been careful to have this charge imposed upon you, which may be both an honour to yourself, and a benefit to the church of Christ. My true report concerning you hath so prevailed with the queen's majesty, that she hath nominated you bishop of Carlisle.

"I am not ignorant, that your inclination rather delighteth in the peaceable tranquillity of a private life. But if you look upon the estate of the church of England with a respective eye, you cannot with a good conscience refuse this charge imposed upon you: So much the less because it is in such a place, as wherein no man is found fitter than yourself to deserve well of the church. In which respect I charge you before God, and as you shall answer to God herein, that, setting all excuses aside, you refuse not to assist your country, and to do service to the church of God to the uttermost of your power. In the mean while I give you to understand, that the said bishopric is to be left untouched, neither shall any thing of it be diminished, (as in some others it is a custom,) but you shall receive the bishopric entire, as Dr. Oglethorp hath left it.

"Wherefore exhorting and charging you to be obedient to God's call herein, and not to neglect the duty of our own calling, I commend both yourself and the whole business to the Divine Providence.

"Your kinsman and brother,
"EDWIN WORCESTER."

But Mr. Gilpin desired to be excused, continuing ummovable in his resolution of refusal. Not that he had any disaffection to the office, (as some do believe themselves, and would willingly persuade others,) but because (as he privately confessed to his friends†) he had so much kindred about Carlisle, at whom he must either connive in many things, not without hurt to himself; or else deny them, not without offence to them: to avoid which difficulties, he refused the bishopric. It was afterward bestowed (as in our catalogue) on Dr. John Best, a grave and learned divine. But whether on the same terms, (without any diminution to the church,) my author‡ knew not, leaving us under a shrewd suspicion of the negative.

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* Found amongst Mr. Gilpin's papers after his death.

† BISHOP CARLETON in Gilpin's Life, page 80.

‡ *Idem*, page 81.

33. *Why Barlow and Scory were not restored to their former Bishoprics, conjectured.*

If any demand of me, why Barlow, formerly bishop of Bath and Wells, and Scory, bishop of Chichester, were not rather restored to their own, than translated to other bishoprics; as certainly I do not know, so willingly I will not guess at the cause thereof; though I have leisure to listen to the conjectures of others herein. Some impute it to their own desires, (preferring fair paper before what was soiled with their ill success,) rather to begin on a new account, than to renew their reckoning with those bishoprics where they had been interrupted with persecution. Others ascribe it to the queen, herein showing her absolute power of disposition and transposition of all prelates; at her pleasure crossing her hands, and translating Scory from Chichester to Hereford, Barlow from Bath and Wells to Chichester. A third sort resolve it on a point of the queen's frugality, (a virtue needful in a princess coming to a crown in her condition,) to get new first-fruits by their new translations, which otherwise would not accrue by their restitutions. Sure I am, none of these conjecturers were either of the bedchamber or council-board to the queen, acquainted with her intentions herein.

34. *Why Coverdale resumed not his Bishopric of Exeter.*

As for Miles Coverdale, formerly bishop of Exeter, he never returned to his see, but remained a private minister to the day of his death. Indeed, it was true of him, what is said of others, he was "as a firebrand plucked out of the burning," Amos iv. 11; being designed to death by queen Mary, had not the seasonable and importunate intercession of Frederick, king of Denmark, redeemed him. And although his dissenting in judgment from some ceremonies in our discipline is generally alleged as the cause of his not returning to his bishopric; yet more probable it is, it was caused by his impotency, as may appear by his epitaph, which here we have thought fit to insert, as I took it from the brass inscription of his marble stone, under the communion-table in the chancel of St. Bartholomew's behind the Exchange.

Hic tandem requiemque ferens finemque laborum,
Ossa Coverdalis mortua tumbus habet.
Exoniæ qui præsul erat dignissimus olim,
Insignis vitæ vir probitate suæ.
Octoginta annos grandævus vixit et unum,
Indignum passus sæpius exilium.
Sic demum variis jactatum casibus, ista
Excepit gremio terra benigna suo.

Obiit 1568, *Jan.* 20.

Now if Coverdale, *anno* 1568, was fourscore-and-one years of age, then, at this very time when he consecrated Parker was he seventy-two years old, passing with Jesse "for an old man," 1 Sam. xvii. 12; yea, he had passed the "age of man," Psalm xc. 10; and therefore, henceforward, finding himself fitter for devotion than action, refused the resumption of his bishopric.

35. *Mean Ministers in this Age, as appears by Mr. Tavernour's Sermon.*

So much for the bishops. As for the inferior clergy, under them, the best that could be gotten were placed in pastoral charges. Alas! tolerability was eminency in that age. A rush-candle seemed a torch where no brighter light was ever seen before. Surely, preaching now ran very low, if it be true what I read, that Mr. Tavernour, of Water-Eaton in Oxfordshire, high sheriff of the county, came, in pure charity, not ostentation, and gave the scholars a sermon in St. Mary's, with his gold chain about his neck, and his sword by his side, beginning with these words: "Arriving at the mount of St. Mary's in the stony stage where I now stand, I have brought you some fine biscuits, baked in the oven of charity, and carefully conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the Spirit, and the sweet swallows of salvation." *

If England, in our memory, hath been sensible of a perfective alteration in her churches; if, since, she hath seen more learning in the people's pews than was then generally in the reader's desk, yea, preacher's pulpit; let God be more glorified in it, men more edified by it; seeing of late the universities have afforded more vine-dressers than the country could yield them vineyards. Yea, let us be jealous over ourselves with a godly jealousy, lest our ingratitude make us to relapse into the like ignorance and barbarism. For, *want of bread* was not so much the suffering of those days, as *fulness thereof* hath lately been the sin of ours.

36. *A Proclamation against Defacers of Monuments in Churches.*

Great abuses being offered to the monuments of the dead, the queen thought fitting seasonably to retrench the increase of such impieties. And although her proclamation being printed, the printing of her name thereunto had been of as much validity in itself, and of far more ease to her majesty; yet, to manifest her princely zeal therein, she severally signed each copy (and those numerous, to be dispersed throughout all her dominions) with her own hand.

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* In the preface to SIR JOHN CHEKE's book called "The true Subject to the Rebel," printed at Oxford, 1641.

And, seeing she begrudged not her pains to superscribe her name, I shall not think much of mine to transcribe the whole proclamation.*

"ELIZABETH.—The queen's majesty understanding, that by the means of sundry people, partly ignorant, partly malicious or covetous, there hath been of late years spoiled and broken certain ancient monuments, some of metal, some of stone, which were erected up as well in churches as in other public places within this realm, only to show a memory to the posterity of the persons there buried, or that had been benefactors to the building or dotations of the same churches, or public places, and not to nourish any kind of superstition, by which means not only the churches and places remain at this present day spoiled, broken, and ruinated, to the offence of all noble and gentle hearts, and the extinguishing of the honourable and good memory of sundry virtuous and noble persons deceased; but also the true understanding of divers families in this realm (who have descended of the blood of the same persons deceased) is thereby so darkened as the true course of their inheritance may be hereafter interrupted, contrary to justice; besides many other offences that do hereof ensue to the slander of such as either gave or had charge in times past only to deface monuments of idolatry and false feigned images in churches and abbeys: And therefore, although it be very hard to recover things broken and spoiled, yet, both to provide that no such barbarous disorder be hereafter used, and to repair as much of the said monuments as conveniently as may be, her majesty chargeth and commandeth all manner of persons hereafter, to forbear the breaking or defacing of any parcel of any monument, or tomb, or grave, or other inscription and memory of any person deceased, being in any manner of place; or to break any image of any kings, princes, or nobles, estates of this realm, or of any other that have been in times past erected and set up, for the only memory of them to their posterity in common churches, and not for any religious honour; or to break down and deface any image in glass-windows in any churches, without consent of the ordinary; upon pain that whosoever shall be herein found to offend, to be committed to the next gaol, and there to remain without bail or mainprise, unto the next coming of the justices, for the delivery of the said gaol; and then to be farther punished by fine or imprisonment, (besides the restitution or re-edification of the thing broken,) as to the said justices shall seem meet; using therein the advice of the ordinary; and, if need shall be, the advice of her majesty's Council in her Star-Chamber.

"And for such as be already spoiled in any church or chapel now standing, her majesty chargeth and commandeth all archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, or ecclesiastical persons, which have authority to visit the churches or chapels, to inquire, by presentments of the curates, churchwardens, and certain of the parishioners, what manner of spoils have been made, since the beginning of her majesty's reign, of such monuments, and by whom; and, if the persons be living, how able they be to repair and re-edify the same; and thereupon to convent the same persons, and to enjoin them, under pain of excommunication, to repair the same by a convenient day, or otherwise (as the cause shall further require) to notify the same to her majesty's Council in the Star-Chamber at Westminster. And, if any such be found and convicted thereof, not able to repair the same, that then they be enjoined to do open penance two or three times in the church, as to the quality of the crime and party belongeth, under the like pain of excommunication. And if the party that offended be dead, and the executors of the will left having sufficient in their hands unadministered, and the offence notorious, the ordinary of the place shall also enjoin them to repair or re-edify the same, upon like or any other convenient plan, to be devised by the said ordinary. And when the offender cannot be presented, if it be in any cathedral or collegiate church, which hath any revenue belonging to it, that is not particularly allotted to the sustenation of any person certain, or otherwise, but that it may remain in the discretion of the governor thereof, to bestow the same upon any other charitable deed, as mending of highways, or such like; her majesty enjoineth and straitly chargeth the governors and companies of every such church to employ such parcels of the said sums of money (as anywise may be spared) upon the speedy repair or re-edification of any such monuments so defaced or spoiled, as agreeable to the original, as the same conveniently may be.

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* This proclamation was printed at London in Paul's Churchyard, by Richard Jugg and John Cawood, printers to the queen.

"And where the covetousness of certain persons is such, that as patrons of churches, or owners of the parsonages impropriated, or by some other colour or pretence, they do persuade with the parson and parishioners to take or throw down the bells of churches and chapels, and the lead of the same, converting the same to their private gain, and to the spoils of the said places, and make such like alterations as thereby they seek a slanderous desolation of the places of prayer; her majesty (to whom in the right of the crown, by the ordinance of Almighty God, and by the laws of this realm, the defence and protection of the church of this realm belongeth) doth expressly forbid any manner of person to take away any bells, or lead, of any church or chapel, under pain of imprisonment during her majesty's pleasure, and such farther fine for the contempt as shall be thought meet.

"And her majesty chargeth all bishops and ordinaries to inquire of all such contempts, done from the beginning of her majesty's reign, and to enjoin the persons offending to repair the same within a convenient time; and of their doings in this behalf to certify her majesty's Privy Council or the Council in the Star-Chamber at Westminster, that order may be taken herein.

"Given at Windsor the 19th of September, the second year of her majesty's reign."

Her princely care took this desired effect, that it stopped the main stream of sacrilege herein, though some by-rivulets thereof ran still in private churches, in defiance of all orders provided to the contrary.

37—39. *The Death and Character of Bishop Bale. The Persecutions which in his Life he suffered. Bale's Passion endeavoured to be excused.*

May the reader take notice, that henceforward, God willing, we will set down at the end of every year, the deaths of such eminent divines who deceased therein; though we find no funerals of any prime protestant in the two first years of the queen's reign. Her coming to the crown inspirited the weakest and oldest with vigorousness and vivacity for a time; and Divine Providence preserved them from blasting, who were but newly replanted in their places. Only we conjecture, that John Bale, bishop of Ossory, died about this time, we finding no future mention of his activity; which, if alive, could not conceal itself. Pity it is, we cannot give the exact date of his death, who was so accurate in noting the deceases of others. For, this John Bale was he, who (beside many other books) enlarged Leland, and continued the Lives of the English Writers. Born at Covy, near Dunwich in Suffolk, bred in Cambridge, afterwards a Carmelite in Norwich, and ignorantly zealous in their superstitions; he was first converted to the knowledge of the Gospel, as himself confesseth,* by the care of that worthy lord, Thomas lord Wentworth, of Nettlested in Suffolk. Whereupon (to use his own expression) he was transported from his barren Mount Carmel, to the fair and fruitful vale of the Gospel.

Presently comes persecution. For his preaching of the Gospel, he is dragged from the pulpit to the consistory, before Lee, archbishop of York; and, for the same cause, was afterwards convented before Stokesley, bishop of London; but the lord Cromwell (much affected with the facetiousness of such comedies as he had presented unto him) rescued him from their paws by his power. After eight years' exile in Germany, he was recalled by king Edward, and made bishop of Ossory in Ireland, where he remained but a short time. For, after the king's death, he hardly escaped with his own life, (some of his servants being slain,) cast by tempest into Cornwall, taken by pirates, dearly redeemed, with much difficulty he recovered London, with more danger got over into Germany; whence returning, in the first of queen Elizabeth, about this time he ended his life, leaving a scholar's inventory,—more books (many of his own making) than money behind him.

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* *De Scriptor. Britan. centuria* 8.

His friends say, that Bale's pen doth zealously confute—such as are strangers to him conceive it doth bitterly inveigh—and his foes say it doth damnably rail on—papists and their opinions; though something may be pleaded for his passion. Old age and ill usage will make any man angry. When young, he had seen their superstition; when old, he felt their oppression. Give losers, therefore, leave to speak, and speakers to be choleric in such cases. The best is, Bale rails not more on Papists, than Pits (employed on the same subject) on Protestant writers; and, even set one against the other, whilst the discreet reader of both, paring off the extravagances of passion on each side, may benefit himself in quietness, from their loud and clamorous invectives.

40. *The Pope tampereth to reconcile the Queen to the Church of Rome.*

Pius IV. being newly settled in the papal chair, May 5th, thought to do something, no less honourable than profitable to his see, in reducing queen Elizabeth (a wandering sheep worth a whole flock) to the church of Rome. In order whereunto, he not only was deaf to the importunity of the count of Feria, pressing him (for a private grudge) to excommunicate her, but also addressed Vincent Parpalia, abbot of St. Saviour's, with courteous letters unto her: the tenor whereof ensueth:—

"To our most dear daughter in Christ, Elizabeth, queen of England.

"Dear daughter in Christ, health and apostolical benediction! How greatly we desire (our pastoral charge requiring it) to procure the salvation of your soul, and to provide likewise for your honour and the establishment of your kingdom withal, God the Searcher of all hearts knoweth; and you may understand, by what we have given in charge to this our beloved son Vincentius Parpalia, abbot of St. Saviour's, a man well-known to you, and well-approved by us. Wherefore we do again and again exhort and admonish your Highness, most dear daughter, that, rejecting evil counsellors, which love not you but themselves, and serve their own lusts, you would take the fear of God into counsel with you, and, acknowledging the time of your visitation, show yourself obedient to our fatherly persuasions and wholesome counsels; and promise to yourself from us all things that may make not only to the salvation of your soul, but also whatsoever you shall desire from us for the establishing and confirming of your princely dignity, according to the authority, place, and office committed unto us by God. And if so be, as we desire and hope, you shall return into the bosom of the church, we shall be ready to receive you with the same love, honour, and rejoicing, that the father in the Gospel did his son returning to him: although our joy is like to be the greater in that he was joyful for the salvation of one son, but you, drawing along with you all the people of England, shall hear us, and the whole company of our brethren (who are shortly, God willing, to be assembled in a general council, for the taking away of heresies, and so for the salvation of yourself and your whole nation,) fill the universal church with rejoicing and gladness. Yea, you shall make glad heaven itself with such a memorable fact, and achieve admirable renown to your name, much more glorious than the crown you wear. But, concerning this matter, the same Vincentius shall deal with you more largely, and shall declare our fatherly affection toward you: and we intreat your majesty to receive him lovingly, to hear him diligently, and to give the same credit to his speeches, which you would to ourself.

"Given at Rome at St. Peter's, &c. the fifth day of May, 1560, in our first year."

What private proposals Parpalia made to her majesty, on condition she would be reconciled to Rome, is unknown. Some conceive the pope might promise more than he meant to perform; but would he perform more than he did promise, nothing herein had been effected. A bargain can never be driven, where a buyer can on no terms be procured. Her majesty was resolute and unmovable in her religion. And yet some, (not more knowing of councils, but more daring in conjectures, than others,) who love to feign what they cannot find, that they may never appear to be at a loss, avouch, that the pope promised to revoke the sentence against her mother, Anne Boleyn's marriage, to confirm our English Liturgy by his authority, to permit the English the communion under both kinds, provided she would own the pope's primacy, and cordially unite herself to the catholic church. Yea, some thousands of crowns (but all in vain) were promised to the effectors thereof; wherein his Holiness, seemingly liberal, was really thrifty, as knowing such his sums, if accepted, would within one year return with an hundred-fold increase.

41, 42. *The Contents of Scipio's Letter to Mr. Jewel. The Sum of Mr. Jewel's Answer.*

Scipio, a gentleman of Venice, formerly familiar with Mr. Jewel, (whilst he was a student in Padua,) wrote now an expostulating letter unto him, being lately made bishop of Salisbury: Wherein he much admired that England should send no ambassador, nor message, nor letter to excuse their nation's absence from the general appearance of Christianity in the sacred Council of Trent. He highly extolled the antiquity and use of general councils, as the only means to decide controversies in religion, and compose the distractions in the church; concluding it a superlative sin for any to decline the authority thereof.

To this Mr. Jewel returned a large and solemn answer. Now, although he wrote it as a private person, yet, because the subject thereof was of public concernment, take the principal heads* thereof:—

First. That a great part of the world professing the name of Christ, (as Greeks, Armenians, Abyssinians, &c. with all the eastern church,) were neither sent to, nor summoned to this council.

Secondly. That England's absence was not so great a wonder, seeing many other kingdoms and free states (as Denmark, Sweden, Scotland, princes of Germany, and Hanse-towns) were not represented in this council, by any of their ambassadors.

Thirdly. That this pretended council was not called according to the ancient custom of the church, by the imperial authority, but by papal usurpation.

Fourthly. That Trent was a petty place, not of sufficient receipt for such multitudes as necessarily should repair to a general council.

Fifthly. That pope Pius IV. by whose command the council was re-assembled, purchased his place by the unjust practices of Simony and bribery, and managed it with murder and cruelty.

Sixthly. That repairing to councils was a free act; and none ought to be condemned of contumacy, if it stood more with their conveniency to stay at home.

Seventhly. That anciently it was accepted as a reasonable excuse of holy bishops absenting or withdrawing themselves from any council, if they vehemently suspected aught would be acted therein prejudicial to the truth, lest their (though not active) included concurrence might be interpreted a countenancing thereof.

Eighthly. Our English bishops were employed in feeding their flocks, and governing their churches, and could not be spared from their charge without prejudice to their consciences.

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* See it at large at the end of the "History of the Council of Trent."

Ninthly. The members of the council of Trent, both bishops and abbots, were by oath pre-engaged to the pope "to defend and maintain his authority against all the world."

Lastly. In what capacity should the English clergy appear in this council? They could not as free persons, to debate matters therein; being pre-condemned for heretics by pope Julius. They would not come as offenders, to hear the sentence pronounced against themselves which they had heard of before.

What effect this letter produced I find not. Sure I am, no papists as yet have made an effectual refutation of the reasons rendered therein.

43. *Westminster Collegiate Church re-founded by Queen Elizabeth.*

The bells of St. Peter's in Westminster had strangely rung the changes these last thirty years: within which time, First, It was a stately and rich convent of Benedictine monks. Secondly. It was made a collegiate church of dean and prebendaries by king Henry VIII. Thirdly. By the same king, it was made an episcopal see, and Thomas Thirlby (who having wasted the church's patrimony, surrendered it to the spoil of courtiers) the first and last bishop thereof. Fourthly. Queen Mary re-seated the abbot and monks in the possession thereof, who were outed after her death. Lastly. This year queen Elizabeth converted it again into a collegiate church, founding therein maintenance for one dean, twelve prebendaries, as many old soldiers past service for alms-men, and forty scholars, who in due time are preferred to the universities; so that it hath proved one of the most renowned seminaries of religion and learning in the whole nation.

44, 45. *The Pope trieth again in vain to seduce the Queen. The Death of Sir Edward Carne.*

Pope Pius, though unsuccessful in his addresses last year to the queen, yet was not so disheartened but that once more he would try what might be effected therein. To which purpose he employed the abbot of Martinegi with most loving letters unto her, desiring leave to come over into England. But the queen, knowing it less difficulty and danger to keep him, than to cast him, out of her dominions, forbade his entrance into the realm, as against the laws of the land. So that he was fain to deliver his errand, and receive his answer, (and that a denial,) at distance, in the Low Countries. As little success had the bishop of Viterbo, the pope's nuncio to the king of France, secretly dealing with Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the queen's agent there, to persuade her to send ambassadors to the council of Trent; which, for the reasons afore-mentioned, was justly refused.

Sir Edward Carne, the queen's lieger at Rome, doctor of civil law, knighted by the emperor Charles V. pretended that as the queen would not suffer the pope's nuncio to come into England, so the pope would not permit him to depart Rome. Whereas, indeed, the cunning old man was not detained, but detained himself; so well pleased was he with the place and his office therein; where soon after he died, the last lieger of the English nation to Rome publicly avowed in that employment.

46. *Paul's Steeple burned down.*

This year the spire of Paul's steeple, covered with lead, strangely fell on fire, attributed by several persons to sundry causes: some, that it was casually blasted with lightning; others, that it was mischievously done by art-magic; and others, (and they the truest,) done by the negligence of a plumber carelessly leaving his coals therein. The fire burned for five full hours; in which time it melted all the lead of the church, only the stone arches escaping the fury thereof. But, by the queen's bounty, and a collection from the clergy, it was afterwards repaired; only the blunt tower had not the top thereof sharpened into a spire as before.

47, 48. *Papists stickle in Merton College; are curbed by the Archbishop's Visitation.*

A petty rebellion happened in Merton College in Oxford, (small in itself, great in the consequence thereof, if not seasonably suppressed,) on this occasion:—Some Latin superstitious hymns, formerly sung on festivals, had, by order of the late Warden, Dr. Gervas, been abolished, and English psalms appointed in their place. Now when Mr. Leach, a Fellow in the House, on Allholland-day last had the book in his hand, ready to begin the psalm, in springs one Mr. William Hall, a senior Fellow, offering to snatch it from him, with an intent to cast it into the fire; adding moreover,* that they would no more dance after his pipe. This was done in the interval of the vacancy of the Wardenship. For, though John Man was lawfully chosen to the place, yet Hall and his popish faction (whereof Mr. Potto, Mr. Binnion, and Sir —— Appleby, the leaders) opposed his admission. And whereas in this House great was the power of a senior Fellow (especially in office) over the young scholars, Hall raised such a persecution against them that it was penal for any to be a protestant.

Archbishop Parker, hearing hereof, summoneth Hall to appear before him; who cared so little for the same, that some of his party plucked off the seal from the citation, which was affixed to the gates of the college. Whereupon his Grace made a solemn visitation of that college, May 26th, wherein all were generally examined, Man confirmed Warden, Hall justly expelled, his party publicly admonished, the young scholars relieved, papists curbed and suppressed, protestants countenanced and encouraged in the whole university.

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* Manuscript records of Canterbury in Matthew Parker, page 322.

49, 50. *Cranmer's Children restored in Blood. An Act for translating the Bible into Welsh. A. D.* 1563.

A parliament was called, January 11th,* wherein a Bill passed for the assurance of certain lands assumed by the queen from some bishoprics during their vacation; another, for the restitution in blood of the children of Thomas Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury.† Here fain would I be informed, by some learned in the law, what needed the restoring of those children whose father was condemned, and died only for heresy? which is conceived a personal crime, and not tainting the blood. For although this archbishop was first accused of high treason, yet it afterwards was waved, and he tried upon heretical opinions. Except any will say, that because not solemnly and formally pardoned, *in majorem cautelam*, such an act was not amiss, or else done, not so much for the use of the living children, as honour of their dead father.

A third Bill passed for the translating of the Bible into the Welsh tongue; which since the Reformation may hitherto be said to have been read in Latin in their congregations; English being Latin to them, as, in the most parishes of Wales, utterly un-understood. This, some years after, was performed, principally by the endeavours of William Morgan,‡ doctor of divinity, afterwards bishop of Landaff, and thence preferred to St. Asaph; but worthy, for his work, of better advancement.

51—54. *The thirty-nine Articles compiled in Convocation; why favourably drawn up in general Terms. Most Confessors who composed the Articles. English Articles and Trent Decrees, Contemporaries.*

In the Convocation now sitting, January 29th, wherein Alexander Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, was prolocutor, the nine-and-thirty Articles were composed. For the main, they agree with those set forth in the reign of king Edward VI. though in some particulars allowing more liberty to dissenting judgments. For instance: in this king's Articles it is said, "that it is to be believed, that Christ went down to hell, *to preach to the spirits there;*" which last clause is left out in these Articles, and men left to a latitude concerning the cause, time, and manner of his descent.

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* Parliament Rolls, *quinto Elizabethæ*.

† I have read that he was condemned of treason, (CROMPTON'S "Juris. Courts," fol. 2, b,) which treason was released unto him; and yet he, saith HOLINSHED, excepted out of the general pardon:—intricacies I understand not.

‡ GODWIN in his "Catalogue of Bishops," page 641.

Hence some have unjustly taxed the composers for too much favour extended in their large expressions, clean through the contexture of these Articles, which should have tied men's consciences up closer in more strict and particularizing propositions; which, indeed, proceeded from their commendable moderation: children's clothes ought to be made of the biggest, because afterwards their bodies will grow up to their garments. Thus, the Articles of this English Protestant Church, in the infancy thereof, they thought good to draw up in general terms, foreseeing that posterity would grow up to fill the same, I mean, these holy men did prudently pre-discover, that differences in judgments would unavoidably happen in the church, and were loath to un-church any, and drive them off from an ecclesiastical communion, for such petty differences; which made them pen the Articles in comprehensive words to take in all, who, differing in the branches, meet in the root, of the same religion.

Indeed, most of them had formerly been sufferers themselves, and cannot be said, in compiling these Articles, (an acceptable service, no doubt,) to offer to God what cost them nothing, 2 Sam. xxiv. 24; some having paid imprisonment—others, exile—all, losses in their estates—for this their experimental knowledge in religion; which made them the more merciful and tender in stating those points, seeing such who have been most patient in bearing, will be most pitiful in burdening the consciences of others.

It is observable, these Articles came forth much about the time wherein the Decrees of the Council of Trent were published; truth and falsehood starting in some sort both together, though the former will surely carry away the victory at long running. Many of which Decrees begin with lying, and all conclude with cursing,—thundering anathemas against all dissenters: whilst these our Articles, like the still voice, only plainly express the positive truth.

55. *The thirty-nine Articles confirmed by Parliament; but only imposed on Clergymen.*

But some nine years after, namely, *anno* 1571, the parliament confirmed these Articles so far, that every clerk should, before the Nativity of Christ next following, subscribe the same; and hereafter every person, promoted to an ecclesiastical living, should, within a time prefixed, publicly in the time of Divine service, read and profess his consent to the same, on pain of deprivation *ipso facto*, if omitted.*

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* See the Statutes in *decimo-tertio Elizabethæ*, cap. 12.

No lay person was required to subscribe, no magistrate, none of the commons, according to the severity in other places. For the persecuted church of English in Frankfort, in queen Mary's days, demanded subscription to their discipline of every man, yea, even of women; and the Scotch (in the minority of king James) exacted it of noblemen, gentlemen, and courtiers, which here was extended only to men of ecclesiastical function. Not that the queen and state was careless of the spiritual good of others, (leaving them to live and believe as they list,) but because charitably presuming that where parishes were provided of pastors orthodox in their judgments, they would, by God's blessing on their preaching, work their people to conformity to the same opinions.

56—59. *Query about the twentieth Article, whether shuffled in, or no. The Accuser's first Mistake. The dubious Appearing of this Clause. Archbishop Laud's Opinion in the Point.*

Some question there is about a clause in the twentieth Article, whether originally there, or since interpolated. Take the whole Article according to the common edition thereof: *—

XX. OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH.

"The church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith. And yet it is not lawful for the church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's word; neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the church be a witness and keeper of Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation."

Take along with this the bitter invective of a modern minister,† who thus layeth it on with might and main on the backs of bishops, for some unfair practice herein, in an epistle of his, written to the temporal lords of his majesty's Privy Council, reckoning up therein fourteen innovations in the church:—

"The prelates, to justify their proceedings, have forged a new Article of religion, brought from Rome, which gives them full power to alter the doctrine and discipline of our church at a blow; and have foisted it into the twentieth Article of our church. And this is in the last edition of the Articles, *anno* 1628, in affront of his majesty's Declaration before them. The clause forged is this: 'The church,' (that is, the bishops, as they expound it) 'hath power to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in matters of faith.' This clause is a forgery fit to be examined and deeply censured in the Star-chamber. For it is not to be found in the Latin or English Articles of Edward VI. or queen Elizabeth, ratified by parliament. And if to forge a will or writing be censurable in the Star-chamber, which is but a wrong to a private man, how much more the forgery of an Article of religion, to wrong the whole church and overturn religion, which concerns all our souls!"

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* Page 98.

† MR. BURTON in his "Apology."

Such as deal in niceties discover some faltering from the truth in the very words of this grand delator. For the article saith, that "the church hath authority *in controversies* of faith." He chargeth them with challenging "authority in *matters* of faith." Here, some difference betwixt the terms. For "*matters* of faith," which all ought to know and believe for their souls' health, are so plainly settled by the Scriptures, that they are subject to no alteration by the church, which, notwithstanding, may justly challenge a casting voice in some *controversies* of faith, as of less importance to salvation.

But, to come to the main matter: This clause in question lieth at a dubious posture, at in and out, sometimes inserted, sometimes omitted, both in our written and printed copies.

INSERTED IN the original of the Articles 1562-3, as appeareth under the hand of a public notary, whose inspection and attestation is only decisive in this case. So also *anno* 1593, and *anno* 1605, and *anno* 1612; all which were public and authentic editions.

OMITTED IN the English and Latin Articles set forth, 1571, when they were first ratified by Act; and whose being, as obligatory to punishment, bears not date nine years before, from their composition in Convocation, but henceforward from their confirmation in Parliament.

And now, to match the credit of private authors in some equality, we will weigh Mr. Rogers, chaplain to archbishop Whitgift, inserting this clause in his edition, 1595, against Dr. Mocket, chaplain to archbishop Abbot, omitting it in his Latin translation of our Articles set forth 1617.

Archbishop Laud, in a speech which he made in the Star-chamber, inquiring into the cause why this clause is omitted in the printed Articles, 1571, thus expresseth himself:* "Certainly this could not be done but by the malicious cunning of that opposite faction. And though I shall spare dead men's names, where I have not certainty, yet, if you be pleased to look back and consider who they were that governed businesses in 1571, and rid the church almost at their pleasure, and how potent the ancestors of these libellers began then to grow, you will think it no hard matter to have the Articles printed, and this clause left out." I must confess myself not so well skilled in historical horsemanship, as to know whom his Grace designed for the rider of the church at that time. It could not be archbishop Parker, who, though discreet and moderate, was sound and sincere in pressing conformity. Much less was it Grindal, (as yet but bishop of London,) who then had but little—and never much—influence on church-matters. The earl of Leicester could not in this phrase be intended, who alike minded the insertion or omission of this or any other Article. As for the nonconformists, they were so far at this time from riding the church, that then they first began to put foot in stirrup, though since they have dismounted those whom they found in the saddle. In a word, concerning this clause, whether the bishops were faulty in their addition or their opposites in their subtraction, I leave to more cunning state-arithmeticians to decide.

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* In his speech made June 14th, 1637, page 65.

60—63. *An Article to confirm the Homilies made in King Edward's Reign; as also those in Queen Elizabeth's Reign. The Use of Homilies: their authentical Necessity questioned.*

One Article more we will request the reader to peruse, as the subject of some historical debates which thereon doth depend.

XXXV. OF HOMILIES.

"The Second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times; as doth the Former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of Edward VI. and therefore, we judge them to be read in churches by the ministers diligently and distinctly, that they may be understood of the people."

See we here the Homilies ranked into two forms. The First, such as were made in the reign of Edward VI. being twelve in number; of which the tenth, ("Of Obedience to Magistrates,") was drawn up at or about Ket's rebellion, in a dangerous juncture of time. For, as it is observed of the Gingles, or St. Anthony's fire, that it is mortal if it come once to clip and encompass the whole body; so had the north-east rebels in Norfolk met and united with the south-east rebels in Devonshire, in human apprehension desperate the consequence of that conjuncture.

The Second form of Homilies, are those composed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, amounting to one-and-twenty, concluding with one against rebellion. For though formerly there had been one in king Edward's days for obedience, yet this was conceived no superfluous tautology, but a necessary gemination of a duty in that seditious age, wherein dull scholars needed to have the same lesson often taught unto them.

They are penned in a plain style, accommodated to the capacities of the hearers, (being loath to say of the readers,) the ministers also being very simple in that age. Yet if they did little good, in this respect they did no harm,—that they preached not strange doctrines to their people, as too many vent new darknesses in our days. For they had no power to *broach* opinions, who were only employed to deliver *that liquor* to them which they had received from the hands of others better skilled in religion than themselves.

However, some behold these Homilies as not sufficiently legitimated by this Article to be (for their doctrine) the undoubted issue of the church of England, alleging them composed by private men of unknown names, who may probably be presumed, at the best, but the chaplains of the archbishops under whom they were made. Hence is it that some have termed them "homely Homilies," others "a popular Discourse,"* or "a Doctrine useful for those times wherein they were set forth." I confess, what is necessary in one age may be less needful in another; but what in one age is "godly and wholesome doctrine," (characters of commendation given by the aforesaid Article to the Homilies,) cannot in another age be ungodly and unhealthful; as if our faith did follow fashions, and truth alter with the times, like Ahithophel's counsel, 2 Sam. xvii. though good in itself, yet not at some seasons. But some are concerned to decry their credits, as much contrary to their judgment, more to their practice; especially seeing the second Homily in the second book stands with a sponge in one hand to wipe out all pictures, and a hammer in the other to beat down all images of God and saints erected in churches. And, therefore, such use these Homilies as an upper garment, girding them close unto—or casting them from—them at pleasure; allowing and alleging them when consenting—denying and disclaiming them when opposite—to their practice or opinions.

64. *Rastall writes against Bishop Jewel.*

The religion in England being settled according to these Articles, which soon after were published, the first papist that fell foul upon them was William Rastall, nephew to Sir Thomas More, by Elizabeth his sister, and a great lawyer. Yet we believe not him that telleth us,† he was one of the two Chief Justices, as knowing the contrary.‡ However, he was very knowing in our common law: witness his collections of statutes and comments thereon, with other works in that faculty. But this *veteranus jurisconsultus* was *vix tyro theologus*, showing rather zeal to the cause, than ability to defend it, in those books which he set forth against bishop Jewel.

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* MR. MOUNTAGU in his *Appello ad Cæsarem*.

† PITZÆUS *De Angli. Scriptoribus*, page 764.

‡ See SIR HENRY SPELMAN'S "Glossary" *in Indice*.

65. *The Death of Dr. Smith.*

No eminent English Protestant died this year; but great grief among the Romanists for the loss of Dr. Richard Smith, king's Professor of Divinity in Oxford, till outed by Peter Martyr. Whereupon he forsook the land, returned in the reign of queen Mary, went back after her death into the Low Countries, where he was made dean of St. Peter's in Douay, and appointed by king Philip II. first Divinity Professor in that new-erected university. His party * much complain that his strong parts were disadvantaged with so weak sides and low voice; though, indeed, too loud his railing against the truth, as appears by his books.

66, 67. *The Original of Puritans. The Homonymy of the Term. A.D.* 1564.

The English bishops, conceiving themselves empowered by their canons, began to show their authority in urging the clergy of their diocess to subscribe to the Liturgy, ceremonies, and discipline of the church; and such as refused the same were branded with the odious name of PURITANS.

A name which in this notion first began in this year; and the grief had not been great, if it had ended in the same. The philosopher banisheth the term, (which is Polysæmon,) that is subject to several senses, out of the predicaments, as affording too much covert for cavil by the latitude thereof. On the same account could I wish that the word "Puritan" were banished common discourse, because so various in the acceptations thereof. We need not speak of the ancient *Cathari* or primitive Puritans, sufficiently known by their heretical opinions. "Puritan" here was taken for *the opposers of the hierarchy and church-service,* as resenting of superstition. But profane mouths quickly improved this nickname, therewith on every occasion to abuse pious people; some of them so far from opposing the Liturgy, that they endeavoured (according to the instructions thereof in the preparative to the Confession) "to accompany the minister with a *pure* heart," and laboured (as it is in the Absolution) "for a life *pure* and holy." We will, therefore, decline the word to prevent exceptions; which, if casually slipping from our pen, the reader knoweth that only nonconformists are thereby intended.

68, 69. *Mr. Fox a moderate Nonconformist, and Dr. Laurence Humphrey.*

These in this age were divided into two ranks: Some mild and moderate, contented only to enjoy their own conscience: Others fierce and fiery, to the disturbance of church and state. Amongst the former, I recount the principal: Father John Fox, (for so queen Elizabeth termed him,) summoned (as I take it) by archbishop Parker to subscribe, that the general reputation of his piety might give the greater countenance to conformity. The old man produced the New Testament in Greek. "To this," saith he, "will I subscribe." But when a subscription to the canons was required of him, he refused it, saying, "I have nothing in the church save a prebend at Salisbury; and much good may it do you if you will take it away from me!" However, such respect did the bishops (most formerly his fellow-exiles) bear to his age, parts, and pains, that he continued his place till the day of his death; who, though no friend to the ceremonies, was otherwise so devout in his carriage, that (as his nearest relation surviving hath informed me) he never entered any church without expressing solemn reverence therein.

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* PITZÆUS *De Anglic. Scriptoribus,* page 761.

With Mr. Fox, I join his dear friend Laurence Humphrey; whom I should never have suspected for inclinations to nonconformity, (such his intimacy with Dr. Jewel and other bishops,) had I not read in my author, that *de adiaphoris non juxta cum ecclesiâ Anglicanâ senserit.*[*] He was Regius Professor of divinity in Oxford, where his answers and determinations were observed quick, clear, and solid; but his replies and objections weak and slender, which his auditors imputed to no lack of learning, (wherewith he was well stored,) but to his unwillingness to furnish his popish adversaries with strong arguments to maintain their erroneous opinions. But such his quiet carriage, that, notwithstanding his non-subscribing, he kept his professor's place and deanery of Winchester as long as he lived.

70—72. *Anthony Gilby, a fierce Nonconformist, and William Whittingham, and Christopher Goodman. A.D.* 1566.

Pass we now to the fierce (not to say furious) sticklers against church-discipline, and begin with Anthony Gilby, born in Lincolnshire, bred in Christ's College in Cambridge. How fierce he was against the ceremonies, take it from his own pen:[†] "They are known liveries of anti-Christ, accursed leaven of the blasphemous popish priesthood, cursed patches of popery and idolatry. They are worse than lousie, for they are sibbe to the sarke [akin to the shirt] of Hercules, that made him tear his own bowels asunder."

William Whittingham succeeds, bred in All Soul's College in Oxford, afterwards exile in Germany, where he made a preface to

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[*] CAMDEN'S *Elizabetha in anno* 1589.

[†] Page 150.

Mr. Goodman's book, approving the divinity therein; and, returning into England, was made dean of Durham.*

Christopher Goodman is the third; and well it were if it might be truly said of him, (what of Probus the emperor,) that he was *vir sui nominis.* Sure it is, that living beyond the seas in the days of queen Mary, he wrote a book stuffed with much dangerous doctrine: Wherein he maintained that Sir Thomas Wyat was no traitor, that his cause was God's, that none but traitors could accuse him of treason, and that the counsellors and others who would be accounted nobles (and took not his part) were, in very deed, traitors to God, his people, and their country.† These three (for, David Whitehead I have no mind to mention with them) were certainly the *antesignani* of the fierce nonconformists,‡ Yet find I none of them solemnly silenced, either because perchance dead before this year, wherein the vigorous urging of subscription; or because finding some favour in respect of their suffering of banishment for the protestant religion. Only I meet with Thomas Sampson, dean of Christ's church in Oxford, *qui propter puritanismum exauthoratus,*§ displaced this year out of his deanery; notwithstanding the said Sampson stands very high in Bale's catalogue of the English exiles in the reign of queen Mary.

73. *The Queen's Entertainment at Oxford.*

Queen Elizabeth came to Oxford, August 31st, honourably attended with the earl of Leicester, lord chancellor of the University, the marquess of Northampton, the lord Burleigh, the Spanish ambassador, &c. Here she was entertained with the most stately welcome which the Muses could make. Edmond Campian, then proctor, (oratory being his master-piece,) well performed his part, only over-flattering Leicester, (enough to make a modest man's head ache with the too sweet flowers of his rhetoric,) save that the earl was as willing to hear his own praise, as the other to utter it. Her Highness was lodged in Christ's church, where many comedies were acted before her, one whereof (Palæmon and Arce) had a tragical end, three men being slain by the fall of a wall, and press of people.‖ Many Acts were kept before her in philosophy, and one most eminent in divinity, wherein bishop Jewel (this year in his absence created honorary doctor) was moderater. It lasted in summer-time till candles were lighted, delight devouring all weariness in the auditors; when the queen, importuned by the lords,

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* BALE *Cent. nona*, page 731.

† Pages 203, 206, 207.

‡ Note, that these three were active in the separation from Frankfort. *Vide supra* in this volume, page 414

§ GODWIN's Catalogue in the Bishops of Oxford.

‖ STOW's "Chronicle," page 660.

(the Spanish ambassador, to whom she proffered it, modestly declining the employment,) concluded all with this her Latin oration :—

74. *Her Highness's Speech to the University.**

Qui malè agit, odit lucem ; et ego quidem quia nihil aliud nisi malè agere possum, idcircò odi lucem, odi, id est, conspectum vestrum. Atque sanè me magna tenet dubitatio, dum singula considero quæ hic aguntur, laudemne an vituperem, taceamne an eloquar? Si eloquar, patefaciam vobis quàm sim literarum rudis: tacere autem nolo, ne defectus videatur esse contemptus. Et quia tempus breve est quod habeo ad dicendum, idcircò omnia in pauca conferam, et orationem meam in duas partes dividam, in laudem et vituperationem. Laus autem ad vos pertinet. Ex quo enim primùm Oxoniam veni, multa vidi, multa audivi, probavi omnia. Erant enim et prudenter facta, et eleganter dicta. At ea quibus in prologis vos ipsi excusâstis, neque pro pare ut regina possum, neque ut Christiana debeo. Cæterum quia in exordio semper adhibuistis cautionem, mihi sanè illa disputatio non displicuit. Nunc venio ad alteram partem, nempe vituperationem. Atque hæc pars mihi propria est. Sanè fateor parentes meos diligentissimè curasse ut in bonis literis rectè instituerer, et quidem in multarum linguarum varietate diu versata fui, quarum aliquam mihi cognitionem assumo: quod etsi verè tamen verecundè dico. Habui quidem multos et doctos pædagogos, qui ut me eruditum redderent diligenter elaborârunt. Sed pædagogi mei posuerunt operam in agro sterili et infæcundo, ita fructus percipere vix poterant, aut dignitate meâ, aut illorum laboribus, aut vestrâ expectatione dignos. Quamobrem etsi omnes vos me abundè laudâstis, ego tamen, quæ mihi conscia sum quàm sim nullâ laude digna, facile agnosco; sed finem imponam orationi meæ Barbarismis plenæ, si prius optavero, et votum unum addidero. Votum meum hoc erit, ut, me vivente, sitis florentissimi; me mortuâ, beatissimi.

Thus having stayed seven days, she took her leave of the university, September 6th, Mr. Williams, the mayor, riding in scarlet before her majesty to Magdalen-bridge, but the doctors attending her in their formalities as far as Shotover.

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* This speech was taken by DR. LAURENCE HUMPHREY, and by him printed in the Life of Bishop Jewel, page 244.

SECTION II.

TO WILLIAM HONEYWOOD, ESQUIRE.

Some conceive, that to be pressed to death, (the punishment on recusants to submit to legal trial,) is the greatest torment in the world. God keep all good men from feeling—and chiefly from deserving—it! I am the easier induced to believe the exquisiteness of the torture, being sensible in myself, by your bounty, what a burden it is for one, who would be ingenuous, to be loaded with courtesies which he hath not the least hope to requite or deserve.

1—6. *The Suit betwixt Bishops Horne and Bonner. Bonner's Counsel. Their first Plea. Second Exception. Main Matter debated by the Judges; divided by the Parliament. A favourable Proviso.*

In this year began the suit betwixt Robert Horne, bishop of Winchester, and Edmund Bonner, late bishop of London, on this occasion: All bishops were empowered by the statute *quinto Elizabethæ*, to tender the Oath of Supremacy to all persons living within their diocess. Now, bishop Bonner was within the diocess of Winchester, full ill against his will, (as being a prisoner in the Marshalsea in Southwark,) to whom Horne offered this oath, and he refused the taking thereof. Hereupon his refusal was returned into the King's Bench, and he indicted on the same. Being indicted, he appeared there, confessed the fact, but denied himself culpable; and, intending to traverse the indictment, desired that counsel might be assigned him. Sir Robert Cateline, then Chief Justice, granted his motion; and no meaner than Plowden that eminent lawyer, Christopher Wray afterwards lord chief justice, and —— Lovelace, were deputed his counsel.

First. They pleaded for their client, that Bonner was indicted without the title and addition of "Bishop of London," and only styled "Doctor of Law, and one in Holy Orders." But the judges would not allow the exception as legal to avoid the indictment.

Secondly. They pleaded, that the certificate entered upon record was thus brought into the court: *tali die et anno per A. B. cancellarium dicti episcopi Winton;* and did not say, *per mandatum episcopi;* for the want of which clause, Bonner's counsel took exceptions thereat, *sed non allocatur*, because the record of it by the court is not of necessity.

Pass we by their third exception,—"that he was indicted upon that certificate in the county of Middlesex by the common jury of inquest in the King's Bench for that county;" it being resolved by the judges, that his trial could not be by a jury of Middlesex, but by a jury of Surrey of the neighbourhood of Southwark. The main matter which was so much debated amongst all the judges in the lord Cateline's chamber was this: "Whether Bonner could give in evidence of that issue that he had pleaded of *not guilty*, that Horne bishop of Winchester was not a bishop *tempore oblationis sacramenti*, at the time wherein he tendered the oath unto Bonner!" And it was resolved by them all,* that if the truth of the matter was so indeed, that he might give that in evidence upon that issue, and that the jury might try whether he was a bishop then or no.

Whilst this suit as yet depended, the queen called a parliament, Sept. 30th, which put a period to the controversy, and cleared the legality of Horne's episcopacy in a statute enacting, "That all persons that have been or shall be made, ordered, or consecrated archbishops, bishops, priests, ministers of God's holy word and sacraments, or deacons after the form and order prescribed in the said order and form how archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, and ministers should be consecrated, made, and ordered, be in very deed, and also by authority hereof, declared and enacted to be, and shall be, archbishops, bishops, priests, ministers, and deacons, and rightly made, consecrated, and ordered; any statute, law, canon, or other thing to the contrary notwithstanding."

However, it immediately followeth, "Provided always, and nevertheless be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That no person or persons shall, at any time hereafter, be impeached or molested in body, lands, livings, or goods, by occasion or mean of any certificate, by any archbishop or bishop heretofore made, or before the last day of this present session of Parliament to be made, by virtue of any Act made in the first session of Parliament, touching or concerning the refusal of the oath declared and set forth by Act of Parliament, in the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lady queen Elizabeth; any thing in this Act, or any other Act or Statute heretofore made to the contrary notwithstanding.

7, 8. *Their Suit superseded. Malice pleased, nor full nor fasting.*

The seasonable interposing of this statute made it a drawn battle betwixt Horne and Bonner. The former part thereof, here alleged, cleared Horne's episcopacy from all cavils of law; the latter proviso was purposely inserted in favour of Bonner, (who here himself found that which he never showed to others,) that he (as all other popish bishops deprived) might be no more molested for refusing the Oath of Supremacy. The Parliament saw they had already lost their livelihood and liberties for their erroneous consciences, and had received their thirty-nine stripes, more than which the state thought not fit to inflict, lest their justice should degenerate into cruelty.

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* Dyer, fol. 234. *Mich.* 6 *et* 7 *Eliz. placito* 15.

The enacting of this statute did not stop the railing mouths of papists against our bishops, but only made them alter their note, and change their tune in reviling them. Formerly they condemned them as illegal, whose calling was not sufficiently warranted by the laws of the land; henceforward Sanders and others railed on them for "parliamentary bishops,"* deriving all their power and commission from the state. But as well might the Jesuits term Shemaiah and Nethaniah "prerogative Levites," 2 Chron. xvii. 8; because sent by Jehoshaphat to preach the word to the people of the land. For that good king did not give, but quicken and encourage, their commission to teach; as here the parliament did only publish, notify, and declare the legal authority of the English bishops, whose call and consecration to their place was formerly performed, derived from apostolical, or at leastwise, ecclesiastical institution.

9, 10. *The Ringleaders of the second Set of Nonconformists. Their Judgments of the Queen.*

These were the prime of the first set of Puritans; which, being very aged, expired (for the most part) at or about this time: when, behold, another generation of active and zealous nonconformists succeeded them. Of these, Coleman, Button, Halingham, and Benson, (whose Christian names I cannot recover) were the chief; inveighing against the established church-discipline, accounting every thing from Rome which was not from Geneva, endeavouring in all things to conform the government of the English church to the Prebyterian Reformation. Add these three more, though of inferior note to the aforesaid quaternion: William White, Thomas Rowland, Robert Hawkins, all beneficed within the diocess of London; and take a taste of their spirits out of the register thereof.

For, this very year, these three were cited to appear before Edmund Grindall, bishop of London, one who did not run of himself, yea, would hardly answer the spur in pressing conformity. The bishop asked them this question, "Have we not a godly prince? Speak, is she evil?" To which they made their several answers in manner following:—

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* *De Schismate Anglicano*, page 449.

William White.—What a question is that the fruits do show.

Thomas Rowland.—No, but the servants of God are persecuted under her.

Robert Hawkins.—Why, this question the prophet answereth in the Psalms: "How can they have understanding that work iniquity, spoiling my people, and that extol vanity?"*

Wonder not therefore if the queen proceeded severely against some of them, commanding them to be put into prison, though still their party daily increased.

11. *The Death of Dr. Wotton.*

Nicholas Wotton died this year, dean at the same time of Canterbury and York; so that these two metropolitan churches, so often contesting about their privileges, were reconciled in his preferment. He was doctor of both laws, and some will say of both Gospels, who being Privy Counsellor to king Henry VIII. Edward VI. queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth, never overstrained his conscience, such his oily compliance in all alterations. However, he was a most prudent man, and happily active in those many embassies wherein he was employed.

12. *Harding and Saunders bishop it in England.* *A. D.* 1568.

The Romanists were neither ignorant, not to observe—nor idle, not to improve—the advantage lately given them by the discords betwixt the bishops and nonconformists. And now, to strengthen their party, two most active fugitive priests, Thomas Harding and Nicholas Saunders, return into England; and that episcopal power which they had lately received from the pope, they largely exercised on the papists:—1. Absolving all English in the court of consicence who returned to the bosom of their church. 2. Dispensing with them in cases of irregularity, saving such which proceeded from wilful murder. 3. Even from irregularity of heresy, on condition that the party to be absolved refrained three years from the ministry of the altar.† Very earnest they were in advancing the catholic cause, and perverted very many to their own erroneous opinions.

13. *Queen of Scots comes into England. Her Letter to Pius Quintus.*

Mary queen of Scots, ill-used at home by her own subjects, made an escape into England, May 17th, and landed at Workington in Cumberland; the state-part of whose sufferings we leave to civil historians, confining ourselves to the imprinted passages concerning religion, beginning with her letter to the pope.*

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* The Register of London, page 33.

† Camden's "Elizabeth" in this year.

"Most holy Father,—After the kissing of your most holy feet, I having been advertised that my rebels and their fautors that retain them in their countries, have wrought so effectually by their practices, that it hath been related unto the king of Spain my lord and good brother, that I am become variable in the catholic religion, although I have within some days past written to your Holiness devoutly to kiss your feet, and recommending me unto you, I do now again most humbly beseech you to hold me for a most devout and a most obedient daughter of the Holy Catholic Roman church, and not to give faith unto those reports which may easily come or shall hereafter come to your ears, by means of the false and calumnious speeches which the said rebels, and other of the same sect, have caused to be spread abroad; that is to say, that I have changed my religion, thereby to deprive me of your Holiness's grace, and the favour of other catholic princes. The same hath touched my heart so much, that I could not fail to write again of new to your Holiness, to complain and bemoan myself of the wrongs and of the injuries which they do unto me. I beseech the same most humbly to be pleased to write in my favour to the devout Christian princes, and obedient sons of your Holiness, exhorting them to interpose their credit and authority which they have with the queen of England, in whose power I am, to obtain of her, that she will let me go out of her country, whither I came, secured by her promises, to demand aid of her against my rebels; and if, nevertheless, she will retain me, by all means yet that she will permit me to exercise my religion, which hath been forbidden to me, for which I am grieved and vexed in this kingdom; insomuch as I will give you to understand, what subtilties my adversaries have used to colour these calumniations against me. They so wrought that an English minister was sometimes brought to the place where I am straitly kept, which was wont to say certain prayers in the vulgar tongue; and, because I am not at my own liberty, nor permitted to use any other religion, I have not refused to hear him, thinking I had committed no error. Wherein nevertheless, most holy father, if I have offended or failed in that or any thing else, I ask *misericordia* of your Holiness, beseeching the same to pardon and to absolve me, and to be sure and certain that I have never had any other will than constantly to live the most devout and most obedient daughter of the Holy Catholic Roman church, in which I will live and die according to your Holiness's advices and precepts. I offer to make such amends and penance that all catholic princes, especially your Holiness, as monarch of the world, shall have occasion to rest satisfied and contented with me. In the mean time I will devoutly kiss your Holiness's feet, praying God long to conserve the same for the benefit of his holy church. Written from Castle Boulton,* the last of November, 1568.

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* Hitherto never printed; the copy whereof was, with many other rarities, bestowed on me by James archbishop of Armagh; translated out of the Italian.

" The most devout and obedient daughter to your Holiness, the queen of Scotland, widow of France.

" MARIA."

I meet not with the answer which his Holiness returned unto her; and, for the present, leave this lady in safe custody, foreseeing that this her exchange of letters with foreign princes, and the pope especially, will finally cause her destruction.

14. *The Death of Thomas Young, Archbishop of York.*

Thomas Young, archbishop of York, died at Sheffield, June 26th, and was buried in his own cathedral. He plucked down the great hall at York, built by Thomas his predecessor five hundred years before; so far did *plumbi sacra fames*, " desire to gain by the lead," prevail with him. Yet one presumeth to avouch, that all that lead in effect proved but dross unto him, being in fine defeated of the profit thereof. He was the first protestant English bishop that died in the days of queen Elizabeth.†

15—17. *The Rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; more superstitious than valiant; routed by the Queen's Forces. A.D.* 1569.

Thomas Piercy earl of Northumberland, and Charles Neville earl of Westmoreland, November 14th, brake out into open rebellion against the queen: Lords of right noble extraction and large revenue, (whose titles met with their estates in the northern parts,) and indeed the height of their honour was more than the depths of their judgment. These intended to restore the Romish religion, set free the queen of Scots; pretending much zeal for the liberty of the people and honour of the nation; complaining of queen Elizabeth's neglect of the ancient nobility, and advancing mean persons to the places of highest trust and command; though indeed could she have made her noblemen wise, (as she did her wise men noble,) these earls had never undertaken this rebellion. Numerous their tenants in the north, and their obligations the higher for the low rent they paid; though now, alas! poor souls, they paid a heavy fine, losing their lives in the cause of their landlords.

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* The lord Scrope's house in Yorkshire, where Sir Francis Knowls was her keeper.

† SIR JOHN HARRINGTON in his addition to Bishop Godwin's Catalogue.

Their first valour was to fight against the English Bible and Service-Book in Durham, November 15th, tearing them in pieces. And as yet unable to go to the cost of saying mass for want of vestments, they began with the cheapest piece of popery—holy-water, their wells plentifully affording water, and Plumtree the priest quickly conferring consecration. Afterwards, better provided, they set up mass in most places where they came, Richard Norson, an ancient and aged gentleman, carrying the cross before them, and others bearing in their banners the five wounds of Christ, or a chalice, according to their different devices. No great matter was achieved by them, save the taking of Barnard Castle in the bishopric, December 10th; which, indeed, took itself in effect, the defenders thereof being destitute of victuals and provisions.*

But hearing how the garrisons of Carlisle and Berwick were manned against them on their backs, and the earl of Sussex advancing out of the south with an army to oppose them, their spirits quickly sunk; and being better armed than disciplined, wanting expert commanders, (how easily is a rout routed!) they fled northwards, and mouldered away without standing a battle.

18, 19. *An Italian Author reckoning without his Host. Northumberland, with many more of the Rebels, executed. A.D.* 1506.

An Italian author, writing the Life of Pope Pius Quintus, giveth us this brief account of this expedition: "They did not over-run the kingdom, as they ought to have done, and followed after Elizabeth; for which they could not have wanted followers enough. But they stood still; and, not being able to maintain themselves long in the field for want of money, they finally withdrew themselves into Scotland without any thing doing." So easy it is for this author's fancy (which scaleth the highest walls without ladders, gaineth the straitest passes without blows, crosses the deepest rivers without bridge, ford, or ferry) to over-run England; though otherwise this handful of men (never exceeding six hundred horse and four thousand foot) were unlikely to run through other shires, who could not stand a blow in their own country.

Northumberland fled into Scotland, lurked there a time, was betrayed to earl Murray, sent back into England, and beheaded at York. Westmoreland made his escape into Flanders, (the wisest work that ever he did,) where he long lived very poor, on a small and ill-paid pension. Many were executed by Sir George Bowes, knight marshal, every market-town being then made a shire-town for his assizes, betwixt Newcastle and Wetherby, (about sixty miles in length, and forty in breadth,†) much terrifying those parts with his severity. Insomuch that when, next year, Leonard Dacres put together the ends of the quenched brands of this rebellion, with intent to rekindle them, they would not take fire, but, by the vigilancy and valour of the lord Hunsdon, his design was seasonably defeated.

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* Stow's "Chronicle," page 663. † *Ibid.*

20. *The Execution of Dr. Story.*

John Story, doctor of law, a cruel persecutor in the days of queen Mary, (being said for his share to have martyred two or three hundred,) fled afterwards over into Brabant, and because great with the duke de Alva, (like cup, like cover!) he made him searcher at Antwerp for English goods. Where if he could detect either Bible or heretical books, as they termed them, in any ship, it either cost their persons imprisonment, or goods confiscation.* But now being trained into the ship of Mr. Parker, an Englishman, the master hoisted sail, (time and tide, wind and water consenting to that design,) and over was this tyrant and traitor brought into England; where, refusing to take the Oath of Supremacy, and professing himself subject to the king of Spain, he was executed at Tyburn; where, being cut down half dead, after his privy members were cut off, he rushed on the executioner, and gave him a blow on the ear, to the wonder (saith my author) of all the standers-by; and I (who was not there) wonder more that it was not recounted amongst the Romish miracles.†

21. *The Original of the English Colleges beyond the Seas.*

The old store of papists in England began now very much to diminish and decay; insomuch that the Romanists perceived they could not spend at this rate out of the main stock, but it would quickly make them bankrupt. Prisons consumed many, age more of their priests; and they had no place in England whence to recruit themselves. The largest cistern with long drawing will grow dry, if wanting a fountain to feed the daily decay thereof. Hereupon they resolved to erect colleges beyond the seas, for English youth to have their education therein: A project now begun, and so effectually prosecuted, that, within the compass of fifty years, nine colleges were by them founded and furnished with students, and they with maintenance; as by the following catalogue may appear, as they stood at the last year of king James. Since, no doubt, they have been enlarged in greatness, increased in number, enriched in revenues, as such who shall succeed us in continuing this story may report to posterity. May they, at my request, (if having the conveniences of leisure and instructions,) be pleased to perfect this my catalogue, and replenish the vacuities thereof with their more exact observations. And let no papists laugh at our light mistakes, protestants not pretending to such exact intelligence of their colleges as they have of ours. Indeed, they have too critical instructions of all our English societies, by their agents living amongst us; and it is a bad sign when suspicious persons are over-prying to know the windows, doors, all the passages, and contrivances of their neighbour's houses, as intending therein some design for themselves.

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* Fox's "Acts and Monuments," page 2152.

† *Idem, ibidem.*

I. DOUAY COLLEGE IN FLANDERS.

Founded by Philip II. king of Spain, in 1569. Thence (for fear of the wars) removed to Rheims in France, about 1508, where Henry III. king of France, did patronize and protect them; and, some twenty years after, brought back hither again.

Benefactors.—All the recusants in England.

Means.—1. A pension out of the king of Spain's treasury; which being sometimes but badly paid, the scholars are fain to feed on patience. 2. A yearly collection from the catholics of England. 3. Sale of masses, rich men's mortuaries, which also are the staple maintenance of all other colleges.

Number.—Uncertain, but numerous. For, here they do not pick and choose for wit or wealth, (as in other colleges,) but they receive all that come unto them.

Rector.—1. William Allen, (afterwards cardinal,) a principal procurer and advancer of this foundation. He died 1594. 2. Thomas Worthington, (of an ancient family in Lancashire,) rector, 1609. 3. Matthew Kelison, a Northamptonshireman, rector, 1624. Note, that whereas the government of all other English colleges belongs to Jesuits, this only is ruled by Secular Priests.

Eminent Scholars.—Dr. Web, whom they brag to be the best casuist in the world. He lived to sing his mass of jubilee, having been a priest full fifty years.

II. COLLEGE OF ROME.

Founded in 1579, by pope Gregory XIII. [who] exhibited maintenance, first to six, then to fourteen, at last to three-score scholars therein, to the yearly value of four thousand crowns.

Benefactors.—Owen Lewis, Referendary Apostolical, was a principal promoter thereof.

Means.—The Welsh hospital in Rome, (founded and endowed many hundred years since, by Cadwallader, king of Wales, for Welsh pilgrims,) with the rich lands thereof, conferred by pope Gregory XIII. on this college. They have at Frescata, (which is the pope's summer-house, lying some ten miles east of Rome,) three or four farms, where corn for the college and other provision groweth.

NUMBER.—One hundred at the least. But Italian air not well agreeing with English bodies, they bury yearly ten or twelve of their fresh men. Note, that, whereas *anno* 1576, there were but thirty old priests remaining in this realm, these two colleges alone within few years sent above three hundred priests into England.

RECTOR.—1. Dr. Maurice. He was removed out of his place for being too favourable to his countrymen, the Welsh. 2. Ferdinando, a Neapolitan Jesuit, succeeded him. 3. Robert Persons, rector for twenty-three years, from 1587 to 1610, where he died. 4. Thomas Fitzherbert, one of great age and parentage, rector 1623.

EMINENT SCHOLARS.—Francis Monfort, who, *anno* 1591, being to depart the college for England, took his farewell of pope Clement VIII. with so passionate a Latin oration,* that it fetched tears from the tender heart of his Holiness. This Monfort, some months after, was executed in England.

III. COLLEGE OF VALLADOLID, IN OLD CASTILE.

FOUNDED by Philip II. king of Spain, in 1589.

BENEFACTORS.—Donna Louisa de Caravaial, a rich widow lady in Spain, gave all her estate (being very great) to this college, and came over into England, where she died.

MEANS.—Lands they have not purchased much in Spain, (being loath the Spaniard should take notice of their wealth,) but great sums of money they have at use in Brabant; as also with English factors in Spain, (perverted to their persuasion,) they have a great stock in trading.

NUMBER.—They are fewer now than formerly, ever since the Spanish court was removed by Philip III. from Valladolid to Madrid.

RECTOR.—Father Walpole (if not rector) was principal actor herein, about the year 1605; when by pretending to have gained Mr. Pickering Wotton, son and heir to lord Wotton, to the Romish church, he got above five hundred pounds to his college.†

Know that Sir Francis Inglefield, privy counsellor to queen Mary, forsaking his fair estate in Berkshire in the first of queen Elizabeth, fled beyond the sea. He afterwards was a bountiful benefactor to the college at Valladolid. Yea, he is beheld by the English papists as a benefactor-general to their nation, for the privileges he procured them from pope Gregory XIII. whereof hereafter. He lieth buried in this college, and his grave is shown with great respect to travellers of our country coming thither.

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* Extant in the continuation of SANDERS *De Schismate Anglicano*, page 119; "Image of both Churches," page 330; SANDERS *De Schismate Anglicano*, page 365.

† See this forgery at large in LEWIS OWEN'S "Running Register," page 59; to whom I am much beholding for my instructions in this subject.

IV. COLLEGE OF SEVILLE.

Founded by Philip II. king of Spain, in 1593.

Benefactors.—Our English merchants, and factors there residing, even often against their own wills, to secure themselves from these archers in the Inquisition. So that it is a *nemo scit* what here is gotten for a *ne noceant.*

Means.—They have a box in every ship sailing to the West Indies. Upon it is the picture of St. Thomas Becket, (on the Octaves of whose day this college, forsooth, was first founded,) and into it (through a hole in the lid thereof) merchants put in their devotion. The key of this (not Christmas, but all-the-year-long) box is kept by the rector of the college, who only knoweth to how much this money amounteth.

Cunning Conveyances to pass over the Seas.

Here expect not of me a discovery (being no spy by my profession) of the cunning contrivances whereby these Jesuits pass and repass the seas, without any detection, yea, suspicion of them. Sometimes under the protection of a pass, (procured from some lords of the privy council,) for a young gentleman to go over into France, (with two or three of his serving-men,) to learn the language. Sometimes they shuffle themselves into the company of an ambassador, or his menial servants, and so cover their private falsehood under his public faith. Many English gentlewomen, intended for nuns, are first vailed, (before their going beyond seas,) under pretence of travelling to the Spa for their healths. In their return for England, these Jesuits have found the farthest way about, for them the nearest way home. For, out of France or Spain, first they will sail into the Low Countries, and thence into England; and so, coming immediately out of protestant parts, escape without any or with easy examination. And yet these curious engineers, who fly so high, and carry their conveyances so far above all common discovery, have sometimes one of their wheels or strings broken, and then down they fall into Newgate or some other prison, notwithstanding all their verbal and real equivocations.

V. COLLEGE OF ST. OMER'S IN ARTOIS.

Founded by Philip II. about the year 1596, who gave them a good annuity; for whose soul they say every day a mass, and every year an *obitum.*

Benefactors.—English catholics; especially the parents or friends of such youths as here have their education.

Means.—Watton Cloister, being a most pleasant place, with good land, and a fair wood, some two leagues off. It anciently belonged to the Benedictines, of whom the Jesuits here bought it; pope Paulus Quintus, and the king of Spain, confirming their bargain. It is said to be worth five hundred pounds a-year.

Number.—Well nigh a hundred of gentlemen's sons (not as yet professed Jesuits, though like them in habit, but) young scholars. Besides, above twenty Jesuits, (priests and lay-brethren,) having an inspection over them.

Rector.—Though this college be of English only, yet their rector generally is a Fleming, and that out of a double design: First. That he may solicit their suits in that country the better by the advantage of his language and acquaintance. Secondly. That they may the more colourably deny such English passengers as beg of them, pleading, that their rector, being a stranger, will part with no money, and they have none of their own.

Eminent Scholars.—Fathers Fleck, Floid, Wilson.

VI. COLLEGE OF MADRID IN NEW CASTILE IN SPAIN.

Founded in 1606, by Joseph Creswel, Jesuit, with money of the two colleges of Valladolid and Seville, [who] bought a house here, and built a college thereon.

Means.—What they gain by soliciting of suits for merchants and others, in the Spanish court. The rest is supplied unto this college from the parents thereof; I mean, the two colleges of Valladolid and Seville.

VII. COLLEGE OF LOUVAIN IN BRABANT.

Founded about the year 1606, by Philip III. king of Spain, [who] gave a castle, (then much decayed, never much defensive for this city,) with a pension to the English Jesuits, to build them a college therewith.

Number.—Uncertain, as much in motion, and never all resident here together.

VIII. COLLEGE OF LIEGE IN LUIKLAND.

Founded in 1616, by the archbishop of Cologne, being at this time also bishop of Liege, [who] gave them a pension to live on, and leave to build a fair college here.

Benefactors.—Many of the English nobility and gentry, under pretence of passing to the Spa for recovery of their healths, here drop much of their gold by the way. It is doubtful how sovereign the spa water will prove to these passengers, but certain that their gold is cordial to these Jesuits.

Eminent Scholars.—Mr. Brown, brother to the last viscount Mountacute in Sussex, became here a Jesuit.

IX. COLLEGE OF GHENT IN FLANDERS.

Founded in 1624, by Philip IV. who gave them a pension.

One may observe a kind of gradation in these colleges. St. Omer's generally is for boys, to be taught in grammar; Rome, for youths studying the arts; all the rest for men, (novices, or professed Jesuits,) save that Douay is for any, of what age or parts soever. Compare these colleges, amongst themselves, Rome will appear the richest in visible—Valladolid, the cunningest in concealed—wealth; Douay the largest in men and straitest in means; Liege, getting the most from passengers on land; Seville, gaining the best by travellers at sea; Madrid, wearing the bravest clothes, (where all the Jesuits are constant courtiers,) and St. Omer's, eating the best meat, as nearest to England, whence many a dainty bit is daily sent unto them.

22. *The Bounty of English Catholics.*

It is incredible what a mass of money (much in specie, more in exchange) was yearly made over out of England, for the maintenance of these colleges; having here their Provincials, Sub-provincials, Assistants, Agents, Coadjutors, Familiars, &c., who collected vast sums for them, especially from catholics possessed of considerable estates out of abbey-lands, his Holiness dispensing with them to hold the same with a clear conscience, if bountiful on all such occasions.

23. *The Oath taken by English Fugitives at their Admission.*

We will conclude all with the solemn oath, which each student (arrived at man's estate) ceremoniously sweareth, when admitted into one of these colleges:—" I, A. B. one bred in this English college, considering how great benefits God hath bestowed upon me, but then especially, when he brought me out of mine own country, so much infected with heresy, and made me a member of the catholic church; as also desiring, with a thankful heart, to improve so great a mercy of God, have resolved to offer myself wholly up to Divine Service, as much as I may to fulfil the end for which this our college was founded. I promise, therefore, and swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I am prepared from mine heart, with the assistance of Divine Grace, in due time to receive Holy Orders, and to return into England, to convert the souls of my countrymen and kindred, when, and as often, as it shall seem good to the Superior of this college," &c.*

Be it remembered, that our long vacation is their chiefest term; for, in the months of August or September, these colleges receive their annual supplies of green Students, and then dispatch their ripe Noviciates for England; or, if you will, then take in young spawn, and send their old frogs over hither a-croaking. All that I will add is this: If covetousness should prevail so far as to pluck down protestant colleges in England, whilst superstition preserves and increaseth popish seminaries beyond the seas, sad would the sight be, to behold the truth on our side encumbered with ignorance, to encourage falsehood on theirs advantaged with learning and languages.

24. *The Pope excommunicateth the Queen.*

Pope Pius V. had now long patiently expected the amendment of queen Elizabeth; and, weary with his waiting in vain, resolved at last, (if not wisely, valiantly,) that, seeing desperate diseases must have desperate cures, he would thunder his excommunication against her, according to the tenor following:—

"A sentence declaratory of our holy lord pope Pius V. against Elizabeth queen of England, and the heretics adhering unto her. Wherein also her subjects are declared absolved from the oath of allegiance, and every other thing due unto her whatsoever; and those, which from henceforth obey her, are innodated with the anathema.

"Pius, bishop, servant to God's servants, for a future memorial of the matter.

"He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, committed one holy catholic and apostolic church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone upon earth; namely, to Peter the chief of the apostles, and to Peter's successor, the bishop of Rome, to be governed in fulness of power. Him alone he made prince over all people, and all kingdoms, to pluck up, destroy, scatter, consume, plant, and build: that he may contain the faithful that are knit together, with the band of charity in the unity of the Spirit, and present them spotless, and unblamable to their Saviour. In discharge of which function, we, which are by God's goodness called to the government of the aforesaid church, do spare no pains, labouring with all earnestness, that unity, and the catholic religion, (which the Author thereof hath, for the trial of his children's faith, and for our amendment, suffered with so great afflictions,) might be preserved uncorrupt. But the number of the ungodly hath gotten such power, that there is now no place left in the whole world which they have not assayed to corrupt with their most wicked doctrines: amongst others, Elizabeth, the pretended queen of England, the servant of wickedness, lending thereunto her helping hand, with whom, as in a sanctuary, the most pernicious of all have found a refuge. This very woman, having seized on the kingdom, and monstrously usurping the place of supreme head of the church, in all England, and the chief authority and jurisdiction thereof, hath again brought back the said kingdom into miserable destruction, which was then newly reduced to the catholic faith and good fruits.

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* In the continuation of SANDERS *De Schismate Anglicano*, page 116.

"For, having by strong hand inhibited the exercise of the true religion, which Mary, the lawful queen, of famous memory, had by the help of this see restored, after it had been formerly overthrown by Henry VIII. a revolter therefrom; and following and embracing the errors of heretics, she hath removed the royal council consisting of the English nobility, and filled it with obscure men, being heretics, suppressed the embracers of the catholic faith, placed dishonest preachers and ministers of impieties, abolished the sacrifice of the mass, prayers, fastings, choice of meats, unmarried life, and the catholic rites and ceremonies; commanded books to be read in the whole realm, containing manifest heresy and impious mysteries, and institutions by herself entertained and observed, according to the prescript of Calvin, to be likewise observed by her subjects; presumed to throw bishops, parsons of churches, and other catholic priests, out of their churches and benefices, and to bestow them and other church-livings upon heretics, and to determine of church-causes; prohibited the prelates, clergy, and people, to acknowledge the church of Rome, or obey the precepts and canonical sanctions thereof; compelled most of them to condescend to her wicked laws, and to abjure the authority and obedience of the bishop of Rome, and to acknowledge her to be sole lady in temporal and spiritual matters, and this by oath; imposed penalties and punishments upon those which obeyed not, and exacted them of those which persevered in the unity of the faith, and their obedience aforesaid; cast the catholic prelates and rectors of churches in prison, where many of them, being spent with long languishing and sorrow, miserably ended their lives. All which things, seeing they are manifest and notorious to all nations, and by the gravest testimony of very many so substantially proved, that there is no place at all left for excuse, defence, or evasion; we, seeing that impieties and wicked actions are multiplied one upon another; and, moreover, that the persecution of the faithful, and affliction for religion, groweth every day heavier and heavier, through the instigation and means of the said Elizabeth; because we understand her mind to be so hardened and indurate, that she hath not only contemned the godly requests and admonitions of catholic princes, concerning her healing and conversion; but (alas!) hath not so much as permitted the nuncios of this see to cross the seas into England; are constrained of necessity to betake ourselves to the weapons of justice against her, not being able to mitigate our sorrow, that we are drawn to take punishment upon one, to whose ancestors the whole state of all Christendom hath been so much bounden. Being, therefore, supported with His authority whose pleasure it was to place us (though unable for so great a burden) in this supreme throne of justice, we do, out of the fulness of our apostolic power, declare the aforesaid Elizabeth, being a heretic and a favourer of heresies, and her adherents in the matters aforesaid, to have incurred sentence of anathema, and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ. And, moreover, we do declare her to be deprived of her pretended title to the kingdom aforesaid, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever; and also the nobility, subjects, and people of the said kingdom, and all other which have in any sort sworn unto her, to be for ever absolved from any such oath, and all manner of duty of dominion, allegiance, and obedience; as we do also by authority of these presents absolve them, and do deprive the same Elizabeth of her pretended title to the kingdom, and all other things above-said. And we do command, and interdict all and every the noblemen, subjects, people, and others aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her, or her monitions, mandates, and laws; and those which shall do the contrary, we do innodate with the like sentence of anathema. And, because it were a matter of too much difficulty to convey these presents to all places, wheresoever it shall be needful, our will is, that the copies thereof, under a public notary's hand, and sealed with the seal of an ecclesiastical prelate, or of his court, shall carry together the same credit, with all people, judicially and extra-judicially, as these presents should do if they were exhibited or showed.

"Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord one thousand five hundred sixty-nine, the fifth of the kalends of March, and of our popedom the fifth year.

"CÆ. GLORIERIUS.
"H. CUMYN."

25. *The different Opinions of the English Catholics concerning this Excommunication.*

The principal persons, whose importunity solicited the pope to thunder out this excommunication, were Dr. Harding, Dr. Stapleton, Dr. Morton, and Dr. Web. And now the news thereof flying over into England, variously affected the catholics, according to their several dispositions.

1. Some admired and applauded the resolution of his Holiness, expecting all persons should instantly start from the infectious presence of the queen; and that that virgin-rose, so blasted, should immediately wither.

2. Others would not believe that there was any such excommunication at all, but that it was a mere slander, devised by the common enemy, to make all catholics odious.

3. Others accounted such excommunication, though denounced, of no validity, because the reasons which moved the pope thereunto were falsely and surreptitiously suggested to his Holiness.*

4. Others did question the lawfulness of all excommunications of princes, according to the rule of St Thomas, *princeps et multitudo non est excommunicanda*, where the uncertain profit which might follow could not countervail the certain mischief which would ensue.

5. Others did condemn the present excommunication, *pro hic et nunc*, as inexpedient, probable to incense and exasperate the queen to more severity, and make her gird her government closer to *their* sides who thought to shake it off. This was apparent by the woful experience of the excommunication denounced against king Henry VIII. Yea, Watson, bishop of Lincoln, (if his namesake may be credited,†) was exceedingly grieved at the pope's proceedings herein, foreseeing the inconvenience that would thence arise. This same Watson was he, who, in the first of queen Elizabeth, would, in all haste, by his own bare episcopal power, have excommunicated her; but now, older and wiser, mollified with ten years' durance, he altered his opinion.

6. Others were unsatisfied in the authenticalness of the instrument, who never did or durst see the original, and were unresolved whether the copies were sufficiently attested.

7. Others were perplexed in point of conscience, how far they were bound to obey herein; seeing the law of nature obligeth the wife in duty to her husband excommunicated; and the same reason is of the servant to the master, subject to the prince.

8. Lastly. Others were troubled in point of policy, having their persons and estates in the queen's power; and Bannes the schoolman pleadeth, that "subjects are not bound to desert or resist their prince, when such actions necessarily infer danger of death, and loss of goods."

But, leaving them to have their scruples satisfied by their confessors, this causeless curse to queen Elizabeth was turned into a blessing; and, as the barbarians looked, when St. Paul (having the viper upon his hand) should have swollen and fallen down dead, whilst he shook it off into the fire without any hurt or harm, Acts xxviii. 6; so papists expected when the queen should have miserably expired, stung to the heart with this excommunication, when she, nothing frightened thereat, in silence slighted and neglected it, without the least damage to her power or person, and no whit the less loved of her subjects, or feared of her enemies. And most false it is which Sanders reports,* that she, by the mediation of some great men, secretly laboured in vain, in the court of Rome, to procure a revocation of the pope's sentence against her; as what another relateth,† how she was wont to say that "the thing itself grieved her not so much, as because done by pope Pius, whose election and life she held for miraculous."

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* WATSON'S *Quodlibets*, page 262.

† *Ibid.* page 260.

26. *The Death of Bishop Barlow and Bourne.*

This year two eminent bishops, once of the same cathedral, but different religions, ended their lives. William Barlow, doctor of divinity, canon of St. Osith, then prior of Besham, successively bishop of St. Asaph, St. David's, and Bath and Wells, in the days of king Edward VI. afterwards an exile, in the reign of queen Mary in Germany, where he lived in great want and poverty; and by queen Elizabeth he was made bishop of Chichester, where he was buried. The other, Gilbert Bourne, bishop of Bath and Wells, though a zealous papist, yet of a good nature, well deserving of his cathedral; and who found also fair usage in his restraint, living in free custody with the dean of Exeter, and lies buried in the parish church of Silverton.

27. *Popish Expectation defeated. A.D.* 1570.

Now, July 13th, was the twelfth year of the queen fully past with her safety and honour; in which the credulous papists, trusting the predictions of soothsayers, had promised to themselves a *golden day*,‡ as they called it. Instead whereof they are likely to find many *leaden years* hereafter. And henceforward the 17th of November, the day of the queen's inauguration, was celebrated with far greater solemnity than ever before; St. Hugh being for forty-four years left out of our calendars to make room for her majesty; and John Felton, who fastened the pope's Bull to the palace of London, being taken, and refusing to fly, August 8th, was hanged on a gibbet before the pope's palace.

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* *De Schismate Anglicano*, page 372.

† An Italian in "the Life of Pius Quintus."

‡ CAMDEN'S "Elizabeth" in *anno* 1570.

28. *The Foundation of Jesus College in Oxford.*

Hugh Price, doctor of the civil law, procured the foundation of a college in Oxford, on a ground where Whitehall had been formerly situated, which, with edifices and gardens thereto belonging, being then in the Crown, queen Elizabeth gave to so pious a use, and therefore is styled the foundress in this mortmain. However, the said doctor inscribed these following verses over the gate, when the building of the college was but begun:—

Struxit Hugo Pricius tibi clara palatia, Jesu,
Ut Doctor legum pectora docta daret.

"Hugh Price this palace did to Jesus build,
That a law's Doctor learned men might yield."

But an Oxford author* telleth us, that a satirical pen did underwrite, with wit and waggery enough, these following verses:—

Nondum struxit Hugo, vix fundamenta locavit;
Det Deus ut possit dicere, Struxit Hugo.

"Hugh hath not built it yet; may it be said,
Hugh built it, who hath scarce the ground-work laid?"

But, no doubt, the scholars therein, at their first admission, know how to justify their reputed founder's words by the figure of Prolepsis, and can tell you that what is well-begun is half-finished.

PRINCIPALS.†—1. Dr. David Lewis, Doctor of Laws; 2. Dr. Lloyd, Doctor of Law, and Dean of the Arches; 3. Dr. Griffin Lloyd, Chancellor of Oxon; 4. Dr. Francis Bevans; 5. Dr. John Williams, Margaret Professor; 6. Griffith Powell, Bachelor of Law; 7. Francis Mansell, D.D. Fellow of All-Souls; he resigned his place to Sir Eubule Thelwel, (one of the Masters of the Chancery,) conceiving he might be more serviceable to the college; 8. Sir Eubule Thelwel, knight; 9. Dr. Francis Mansell, re-chosen; 10. Michael Roberts, D.D.

BISHOPS.—Morgan Owen, Bishop of Landaff; Thomas Howel, Bishop of Bristol, a most excellent preacher.

BENEFACTORS.—Herbert Westfalling, Bishop of Hereford; Hen. Rowland, Bishop of Bangor; Griffith Lloyd, Doctor of Law; Griffith Powell; John Williams, Doctor of Divinity; Sir Eubule Thelwel, knight, who made a court in a manner four-square, built and wainscotted the hall, perfected the chapel with a curious and costly roof, &c. Mistress Jane Wood, widow of Owen Wood, dean of Armagh.

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* PITZÆUS *De Ang. Ox.* page 37.

† This college hath had ten Principals; whereas Trinity College in the same university, founded fourteen years before, hath had but five Presidents.

LEARNED WRITERS.—James Howel, an elegant writer.

So that in the year 1634, it had one Principal, sixteen Fellows, sixteen Scholars, most of the ancient British nation; beside Officers and Servants of the foundation, and other Students. All which made up the number of one hundred and nine.

29. *The first Beginning of Recusancy.*

Hitherto papists generally, without regret, repaired to the public places of Divine service, and were present at our prayers, sermons, and sacraments. What they thought in their hearts, He knew who knoweth hearts; but in outward conformity they kept communion with the church of England. In which sense one may say, that "the whole land was of one language, and one speech." But now began the tower of Babel to be built, and popery to increase; which brought with it the division of tongues, and the common distinction of Papist and Protestant, the former now separating themselves from our public congregations: "They went out from us, because they were not of us; for, had they been of us, they would have continued with us." Indeed, the pope set his mark of favour on such reputed sheep as absented themselves from our churches, henceforward accounting them goats that repaired thither. And now began the word "recusant" to be first born and bred in men's mouths; which (though formerly in being to signify "such as refused to obey the edicts of lawful authority") was now confined, in common discourse, to express those of the church of Rome.

30, 31. *Papists their own Persecutors. A Parliament cutting with three Edges.*

Indeed, hitherto the English papists slept in a whole skin; and so might have continued, had they not wilfully torn it themselves. For, the late rebellion in the north, and the pope thundering out his excommunication against the queen, with many scandalous and pernicious pamphlets daily dispersed, made her majesty about this time, first to frown on papists, then to chide, then to strike them with penalties, and last to draw life-blood from them by the severity of her laws. For, now the parliament sat at Westminster, cutting (as one may say) with a three-edged sword, as making sharp edicts against papists, nonconformists, and covetous conformists of the church of England.

Against papists it was enacted,* that to write, print, preach, express, publish, or affirm, that the queen was a heretic, schismatical, &c. should be adjudged treason; also that it should be so accounted and punished, to bring, and put in execution, any Bulls, writings, instruments, or other superstitious things from the see of Rome, from the first of July following. A severe act also was made against fugitives, who, being the natural-born subjects of this realm, departed the same without license, and fled into foreign parts. Against nonconformists it was provided, that every priest or minister should, before the nativity of Christ next following, in the presence of his diocesan or his deputy, declare his assent, and subscribe to all the Articles of Religion agreed on in the Convocation, one thousand five hundred sixty and two, upon pain of deprivation on his refusal thereof. Against covetous conformists it was provided, that no spiritual person, college, or hospital, shall let lease other than for the term of twenty-one years, or three lives; the rent accustomed, or more, reserved payable yearly during the said term.

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* See the Statutes, 13 Elizabeth.

32, 33. *Covetous Clergymen bridled. Covetousness creeps in at a small Cranny.*

Indeed, this law came very seasonably to retrench the unconscionable covetousness of some clergymen, who by long and unreasonable leases (as the statute termed them) dilapidated the lands of their churches. Here it came to pass, what the spouse complains, that "the keepers of the walls took her vail away from her," Cant. v. 7; it being true what one said, that "those who should have righted her of her wrongs, did wrong her of her rights." Many a bishopric so bruised itself when it fell vacant, that it lost some land before a new bishop was settled therein; where the elects contracted with their promoters on unworthy conditions.

But no armour can be made of proof against the darts of covetousness, especially when they come from a high and heavy hand of great men in authority. This law was not so cautiously drawn up, but that some courtiers found a way to evade it; seeing "the Crown" was not expressed therein, and left capable of such leases, (as, God willing, hereafter shall be largely related,*) by which single shift they frustrated the effect of this law. Thus a ship may, though not as suddenly, as certainly be sunk with one, as with a thousand leaks.

34. *The second Letter of Mary Queen of Scots to the Pope. A.D.* 1571.

We return to the queen of Scots, of whom we have heard nothing this three years of ecclesiastical cognizance, nor now meet with any thing of that nature save this letter, which, though somewhat long, yet because never as yet printed, and acquainting us with some passages in her restraint, is not unworthy the perusal.

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* *Vide* 1604, *secundo Reg. Jacobi.*

"MOST BLESSED FATHER,

"AFTER the kissing of your most holy feet, about the beginning of October I received your Holiness's letter, written the thirteenth of July, by which I understood not only the benediction which your Holiness sent me, and which was and shall be always to me most acceptable, but also the great demonstration of your good-will to comfort me. I rested therewith singularly comforted indeed, partly because it was pleased earnestly to recommend both me, and the affairs of my estate, to the most potent princes, and especially to the most renowned kings of France and Spain. But withal there is yet remaining on the other part, to work so with Christian princes that, making a strict league among themselves, they should spare no vigilance, nor travels, nor expenses, once to abate the most cruel tyrant,* who continually thinketh of no other thing than to move war against us all. And might it please God that all other things might correspond with my will, besides that I were to do the same also, your Blessedness should see it with effect, which should be, that not only I, but also my subjects, with a will conform to their body, and together with other Christians, would put ourselves forward to do our utmost force. But what thing is there to be seen more worthy of compassion, than to see myself fallen into so great infelicity, from that happiness wherein I found myself lately? What thing is more lamentable than from a free woman as I was, to become a servant? To these miseries is added, that my country is at this day wrapped in such and so many calamities, and beaten down with so many inroads of the English, that many and many towns have been set on fire and flames, many castles and most fair churches ruinated to the very foundations.† But, that which is worse, my inhabitants and subjects, without scarce doing the least offence unto them, have been more cruelly slain. But, what! shall I say nothing of myself? Is it not clear unto all men, how I have been continually in divers and sundry perils? I call God to witness, who knows with what greatness of miseries I have been always stifled; and that which yet makes this tempest more cruel unto me is, that those who had promised to make provisions for my good have afterwards failed me, nor given me the least favour in the world, nor do I hope that ever they will do it, except perhaps these ——— made or prepared for ——— or journey most inclined to help me, shall not be moved to undertake such enterprises in my behalf. But, to say the truth of it, although there were succours gathered together, and a most assured army of ——— from beyond the seas, certainly not without great peril could they cross the ocean into Scotland in the winter-time, which then is wont to be most turbulent and stormy. But the English on the other side, who are not separated from the Scots with any river interposed between them, are able not only in summer, but in winter-time also, to move war against the Scots themselves, who, when there doth rise up even the least occasion of discord between them, are wont suddenly to put themselves effectually into arms. Constrained therefore by these principal respects, without I should expose the interest of my life and country to the hazard of the greatest dangers, I am by no means able to help it, but that even to my greatest disadvantage I must make peace with the English, saving always (as they say) my honour and conscience; because *honour* doth regard the civil administration whereby to be able afterwards to rule or govern the commonwealth. Then *the conscience*, as being the form and force Divine given to men to direct them to a good end; which admitting it to be sometimes straitened and bound with calamities, yet nevertheless may it neither for torments, nor for promises of rewards, be ever expelled or deprived from the communion and obedience of the catholic church! But amongst other things, it now happeneth that I must relate to your Holiness one thing most truly bitter unto me; that is, that we are come to those terms of desiring my only son, the heir of the temporal kingdoms, to be delivered by a certain time into the hands of the English, by way of hostage or pledge, reserving to me, nevertheless, the liberty to appoint him such governors and counsellors afterwards, as shall best please me. There is, moreover, granted leave of accession unto him, not only for me, but likewise to all those that for my satisfaction shall be sent into England to visit him. Let not your Holiness for this cause have any doubt but that he shall be not only full of good and holy conversation, but also (though he be amongst an unlucky nation) a perfect member of the catholic and apostolic church, and always ready and prone to help the same. But because that by this my letter I may not extend myself in greater length beyond my duty, I do conclude with this,—that I have determined with myself, nevertheless, to give your Holiness to understand of my estate, and of all these things which for the present do pass between them and me, and if these also which shall happen in the journey of any importance; and because it is a most difficult thing to put all my occasions in writing, I have for that cause informed the bishop of Dublin with all mine occurrences, as him that is, and always hath been, my most faithful nuncio, and most lovingly-affected toward your Holiness and the seat apostolic. May it please your Holiness to give faith unto him, concerning all things whereof he shall treat with you in my name. Meantime, I pray our Lord God that he, by his most holy grace, protect the catholic church from all the wicked thoughts of her adversaries; in which case all we have fixed our eyes upon your Holiness, as upon a most clear light, expecting of the same continually, in name of his Divine Majesty, your most holy benediction. And all with the same mind do desire unto your Holiness a most long life, to the glory of the most mighty God, and comfort of all the faithful. From Chattesworth in England, the last of October, 1570.

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* This is meant of the Turk, and not, as some may suspect, of queen Elizabeth.

† This letter to the pope was written in Latin, then translated into Italian, then retranslated into English. Wonder not, therefore, if it lose some native lustre thereof.

"The most devout daughter of your Holiness,

"MARY THE QUEEN."

Whoso consults our state historians in this very juncture of time, shall find the queen of Scots on tolerable terms (daily likely to amend) with queen Elizabeth. Yea, now she was in the vertical of her favour, wherein henceforward she began to decline, principally for practising with the pope and foreign princes.

SECTION III.

TO MRS. ANNE DANVERS, OF CHELSEA.

MADAM,

LET not your maiden modesty be betrayed to a blush, seeing yourself here left alone, surrounded on all sides with masculine Dedications. It will keep you in countenance, if, reflecting your eye either on the first page of this Book, or side-columns of this page; where you shall find the queen of virgins in the front thereof, whose reign in this Book is described. Indeed, a portion thereof, being designed to your late brother, (now glorious saint,) falls of course to you, with his goods and chattels, as his sole executrix. If any Latin letters occur in this Section, I doubt not but God will seasonably provide you such a consort, who, amongst his many other virtues, will change you to a happy wife, and translate them to your understanding.

1, 2. *The Death of the Bishops of Exeter and Salisbury. The Praise of Bishop Jewel. A. D.* 1572.

ABOUT this time deceased William Alley, bishop of Exeter, a painful preacher; and John Jewel, of Salisbury, of whom largely before. He was born in Devonshire, bred first in Merton, then Corpus Christi College in Oxford, first pupil to, afterwards fellow-exile with, Mr. Parkhurst, in Germany.* After queen Mary's death, Parkhurst durst not for danger return with Jewel, but went a securer way (as he supposed) by himself; though Jewel came safe and sound home, whilst Parkhurst was robbed of all in his return, and relieved by the other at his journey's end, and soon after both of them were made bishops; Mr. Parkhurst of Norwich, and Jewel of Salisbury.

A Jewel (sometimes taken for a single precious stone) is properly a collective of many, orderly set together to their best advantage. So several eminencies met in this worthy man; naturals, artificials, (amongst which I recount his studied memory, deserving, as well as Theodectes the sophister, the surname of *Mnemonicus*,) morals, but principally spirituals: so devout in the pew where he prayed, diligent in the pulpit where he preached, grave on the bench where he assisted, mild in the consistory where he judged, pleasant at the table where he fed, patient in the bed where he died, that well it were if, in relation to him, *secundum usum Sarum*, were made precedential to all posterity.† He gave at his death to Peter Martyr a golden rose, yet more fragrant for the worth of the giver than the value of the gift; to the city of Zurich, a present which they converted into a piece of plate with Jewel's arms thereon; to several scholars, large legacies; to the church of Salisbury, a fair library; and another, to the church of England; I mean, his learned "Apology." It is hard to say whether his soul or his ejaculations arrived first in heaven, seeing he prayed dying, and died praying. He was buried in the choir by bishop Wivill: two champions of the church lying together; one, who with his sword proffered to maintain the lands; the other, who with his pen defended the doctrine thereof. In the absence of Dr. Humphrey, designed for that service, Mr. Giles Laurence preached his funerals, who formerly, (being tutor to the children of Sir Arthur Darcy by Aldgate in London,) in queen Mary's days preserved Jewel's life, and provided accommodation for his flight beyond the seas.

3. *Subscription, why now more rigorously urged.*

Hitherto, the bishops had been the more sparing in pressing, and others more daring in denying, subscription, because the canons made in the Convocation, 1563, were not for nine years after confirmed by Act of Parliament. But now, the same being ratified by parliamental authority, they began the urging thereof more severely than before; which made many Dissenters keep their private meetings in woods, fields, their friends' houses,* &c. I say "private meetings," for "conventicles" I must not call them, having read what one † hath written: "That name (which agreeth to Anabaptists) is too light and contemptuous to set forth such assemblies, where God's word and sacraments are administered, even by the confession of their adversaries."

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* *Vide supra* in the first year of queen Mary.

† LAURENCE HUMPHREY in the large "Life of Bishop Jewel."

4. *The true Notion of a Conventicle.*

Indeed, no disgrace is imported in the notation of the word "conventicle," sounding nothing else but "a small convention." And, some will say, Can the infant (the diminutive) be a term of reproach, where the mother (the primitive) is creditable in the acceptation thereof? However, custom, the sole mint-master of current words, hath taken off conventicles, from signifying a small number, to denote the meeting of such (how many soever) in a clandestine way, contrary to the commands of the present lawful authority.

5. *Thomas Cartwright presents to the Parliament a distasted Admonition.*

And now Thomas Cartwright, chief of the nonconformists, presents the parliament with a book called "an Admonition," some members taking distaste at the title thereof. For, seeing admonition is the lowest of ecclesiastical censures, and a preparative, if neglected, to suspension and excommunication; such suggested, that if the parliament complied not with this Admonitor's desires, his party (whereof he the speaker) would proceed to higher and louder fulminations against the parliament. Whereas "admonition" is a soft word in the common (but especially in the Scripture) acceptation thereof, and may with humility on just occasion be tendered from inferiors, to any single persons or Christian corporation. This Admonition contained their grievances who presented it, with a declaration of the only way to redress them; namely, by admitting that platform which was there prescribed. This not finding the entertainment it expected, was seconded by another, more importunate, to the same effect.

6. *Bandying of Books betwixt two learned Men, chief of their Parties.*

It will not be amiss to set down what writings, *pro* and *con*, passed on the occasion of this book, between two eminent authors of opposite parties. 1. The "Admonition," first and second made by Mr. Cartwright. 2. The "Answer to the Admonition," by Dr. John Whitgift. 3. The "Reply to the Answer of the Admonition," by Mr. Thomas Cartwright. 4. The "Defence of the Answer," by Dr. John Whitgift. This last kept the field, and (for aught I can find) received no solemn refutation.

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* BISHOP BANCROFT in his "English Scottizing," book iii. cap. 1.

† THOMAS CARTWRIGHT'S "Second Reply," page 38.

7. *Several Reasons of Mr. Cartwright's not replying again.*

Sundry reasons are assigned of Mr. Cartwright's silence; all believing as they are affected, and most being affected as led by their interest. Some ascribed it to his weakness, who, having spent all his powder and shot in former fights, was forced to be quiet for the future: others, to his pride, (undervaluing what he could not overcome,) counting Whitgift's last answer no answer, but a repetition of what was confuted before: others imputed it to his patience, seeing otherwise multiplying of replies would make brawls infinite; and, whilst women strive for the last *word*, men please themselves with the last *reason:* others, to the policy of that party, resolving to go a new way to work, and to turn their serious books into satirical pamphlets. Some few attributed it to Mr. Cartwright's modest respect to his adversary, who had gotten the upper ground of him, (Whitgift being soon after made bishop and archbishop,) though in my mind this would more heighten than abate their opposition.

8. *The first Presbytery in England, set up at Wandsworth in Surrey.*

The nonconformists, though over-powered for the present in parliament, yet found such favour therein, that, after the dissolution thereof, they presumed to erect a presbytery at Wandsworth in Surrey.* Eleven elders were chosen therein; and their offices and general rules (by them to be observed) agreed upon and described, as appears by a bill indorsed with the hand of Mr. Field, the lecturer (as I take it) of that place, but living in London. Mr. Smith of Mitcham, and Mr. Crane of Roehampton, (neighbouring villages,) are mentioned for their approbation of all passages therein. This was the firstborn of all presbyteries in England; and *secundum usum Wandesworth* as much honoured by some, as *secundum usum Sarum* by others.

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* Bishop Bancroft's "English Scottizing," book iii. cap. 1.

9. *The chief Nonconformists in London.*

It may seem a wonder, that the presbyterian discipline should ripen sooner in this country village than in London itself; whereas yet they were not arrived at so formal a constitution, though we may observe two sorts of ministers. First, 1. Mr. Field; 2. Mr. Wilcox; 3. Mr. Standen; 4. Mr. Jackson; 5. Mr. Bonham; 6. Mr. Seintloe; 7. Mr. Crane; 8. Mr. Edmonds. Afterwards, 1. Mr. Charke; 2. Mr. Travers; 3. Mr. Barber; 4. Mr. Gardner; 5. Mr. Cheston; 6. Mr. Crooke; 7. Mr. Egerton; 8. ——— The former of these were principally against ministers' attire, and the Common-Prayer Book. The latter endeavoured the modelling of a new discipline; and it was not long before, both streams uniting together, nonconformity began to bear a large and great channel in the city of London.

10. *The Massacre in Paris.*

This same year happened a cruel massacre in Paris, the French protestants being bidden thither under the pretence of a nuptial solemnity. But never were such black favours given at a wedding; admiral Coligny, the pillar of the Reformed church, being slain in his bed on Bartholomew-eve; whose day then, and for some years after was there remarkable for wet weather.

Bartholomeus flet, quia Gallicus occubat Atlas.

"Bartholomew bemoans with rain
The Gallic Atlas thereon slain."

William Cecil lord Burleigh, invited to be there,* wisely kept himself at home; otherwise, perchance, our English Nestor had been sent the same way with the French Atlas, and ten thousand protestants of name and note slain in that city within three days.

11. *Two Impostresses discovered. A.D.* 1573.

Let not the following passage be censured for superfluous in this our book, whose omission would be condemned as a defect by others. Agnes Bridges,† a maid about twenty, and Rachel Pinder, a girl about twelve years old, so cunningly counterfeited themselves possessed with the devil, that they deceived many ministers in London, from whom more wisdom and less credulity might justly have been expected. Thus these liars belied "the father of lies" by their dissimulation. And now what praying, and preaching, and fasting, was there to dispossess them! to the no small derision of profane persons when their forgery was discovered. However, such scoffing may be punished, when the others shall have their erroneous judgment pardoned, and well-intended charity rewarded. Soon after, those impostresses were detected, penance at St. Paul's Cross on them imposed, by them publicly and (for outward view) penitently performed, August 15th, the present beholders satisfied, the formerly-deluded rectified, to be more wise and wary for the future.

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* CAMDEN'S "Elizabeth" *in hoc anno.*

† STOW'S "Chronicle," page 678, *et aliis.*

12, 13. *Anabaptists discovered. Eleven of them condemned. A Divine's Letter to the Queen to forbear burning them. A.D.* 1575.

Now began the Anabaptists wonderfully to increase in the land; and as we are sorry that any countrymen should be seduced with that opinion, so we are glad that [the] English as yet were free from that infection. For on Easter-day, April 3rd, was disclosed a congregation of Dutch Anabaptists without Aldgate in London,* whereof seven-and-twenty were taken and imprisoned, and four, bearing faggots, at Paul's Cross solemnly recanted their dangerous opinions.

Next month, May 15th, one Dutchman and ten women were condemned:† of whom, one woman was converted to renounce her errors, eight were banished the land, two more so obstinate that command was issued out for their burning in Smithfield. But, to reprieve them from so cruel a death, a grave divine sent the following letter to queen Elizabeth, which we request the reader to peruse, and guess at the author thereof:—

Serenissima, beatissima princeps, regina illustrissima, patriæ decus, sæculi ornamentum.—Ut nihil ab animo meo omnique expectatione abfuit longius, quàm ut majestatis tuæ amplissimam excellentiam molestá unquam interpellatione obturbarem; ita vehementer dolet silentium hoc, quo hactenus constanter sum usus, non eâdem constantiá perpetuò tueri ita ut volebam licuisse. Ita nunc præter spem ac opinionem meam nescio quâ infelicitate evenit, ut quod omnium volebam minimè, id contra me maximè faciat hoc tempore. Qui cum ita vixerim hucusque, ut molestus fuerim nemini, invitus nunc cogar contra naturam principi etiam ipsi esse importunus, non re ullá aut causá meá, sed alienâ inductus calamitate. Quæ quò acerbior fit et luctuosior hòc acriores mihi addit ad deprecandum stimulos. Nonnullos intelligo in Angliâ hîc esse non Anglos, sed adventitios, Belgas quidem opinor, partim viros, partim feminas, nuper ob improbata dogmata in judicium advocatos. Quorum aliquot feliciter reducti publicâ luerunt pœnitentiá, complures in exilium sunt condemnati, idque rectissimè meo judicio factum esse arbitror. Jam ex hoc numero unum esse aut alterum audio, de

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* Stow's "Chronicle," page 679.

† *Idem*, page 680.

quibus ultimum exustionis supplicium (nisi succurrat tua pietas) brevi sit statuendum. Quâ unâ in re duo contineri perspicio, quorum alterum ad errorum pravitatem, alterum ad supplicii acerbitatem attinet. Ac erroribus quidem ipsis nihil possit absurdius esse, sanus nemo est qui dubitat; mirorque tam fœda opinionum portenta in quosquam potuisse Christianos cadere. Sed ita habet humanæ infirmitatis conditio, si divinâ paululum luce destituti nobis relinquimur, quò non ruimus præcipites? Atque equidem hoc nomine Christo gratias quam maximas habeo, quod Anglorum hodie neminem huic insaniæ affinem video. Quod igitur ad phanaticas istas sectas attinet, eas certè in republicâ nullo modo fovendas esse, sed idoneâ comprimendas correctione censeo. Verum enimvero ignibus ac flammis, pice ac sulphure æstuantibus viva miserorum corpora torrefacere judicii magis cæcitate quàm impetu voluntatis errantium, durum istud ac Romani magis exempli esse quam evangelicæ consuetudinis videtur, ac planè ejusmodi ut, nisi a Romanis Pontificibus, authore Innocentio tertio, primùm profluxisset, nunquam istum Perilli-taurum quisquam in mitem Christi ecclesiam importavisset. Non quod maleficiis delecter, aut erroribus cujusquam faveam dicta hæc esse velim; vitæ hominum, ipse homo quum sim, faveo, ideoque faveo, non ut erret, sed ut resipiscat. Ac neque hominum solùm, utinam et pecudibus ipsis opitulari possem. Ita enim sum, (stultè fortassis hæc de meipso, at verè dico,) macellum ipsum ubi mactantur etiam pecudes, vix prætereo, quin tacito quodam doloris sensu mens refugiat. Atque equidem in eo Dei ipsius valdè admiror venerorque toto pectore clementiam, qui in jumentis illis brutis et abjectis, quæ sacrificiis olim parabantur, id prospexerat, ne prius ignibus mandarentur quàm sanguis eorum ad basim altaris effunderetur. Unde disceremus in exigendis suppliciis, quamvis justis, non quid omninò rigori liceat, sed ut clementia simul adhibita rigoris temperet asperitatem.

Quamobrem si tantum mihi apud Principis tanti majestatem audere liceret, supplex pro Christo rogarem clementissimam hanc regiæ sublimitatis excellentiam, pro authoritate hâc meâ, quâ ad vitam multorum consecrandam pellere te divina voluit clementia, ut vitæ, si fieri possit, (quid enim non possit iis in rebus authoritas tua?) miserorum parcatur, saltem ut horrori obsistatur, atque in aliud quodcunque commutetur supplicii genus. Sunt ejectiones, inclusiones retrusæ, sunt vincula, sunt perpetua exilia, sunt stigmata, et πλήγματα, *aut etiam patibula: id unum valdè deprecor, ne pyras ac flammas Smithfieldianas jamdiu faustissimis tuis auspiciis huc usque sopitas sinas nunc recandescere. Quod si ne id quidem obtineri possit, id saltem omnibus supplicandi modis efflagito* τοῦτο τὸ ϖελαργικόν *pectoris tui implorans, ut mensem tamen unum aut*

alterum nobis concedas, quo interim experiamur, an a periculosis erroribus dederit Dominus ut resanescant, ne cum corporum jacturâ, animæ pariter cum corporibus de æterno periclitentur exitio.

This letter was written by Mr. John Fox, (from whose own hand I transcribed it,) very loath that Smithfield, formerly consecrated with martyrs' ashes, should now be profaned with heretics, and desirous that the papists might enjoy their own monopoly of cruelty in burning condemned persons. But though queen Elizabeth constantly called him her father Fox, yet herein was she no dutiful daughter, giving him a flat denial.* Indeed, damnable were their impieties, and she necessitated to this severity, who having formerly punished some traitors, if now sparing these blasphemers, the world would condemn her, as being more earnest in asserting her own safety than God's honour. Hereupon the writ *de hæretico comburendo*, which for seventeen years had hung only up *in terrorem*, was now taken down and put in execution; and the two Anabaptists, burned in Smithfield, July 22nd, died in great horror, with crying and roaring.†

14. 15. *Another useful Letter of the same Author. The Occasion thereof.*

I am loath this letter should stand alone; and therefore will second it with another, (though nothing of this nature,) which I may call "a private-public one,"—*private* for the subject, *public* for the use thereof. First. To acquaint us with the character of Magdalen College, and generally of all Oxford, (not to say England,) in those days. Secondly. To show that though Mr. Fox came not up in all particulars to cleave the pin of conformity, (as refusing to subscribe,) yet he utterly distasted the factious people of that age. Lastly. That the papists who miscalled him "John Lack-Latin," may appear as so many Lack-truths, by his fluent and familiar language.

Only a word to the reader, informing him with the cause of this letter:—Samuel, his eldest son, Bachelor of Arts, and Fellow of Magdalen College, in Oxford, travelled beyond the seas, without leave either from father or college. At his return he was causelessly accused for a papist, and expelled the college by a faction of people, whose names I had rather the reader should take from Mr. Fox's pen than mine own. And now, as once Tully *pro domo suâ* strained all the nerves of his rhetoric, so see here how pathetically this old man *pro filio suo* writes to a reverend bishop of the church:—

Quando, quomodo, quibus verbis, quâ dicendi figurâ pares agam

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* As to the saving of their lives, if, after a month's reprieve and conference with divines, they would not recant their errors.

† Stow's "Chronicle," page 680.

gratias singulari vixque credibili humanitati tuæ, (vir reverende, idemque doctissime præsul,) quâ me miserum tot tantisque ærumnis obsitum, imo obrutum, literis tam amanter scriptis, et erigere jacentem, et erectum refocillare volueris. In quo pulchrè tu quidem hoc exemplo representas, quid sit verè episcopum agere in domo Domini. Quid enim antistitem verè Christianum, veriùs vel arguit, vel commendat insigniùs, quàm charitas toties in Christianis literis exhibita. Aut ubinam hæc ipsa charitas vim suam poterit illustriùs explicare, quàm in sacro hoc consolandi officio?—ἐν τῷ παραμυθεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀθυμούτας, καὶ γὰρ ἐις τοσάυτην ἀθυμίαν ἐνέπεσον τότε, ἐν τῷ ἐπιϛέλλειν σέ, ὥϛε ὀυδέποτε τι τῶν οὐδὲν ἐμοὶ συμβῆναι ἐυκαιρότερον, καὶ ἀκμαιότερον τῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας σοῦ ἐκείνων γραμμάτων. *Usque adeò tot simul adversæ res omnem mihi et constantiam et patientiam penè expectorabunt. Cui enim, quamlibet adamantinum pectus, non consterneret inaudita hæc hominum ingratissimorum inhumanitas, in eâ presertim academiâ, eoque collegio, unde nihil unquam minùs expectabam quàm tale aliquid ab iis mihi eventurum. Quos si non meæ senectutis et paupertatis ratio commovere, at ipsorum tamen vel humanitas, vel literarum, quas profitentur, consuetudo, polire ad humaniorem modestiam debuisset. Quod autem de meis, vel erga illos, vel erga alios meritis, honoranda tua pietas humanissimè prædicat in eo* τὸ τῆς ἐυμενείας σοῦ μέγεθος *satis contemplor; In me nihil agnosco eorum quæ tribuis. Illud confiteor, semper cavisse me sedulò, ut si minùs prodesse multis licuerit, ne sciens tamen obessem cuiquam, tum minimè verò omnium Magdalensibus, quò magis id mihi admirationi habetur, quis tam turbulentus genius factiosa ista Puritanorum capita afflaverit, ut sic violatis gratiarum legibus, spretis meis ad se literis et precibus, contemptâ ipsius præsidis intercessione, nullâ præmissâ admonitione, nec causâ redditâ, tantam hanc in me, filiumque tyrannidem exercuerint. Atquì verò ut hoc iis concedam, non tam purum esse et immunem ab omni nævo filium meum atque sunt isti ter-puri Puritani. At in his tamen nævis illius, nullum adhuc comperi* τὸ κάρφος *tam magnum, quàm majores fortè* τὰς δοκούς *in moribus ipsorum conspicere liceat. Et ubi interim fraterna illa inter fratres admonitio, quam tantopere exigit evangelica cautio, ubi disciplina illa apostolica* ἔλεγξον, ἐπιτίμησον, παρακάλεσον? *Certè plusquam atrox facinus intercedat oportet, quod tam atroci ejectionis vindicatione luendum sit; sed latet in hac herbâ alius fortasse anguis, quam quia isti proferre non audent, ego in lucem producam. Flagrat collegium hoc horribili factione, cujus altera pars propensioribus studiis incumbit in suum præsidentem. Altera istorum est quos dico* τῶν καθαροτέρων, *qui modis omnibus dant operam ut partes sui præsidis labefactent, ipsumque vel in suam redigant potestatem, vel sede prorsus evertant.*

Quia vero filius meus, cum altero ejus collegâ, præfecto suo ita, ut par erat, inclinatior videbatur, propterea societate exhæredatur. Accedit huic et alia causa, quam tam filio quàm mihi ipsi imputo.

Quòd si enim is essem, qui perbacchari cum eis contra episcopos, et archi-episcopos, aut scribam me præbere illorum ordini, hoc est, insanire cum illis voluissem, nunquam istos in me aculeos exacuissent. Nunc quia totus ab iis alienus partes illas sectari maluerim, quæ modestiæ sunt, et publicæ tranquillitatis, hinc odium in me conceptum jamdiu, in hanc demum efferbuit acerbitatem. Quod cùm ita sit, non jam quid meâ causâ velitis facere, id postulo, quin potius quid vestrâ ipsorum causâ cogitandum sit. Vos qui proceres estis ecclesiæ, etiam atque etiam deliberate. Quod ad me autem attinet, quamvis erepta filio societas haud leni afficit animum ægritudine, tamen quia res privata agitur, hoc fero moderatiùs. Magis me commovet publicæ ecclesiæ ratio. Videor enim suboriri quoddam hominum genus, qui si invalescant, viresque in hoc regno colligant, piget hîc referre quid futuræ perturbationis præsagit mihi animus. Olim sub monachorum fucatâ hypocrisi quanta sit nata lues religioni Christianæ, minimè ignorat prudentia tua. Nunc in istis nescio quod novum monachorum genus reviviscere videtur, tantò illis perniciosius, quantò callidiore fallendi artificio: sub prætextu perfectionis personati isti histriones gravius occultant venenum, qui dum omnia exigunt ad strictissimæ suæ disciplinæ et conscientiæ gnomones, haud videntur prius desituri, donec omnia in Judaicam redigant servitutem. Sed de iis alius fortassis pleniore manu ἐὰν ἐπιτρέπῃ ὁ Κύριος.

Interim celeberrimæ tuæ dignitati, vir honorande, cum publico ecclesiæ nomine, et animum istum, et sedem quam tenes meritò gratulor, tum meâ privatim causâ ob singulare tuum in me studium gratias habeo permaximas; precorque Dominum omnium gratiarum fontem cumulatissimum, ut ecclesiam suam periculosissimis iis temporibus propugnet ac tueatur, ut pastores se dignos foveat, provehatque; tum, intra istos, te inprimis sacris ipsius bonis donisque indies magis magisque locupletet, ὂς κἄν ἀναποδοίη τὰς ἰσομέρους ἀμοίβας τῆς παρακλήσεως, ἧς μὲν μοι παρεῖχον τα παρακλητικὰ τῶν γραμμάτων σοῦ, *amplissime juxta ac ornatissime præsul,*

Tuus in Christo καδδύναμιν,

*JOHANNES FOXUS.**

If this good man appeareth too passionate herein, score it neither on his old age, nor on his affection to his son, but on the unjust affront offered unto him, who, at last, was restored Fellow by the queen's mandate; and he, privately cast out by a faction to his

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* This I saw carefully transcribed out of the original.

great disgrace, was publicly brought in again by authority to his greater reputation.

16. *The Violence of rigid Nonconformists.*

We may plainly perceive, by this letter, how powerful the party of nonconformists was grown at this time, and to what violences and extravagancies some went in their practices, insomuch that Dr. Laurence Humphrey, then president of Maudlin's, and Mr. Fox himself, (both which scrupled subscription in some particulars,) were deserted by them as lukewarm and remiss in the cause. Yea, even of those who were *duriores Puritani*, all were not equally rigid; but Coleman, Burton, Hallingham, and Benson out-did all of their own opinions. Thus those loaves which are *ejusdem farinæ*, (of the same meal, yea, of one batch, out of the same oven,) are not all hard and crusty alike.

17—19. *The Death and Praise of Matthew Parker. His Memory causelessly aspersed. His exemplary Wife.*

The death of Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, May 17th, added much to their increase. He was a Parker indeed,—careful to keep the fences, and shut the gates of discipline against all such night-stealers as would invade the same. No wonder, then, if the tongues and pens of many were whetted against him, whose complaints are beheld, by discreet men, like the exclamations of truantly scholars against their master's severity, correcting them for their faults. This archbishop was an excellent antiquary, (without any anticness,) a great benefactor to Benet College in Cambridge, on which he bestowed many manuscripts, so that that library (for a private one) was the sun of English antiquity in those days; though now no more than the moon, since that of Sir Robert Cotton is risen up.

But a large author,* though not daring to deny due praises to his memory, causelessly taxed him for being too pontifical in his buildings and feastings. Particularly he charged him, that, whereas the pope thundered out an excommunication against queen Elizabeth, yet, saith he, "I read of no refutation made of it by this arch-prelate;" as if this were such a sin of omission in him, and he bound by his place to answer every Romish railing Rabshekah! But let him know, that, in his learned book of *Antiquitates Britannicæ*, he hath laid down those historical grounds which may be improved to the baiting of the whole herd of popish Bulls, or, if you will, to make all those bubbles sink to nothing; a work out of which his accuser hath taken so much, that he cannot pretend to the commendation of industry, (the poorest praise of a writer,) being no better than a lazy translator. And as the spleen is subservient to the liver, to take from it only the most putrid and feculent blood, so hath he solely transcribed thence, and from bishop Godwin's "Catalogue," the faults and failings of all the English prelacy, passing over in silence their due and just commendation. Edmund Grindal succeeded him in his place, a prelate most primitive in all his conversation.

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* MR. PRYNNE in his book "Of the Treason of Prelates," page 149.

We must not forget Margaret, the wife of archbishop Parker, a pattern for all prelates' wives. In the reign of king Henry VIII. though seven years contracted, (by mutual consent forbearing marriage, then unlawful for clergymen,) such her fidelity, that she was deaf to richer proffers:* when married, under Edward VI. so modest, that bishop Ridley asked, whether Mrs. Parker had a sister, intimating that such a consort would make him recede from his resolution of a single life: in queen Mary's days, not only great her patience to partake of, but industry to relieve, her husband's wants: in queen Elizabeth's time, so admirable her humility, as no whit elated with prosperity.

20. *Privileges obtained by Sir Francis Inglefield for English Catholics. A.D.* 1576.

Sir Francis Inglefield, (of whom formerly in the college of Valladolid,) to leave a monument to posterity of his industry and good-will to the catholic cause; he with William Allen obtained of pope Gregory XXX. thirteen indulgencies for the English nation and the well-wishers of their conversion. Whereof this the first, "that whosoever should carry about him such consecrated beads, fast on Wednesday, forbear one meal on Saturday, pray for the holy father the pope, the peace of the church, and chiefly for the reconciling of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the church of Rome, should have a hundred years' pardon. But if this fast be observed with bread and water, a thousand years' pardon."

It may seem in some sort an argument for the antiquity of those indulgencies, that they resent of the vivacity of the ancient patriarchs before the flood in pardoning so many years above the possibility of our age. Now what becometh of the surplusage of these pardons after the party's life, let others dispute; namely, whether *indulgentia moritur cum personâ*, or whether they be bequeathable by will, and, in case the person dies intestate, fall, like goods and chattels, to his next heir. Sure I am Sir Francis is beheld by catholics as a benefactor-general to our nation; and these grants were solemnly passed *sub annulo piscatoris*, June 6th, and Glorierius attesting the same.

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* In D. PARKER'S Life, extant in Trinity-Hall library in Cambridge.

This Sir Francis was afterwards buried in the English college at Valladolid in Spain, having bountifully contributed to the erecting thereof.

21, 22. *The Death of Bishop Pilkington, and of Mr. Deering.*

James Pilkington, bishop of Durham, ended his life, formerly Master of St. John's College in Cambridge. He was, as appeareth by many of his letters, a great conniver at nonconformity, and eminent for commencing a suit against queen Elizabeth for the lands and goods of the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland after their attainder, as forfeited to him, prince palatine within his diocess. But the queen prevailed; because on her charges she had defended bishop and bishopric against that rebellion, when both his infant daughters (conveyed away in beggars' clothes) were sought for, to be killed by the papists. These afterwards, with four thousand pounds a-piece, were married, (the one to Sir Henry Harrington, the other to Mr. Dunce, of Berkshire,) which portions the courtiers of that age did behold with envious eyes, for which the bishopric sped no whit the better.*

The same year concluded the life of Edward Deering, an eminent divine, born of a very ancient and worthy family in Kent, bred Fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge, a pious man and painful preacher, but disaffected to bishops and ceremonies. Once preaching before queen Elizabeth, he told her, that, when in persecution under her sister queen Mary, her motto was *tanquam ovis*, "as a sheep," but now it might be *tanquam indomita juvenca* "as an untamed heifer." But, surely, the queen still retained much of her ancient motto, "as a sheep," in that she patiently endured so public (and conceived causeless) a reproof, in inflicting no punishment upon him, save commanding him to forbear further preaching at the court.

23, 24. *A strange Mortality at Oxford, improved by Papists to their Advantage.*

Rowland Jenkes, a popish bookseller, was indicted at the summer assizes in Oxford, July 4th, for dispersing of scandalous pamphlets defamatory to the queen and state. Here, on a sudden, happened a strange mortality, whereof died, Sir Robert Bell, Lord Chief Baron, a great lawyer; Sir Robert De Oile; Sir William Babington; Mr. De Oile, high sheriff; Mr. Wenman, Mr. Danvers, Mr. Fettiplace, Mr. Harecourt, justices; Mr. Kerle, Mr. Greenwood, Mr. Foster, Mr. Nash, gentlemen of good account; Serjeant Bernham, an excellent pleader; almost all the jurymen; and of other persons there present, three hundred died in the town;* and two hundred more, sickening there, died in other places within a month; amongst whom not either woman or child.†

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* See a different version of this matter, in a preceding part of this volume of the Church History, page 129. Fuller himself, in his *Appeal*, thus accounts for this apparent discrepancy: "I have given-in a double account of bishop Pilkington's issue and estate: 1. As fame reported, and as envious courtiers represented it to queen Elizabeth,—that he gave ten thousand with his only daughter. (Lib. v. vol. ii. page 129.) 2. As it was in truth,—giving but four thousand a-piece with two daughters. The *Animadverter* may allow me knowing in his family, my wife being grandchild to his eldest daughter, married to Sir Henry Harrington."—EDIT.

Sanders calleth this *ingens miraculum*, and ascribeth it as a just punishment on the cruelty of the judge for sentencing the stationer to lose his ears; adding, moreover, that the protestants (whose philosophers and physicians could not find the natural cause thereof) gave it out that the papists, by magic arts, had procured this infection.‡ The best is, his words are no slanders.

25. *Sir Francis Bacon's Judgment of infectious Smells.*

But hear how a profound scholar, no less happy in finding than diligent in searching the mysteries of nature, and utterly unconcerned in this quarrel, delivereth his judgment in the like case:—"The most pernicious infection, next to the plague, is the smell of the jail, when prisoners have been long, and close, and nastily kept. Whereof we have had experience twice or thrice in our time; when both the judges that sate upon the jail, and numbers of those that attended the business, or were present, sickened upon it and died. Therefore it were good wisdom, that, in such cases, the jails were aired before they be brought forth. Otherwise most dangerous are the smells of man's flesh or sweat putrefied; for they are not those stinks which the nostrils straight abhor and expel, which are most pernicious, but such airs as have some similitude with man's body; and so insinuate themselves and betray the spirits."§

Of these mortalities mentioned by this author, the first probably was this at Oxford, happening within the verge of youthful memory; the other two at Hereford, in the reigns of king James and king Charles. The like chanced some four years since at Croydon, in Surrey; where a great depopulation happened, at the assizes, of persons of quality; and the two judges, baron Yates and baron Rigby, getting their banes there, died a few days after. Yet here no papists were arraigned to amount it to a popish miracle, so that Sanders's observation is no whit conclusive, natural causes being afforded of such casualties.

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* CAMDEN'S "Elizabeth" *in hoc anno.*

† STOW'S "Chronicle," page 681.

‡ *De Schismate*, page 375.

§ "Natural History," cent. x. num. 914.

26. *Many a Priest executed.*

We may remember how in the year one thousand five hundred seventy and one, a severe law was made against such who brought any superstitious trinkets (badges of the Romish vassalage) into England. This law lay dormant for these last six years, and was never put into execution, that papists might not pretend themselves surprised into punishment through the ignorance of the law, so long a time being allowed unto them, that they might take serious cognizance of the said statute in this behalf: and therefore let such catholics who complain of cruelty herein produce a precedent of the like lenity amongst them used to offenders. But now, November 30th, one Cuthbert Maine, a priest, was drawn, hanged, and quartered at Launceston, in Cornwall, for his obstinate maintaining of the papal power; and one Tragion, a gentleman of that county, was condemned to loss of all his goods, and perpetual imprisonment, for affording harbour unto him.

27. *The Vivacity of English Protestant Bishops.*

Hitherto the English bishops had been vivacious almost to wonder. For, necessarily presumed of good years before entering on their office, in the first of queen Elizabeth it was much that but five died for the first twenty years of her reign.* Whereas now seven deceased within the compass of two years. Thus, when a generation of contemporary persons begins to crack, it quickly falls; and the leases of their clay cottage, commencing, it seems, much from the same date, at the same term did expire. We will severally reckon them up, the rather, because all the remarks of church-history for those two years is folded up in their characters.

28—34. *The Death of Bishop Bullingham. Bishop Cheyney, a great Lutheran, wrongfully accused to die a Papist; his Vindication. Bishop Horne succeeded; followed by Bishop Bentham. The Death of Bishop Cox. A.D.* 1578, 1579.

Nicholas Bullingham began the breach, translated from Lincoln to Worcester; whereat my author doth much admire;† conceiving, belike, such advancement a degradation, and can only render this reason,—that for his own ease he changed a larger for a lesser diocess. But what, if Worcester were also the better bishopric, and so the warmer seat for his old age?

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* We account in this number not any popish bishops, nor Scory and Barlow, protestants made in the reign of king Edward.

† SIR JOHN HARRINGTON'S additions to bishop Godwin.

William Bradbridge, bred in Magdalen College in Oxford, bishop of Exeter, was snatched away with a sudden death, June 27th. And in the same year, February 28th, Edmond Guest, bishop of Salisbury, bred in King's College in Cambridge, who wrote many books, reckoned up by John Bale, bought and bestowed more on the library of Salisbury, the case whereof was built by bishop Jewel.

Richard Cheyney, bishop of Bristol, holding Gloucester therewith in dispensation, bred in Cambridge, of whom Mr. Camden giveth this character, that he was *Luthero addictissimus*,* "most addicted to Luther." Bishop Godwin saith, *Luthero addictior fortasse quàm par erat*,† "perchance more addicted to Luther than was meet;" adding moreover, that, in the first Convocation, in the reign of queen Mary, he so earnestly opposed popery, that he wondereth how he escaped with life. But I wonder more, how, since his death, the scandalous rumour is raised that he died a papist, suspended by archbishop Grindal from his episcopal function; ‡ and this one (his successor in that see) will persuade others to believe.

However, the words of Mrs. Goldsborough, (widow to bishop Goldsborough of Gloucester,) a grave matron, prevailed with me to the contrary; who, at a public entertainment, in the presence of many, and amongst them of my judicious friend Mr. Langley, the worthy schoolmaster of St. Paul's, gave a just check to this false report, and avowed that to her knowledge he died a true and sincere protestant.

Robert Horne [bishop of Winchester] succeeded, June 1st, born in the bishopric of Durham, bred in St. John's in Cambridge; one, *valido et fœcundo ingenio*, saith my author; "of a spriteful and fruitful wit;" one who would go through whatsoever he undertook, be it against papists or nonconformists; and his adversaries playing with his name, as denoting his nature hard and inflexible, nothing moved him to abate of his resolution.

Thomas Bentham followed him, February 21st, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, bred in Magdalen College in Oxford, of whose Christian valour in that college against superstition, in queen Mary's reign, we have spoken before.

Richard Cox, bishop of Ely, concludes this bill of mortality, July 22nd, tutor to king Edward VI. of whom largely before in the troubles of Frankfort. I am sorry so much is charged on his memory, and so little can be said in his vindication; and would willingly impute it, not to his want of innocence, but ours, of intelligence. It moves me much his accusation of covetousness,* dilapidating, or rather delignating, his bishopric, cutting down the woods thereof; for which he fell into the queen's displeasure. But I am more offended at his taking (if true) the many ancient manuscripts from Oxford, under the pretence of a visitation. He was an excellent poet; though the verses written on his tomb are none of the best, and scarce worth our translating.

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* CAMDEN in his "Elizabeth," 1559.

† In his "Catalogue of the Bishops of Gloucester."

‡ All my search cannot find out such an instrument in any office.

§ CAMDEN's "Elizabeth" *in anno* 1559.

Vita caduca, vale; salveto, vita perennis.
Corpus terra tegit, spiritus alta petit.
In terrâ Christi gallus Christum resonabam;
Da, Christe, in cælis, te sine fine sonem.

"Frail life, farewell! Welcome, life without end!
Earth hides my corpse, my soul doth heaven ascend.
Christ's COCK on earth, I chanted Christ his name;
Grant without end in heaven I sound the same."

It seems, some took exceptions at the epitaph, as parcel-popish; because, though supposing his *possession*—praying for the *perpetuation*—of his happiness; and, on that account, twenty years after his death, it was partly demolished.

35. *Gresham College founded by Sir Thomas Gresham.* *A. D.* 1580.

This year also Sir Thomas Gresham ended his life, whose Royal Exchange in London, with all the magnificence thereof, could not properly entitle him to a mention in this our Church History had he not also, by his will, bequeathed maintenance for the erecting of a college in Bishopsgate-street, allowing an annual salary of fifty pounds to several professors in Divinity, Civil Law, Physic, Astronomy, Geometry, Music, and Rhetoric. It is therefore no mistake in Mercator,† when counting three universities in England,—Cambridge, Oxford, and London, seeing the last may be so esteemed, both in relation to the Inns-of-Court and this College.

36—38. *The obscure Original of the Familists. Henry Nicholas, their first Founder; his mock apostolic Style.*

"The Family of Love" began now to grow so numerous, factious, and dangerous, that the Privy Council thought fit to endeavour their suppression. Being now to deduce the original of this sect, we desire that the clock of time, on the margin of our books may stand still, intending not to discompose the method of years therein: though we go backward for a while in our History, to fetch in the beginning of these Familists. Most obscure was their original, according to the apostle's words, "There are certain men crept in unawares," Jude 4. *Crept in*,—showing the slowness of their pace, and the lowness of their posture; the latter proceeding partly from their guiltiness, not daring to go upright, to justify, avouch, and maintain their doctrine; partly out of policy, to work themselves in the more invisibly, Isaiah xxx. 6. But these creepers at first turned fliers afterwards; (flying serpents no contradiction!) so that the state accounted it necessary to cut down their arrogancy and increase; whose beginning, with the means thereof, we come now to relate.

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* Said to feed his servants with powdered venison, (shrewdly hurt,) to save other meat. —SIR JOHN HARRINGTON in his additions to bishop Godwin.

† In his Atlas, page 66.

One Henry Nicholas, born in Amsterdam, first vented this doctrine, about the year 1550, in his own country. He was one who wanted learning in himself, and hated it in others; and yet was conceived (which at first procured pity unto him) though of wild and confused notions, with absurd and improper expressions, yet of honest and harmless intentions. Men thought him unable both to manage his apprehensions whole, (as to make sense of them,) and too weak by distinctions to parcel and divide them, wanting logic for that purpose; and yet they charitably conceived his mind might be better than his mouth, and that he did mean better than he could interpret his own meaning. For, meeting with many places in Scripture which speak the union and communion of Christians with Christ, Christ with God, John xvii. 21—23, &c. (how quickly are mysteries made blasphemies, when unskilful hands meddle with them!) he made of them a most carnal-spiritual exposition.

Yea, in process of time, he grew so bad, that charity itself would blush to have a favourable thought of his opinions. Not content to confine his errors to his own country, over he comes into England, and in the latter end of the reign of king Edward VI. joined himself to the Dutch congregation in London; where he seduced a number of artificers and silly women; amongst whom two daughters of one Warwick, to whom he dedicated an epistle, were his principal perverts. Mr. Martin Micronius, and Mr. Nicholaus Charineus, then the ministers of the Dutch congregation, zealously confuted his errors: but, it seems, their antidotes pierced not so deep as his poisons. Many of our English nation were by him deceived; and may the reader but peruse this his mock-apostolic style, (his charm to delude silly people therewith,) and let him tell me whether the ape did not well deserve a whip, for his over-imitation therein.

"H. NICHOLAS, through the grace and mercy of God, through the Holy Spirit of the love of Jesus Christ: raised up by the highest

God from the death, according to the providence of God, and his promises: anointed with the Holy Ghost, in the old age of the holy understanding of Jesus Christ: Godded with God in the Spirit of his love: illuminated in the Spirit with the heavenly truth, the true light of perfect being: made heir with Christ in the heavenly goods of the riches of God: elected to be a minister of the gracious word, which is now in the last times raised up by God, according to his promises in the most holy service of God, under the obedience of his love." *

The followers of this Nicholas assumed to themselves the title of "the Family of Love." "Family of faith" we find in Scripture, Gal. vi. 10; but this new name was one first invented by, and falsely applied unto, this faction; who might more fitly, from Nicholas, their father and founder, be styled Nicolaitans, as their name-sakes (hated by God for their filthiness, Revelation ii. 6) were called so, from Nicolas, the proselyte of Antioch, Acts vi. 5. These Familists (besides many monstrosities they maintained about their communion with God) attenuated all Scriptures into allegories; and, under pretence to turn them into spirit, made them airy, empty, nothing. They counterfeited revelations; and those, not explicatory or applicatory of Scripture, (such may and must be allowed to God's servants in all ages,) but additional thereunto, and of equal necessity and infallibility to be believed therewith. In a word, as in the small-pox, (pardon my plain and homely, but true and proper, comparison,) when at first they kindly come forth, every one of them may severally and distinctly be discerned; but when once they run and matter, they break one into another, and can no longer be dividedly discovered; so though at first there was a real difference betwixt Familists, Enthusiasts, Antinomians, (not to add high-flown Anabaptists,) in their opinions, yet, (process of time plucking up the pales betwixt them,) afterwards they did so interfere amongst themselves, that it is almost impossible to bank and bound their several absurdities.

39, 40. *The Familists worse in Practice than Opinion; their Abjuration.*

The practices of these Familists were worse than their opinions. They grieved the Comforter; charging all their sins on God's Spirit for not effectually assisting them against the same; accounting themselves as innocent as the maid forced in the field, crying out, and having none to help her, Deut. xxii. 27. Yea, St. Paul's supposition, "Shall we continue in sin, that grace may abound?" Rom. vi. 1, was their position. What he started from, they embraced; what he branded with a, "God forbid!" they welcomed with a, "Well done, good and faithful servant;" sinning on design, that their wickedness might be a foil to God's mercy, to set it off the brighter.

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* In his *Evangelium Regni*, or, "The joyful Message of the Kingdom."

The Privy Council therefore took them into consideration, and tendered unto them this following abjuration, October 10th:—"Whosoever teacheth that the dead which are fallen asleep in the Lord, rise up in this day of his judgment, and appear unto us in godly glory, which shall henceforth live in us everlastingly with Christ, and reign upon the earth, is a detestable heretic. Whosoever teacheth, that to be born of the virgin Mary, out of the seed of David after the flesh, is to be expounded of the pure doctrine out of the seed of love, is a detestable heretic. Whosoever teacheth, that Jesus Christ is come again unto us according to his promise, to the end that they all which love God and his righteousness, and Christ, and perfect being, might presently enter into the true rest, which God hath prepared from the beginning for his elect, and inherit the everlasting life, is a detestable heretic." No fewer than ten of the Privy Council tendered this abjuration to each Familist; but with what success, I find not. If any of these Familists were of their opinion in Higher Germany who were called *liberi fratres*,* "free brethren," who maintained themselves delivered by Christ from all covenants, vows, and debts; (if from prison too, on denial of payment, it were excellent;) all was to little purpose, seeing a bird may as soon be impounded, as these spirits confined by any oaths or carnal obligation. Pass we from them to others more dangerous, because more learned; even the Jesuits, (hoping at last to light on the temperate zone, when we have done with these dull, frozen, ignorant sectaries, and fiery, torrid, over-active papists,) whereof two principal ones, Persons† and Campian, living at Rome, importuned his Holiness for license to come over into England.

41. *Persons and Campian come into England. Their several Characters. Campian caught by Walsingham's Setters.*

Having obtained this gracious faculty, over they come into England, and distil superstition and disloyalty into the queen's subjects. This Persons was a Somersetshire man, formerly of Balliol College in Oxford, till for his dishonesty he was expelled with disgrace.‡ But, what Oxford cast away for dross, Rome received for gold; entertaining and rewarding him as a man of a daring and undertaking spirit, and of a nature turbulent and seditious. Campian, born in London, and bred in St. John's College, of the same university, (whereof he was Proctor, *anno* 1568,) was one of a sweet nature, constantly carrying about him the charms of a plausible behaviour, of a fluent tongue and good parts, which he knew how to show to the best advantage. These two effectually advanced the Roman cause, appearing in more several shapes than Proteus himself, in the disguised habits of soldiers, courtiers, ministers of the word, apparitors, as they were advised by their profit and safety; and, as if his Holiness had infused an ubiquitariness into them, they acted in city, court, and country. Persons was the axe to hew knotty controversies, where deep learning was needful; Campian was the planer to come after him, and smooth matters with his eloquence; yea, the former frighted fearful people into popery with his fierceness, the latter flattered them in it with his courteous behaviour. But none can give a better account of Campian's proceedings than this his own letter which followeth:—

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* See RUTHERFORD'S "Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist," page 11.

† This variation in writing the name of Parsons is one sanctioned by the usage of the Jesuit himself, who adopted both modes in his different publications.—EDIT.

‡ CAMDEN'S "Elizabeth" *in anno* 1580.

"To the right reverend father Everard Mercurian, Provost-General of the Society of Jesus.

"After that, trusting on God's goodness, I live now the fifth month in these parts, I thought it my duty, reverend father, to acquaint you by letters what the state of our matters is, and what it is likely to be. For I know full well, that you desire to know what I do, what I hope, how I profit, and that both out of constant care for the common good, and also out of the great love you bear unto myself. The former I wrote from St. Omer's, now receive in few words what things have since happened unto us.

"I impute it as proceeding from Divine Providence, that, whereas I had waited four full days for a prosperous wind;[1] at last on the fifth, (which was the feast of John Baptist, and my tutelary saint, to whom I had often commended both my cause and journey,) at even we put forth to sea. The next day very early we arrived at Dover, I and my little man, where we escaped very narrowly that both of us were not taken.[2] Being commanded, we appear before the mayor of the town: he conjectures several things, guessing us to be, what indeed we were, namely, enemies to the heretical party, lovers of the old religion, that we had dissembled our names, gone away for religion, being returned with desire to propagate it. One thing he pressed, that I was Allen, which I denied, and, if need had been, I would have deposed the contrary on my oath.

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[1] A good wind which blows a traitor to Tyburn.

[2] Ominous that his foot should stumble at the threshold, newly landed in the kingdom. It is probable, he that was suspected at his coming-in will be detected before his going-out.

"At last he determines, and this he often repeats, that we ought to be sent with a guard to the Privy Council. Nor do I know who altered his mind, except it were God, to whom, in the mean time, I made my silent supplication, using the intercession of St. John, by whose favour I came thither. Presently out came the old man,[3] (well fare his heart for it!) 'It is our pleasure,' said he, 'that you shall be dismissed. Farewell.' Away we flew. These and the like things, which here I find, when I recount them with myself, I am confirmed in this opinion, that, when the matter shall make more for God's glory, then I shall be taken, and not before.[4] I arrive at London. A good angel led me, without my knowledge, to the same house which had formerly received father Robert. Many gentlemen run to me, salute me, clothe me, adorn me, arm me, send me out of the city.[5] Every day almost I ride about some coast of the country. The harvest is altogether very great. Sitting on my horse, I meditate a short sermon, which, coming into the house, I perfectly polish. Afterward, if any come to me, I discourse with them, or hear their confessions. In the morning, service being done, I make a sermon, they bring thirsty ears, and most frequently receive the sacraments.

"In the administering of them we are assisted by the priests, whom we find every where. Thus it comes to pass, that both the people are pleased, and the work is made less wearisome unto us. Our countrymen which are priests, being themselves eminent for learning and holiness, have raised such a reverent esteem of our Order, that I conceive that veneration which the catholics give us is not to be mentioned but with some fear.[6] Wherefore the more care is to be taken, that such as shall be sent as a supply unto us (whom now we very much want) may be so qualified, that they may well undertake all these things.[7] Above all things, let them be well exercised in preaching. We cannot long escape the hands of heretics, so many are the eyes, the tongues, and treacheries of our enemies.[8]

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[3] See how a crafty equivocating Jesuit is an over-match for a country well-meaning magistrate.

[4] Caiaphas. Truly prophesied, if truly applied.

[5] *Heu, quanta patimur!* O pitiful persecution! enough almost to make an epicure complain of hard usage.

[6] Lest the world should know how simple people give and shameless Jesuits take so much honour, where so little is due.

[7] With fair tongues, false hearts, cunning heads, and bold faces. Campian is the copy, and the rest must be like him.

[8] His predictions were indited from his guiltiness. Offenders fear what they deserve.

"I am in a most antic habit, which I often change,[9] as also my name.[10] Just now I read a letter, in whose front it was written, 'Campian is taken.' This old song now so rings in mine ears, wheresoever I come, that very fear hath driven all fear from me. My life is always in my hand. Let them that shall be sent hither for our supply, bring this along with them, well thought on beforehand.

[9] His often changing speaks him but a valiant coward in the cause.

[10] *Homo multorum nominum, non boni nominis.*

"But the comforts which are mingled in this matter are such, as not only do recompense the fear of pain, but any pains whatsoever, with an infinite pleasure; namely, a pure conscience, unconquered strength, incredible zeal. Eminent work we have effected; innumerable number of converts, high, low, of the middle rank, of all ages and sexes. Hence, it is grown into a proverb amongst the heretics themselves, that if any of them be better-natured than others, they presently call them 'catholics,' who will pay the debts which they owe.[11] Insomuch, that if any catholics should chance to use a man hardly, he is expostulated with in this respect, that in no case such things ought to be done by men of their profession.

[11] Would the catholics would themselves pay the twenty pounds a-month, which they owe to the king for their recusancy!

"In brief, heresy is ill-reported of all; nor is there any sort of men more vile and rotten than are their ministers.[12] We are deservedly full of indignation, that, in so bad a cause, men so unlearned, so wicked, so dissolute, so vile, do domineer over most flourishing wits.

[12] Thus when the herneshaw [heron] cannot beat the hawk with strength, she dungs upon him. Railing must help where reason wants.

"Most threatening edicts are carried about against us. By wariness and the prayers of good people, and (which is the main) by God's goodness, we have in safety gone over a great part of the island. I see many forgetting themselves to be careful for us.[13] Something happened in those days by God's will, which I did not so much as hope for.

[13] Good affections ill employed. God send them less heat, or more light.

"I had articulately set down in writing our points, and certain most equal demands, confessing myself to be a priest of the Society, coming with an intent to amplify the catholic faith, teach the Gospel, administer sacraments. I requested audience of the queen, and the peers of the realm, and challenged my adversaries to the combat.[14] I resolved to keep one copy to myself, that it might be carried to the judges with me; another I had committed to my friend with this intent, that if they took me and my copy, the other should presently be spread abroad.

[14] Bar challenging. They that long most for duels, first surfeit of them.

"My friend did not conceal it, he published it; it is worn in every man's hand. Our adversaries are stark mad. Out of their pulpits their preachers answer, that they indeed desire it; but the queen is not willing that, matters now being settled, there should be any further disputation. They rend us with their railings, call us *seditious*, *hypocrites*, yea, and *heretics* also; which is most laughed at. The people, in this point, are altogether ours. This error hath made marvellously for our advantage. If we be commanded on the public faith, *dabimus non curiam.*[15] But they intend nothing less.

[15] So my printed copy, wherein I suspect some mistake.

"All our prisons are filled with catholics; new ones are preparing. Now at last they openly maintain, that it is better to deliver a few traitors over to death than to betray the souls of so many men. Now they say nothing of their own martyrs; for we conquer in cause, number, dignity, and the opinion of all men.

"We produce, for a few apostates, or cobblers burned, bishops,[16] *regulos*, 'petty princes,' knights, and most eminent of the gentry, (mirrors of learning, honesty, and wisdom,) the choicest youth, illustrious matrons: the rest of middle estate almost innumerable, all of them at once, or every day, consumed. Whilst I write these things, a most cruel persecution rageth. The house is sad; for they presage either the death of their friends, or that, to save their lives, they must hide, be in prison, or suffer the loss of all their goods; yet they go on courageously.

[16] Not one popish bishop put to death (nor peer of the realm, save for actual rebellion) in all the queen's reign. Whereas, in the Marian days, we had an archbishop and four bishops burned, for mere matters of conscience.

"Very many even now are reconciled to our church. New soldiers enlist their names, and old ones freely shed their blood. Herewith, and with these holy sacrifices, God will be merited; and, out of doubt, in short time we shall overcome. You see, therefore, reverend father, how much we need your sacrifices, prayers, and heavenly assistance.

"There will be some in England, who may provide for their own safety; and there will be those who may promote the good of others. Man may be angry, and the devil mad: so long the church here will stand, whilst the shepherds are not wanting to their sheep.

I am hindered with a report of a most present danger, that I can write no more at this time. 'Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered.' Farewell.

"EDMOND CAMPIAN."

Secretary Walsingham, one of a steady head, (no more than needful for him who was to dive into such whirlpools of state,) laid out for Campian's apprehension. Many were his lime-twigs to this purpose. Some of his emissaries were bred in Rome itself. It seems his Holiness was not infallible in every thing, who paid pensions to some of Walsingham's spies sent thither to detect catholics. Of these, Sled and Eliot were the principal. Surely, these setters could not accomplish their ends, but with deep dissembling and damnable lying. If any account such officers evils, I deny it not, but add them to be necessary evils in such a dangerous juncture of time. Always set a ——— to catch a ———; and the greatest deer-stealers make the best park-keepers. Indeed, these spies were so cunning, they could trace a labyrinth, without the guidance of a clew of thread; and knew all by-corners at home and abroad. At last Eliot snapped Campian in his own lodging, and in great triumph he was carried to the Tower.

42, 43. *Pretended Cruelty in racking Papists, excused in some Degree.*

The papists tell us of seven deadly racks in the Tower, all of them exercised on some or other their prisoners therein. One rack called "the duke of Exeter's," the other "the scavenger's daughter;" and these haply had their grandchildren: God keep all good men in the joyful ignorance of them and their issue! Campian is said thrice or four times to have been tortured on them,* *ad luxationem ac quassationem omnium membrorum;* if the report thereof be not racked beyond the proportion of truth. However, we request the ingenuous,—

First. To consider, there scarce passed a leap-year, wherein the papists did not lay their eggs, or hatch some treason against the queen, which excuseth such severity used to detect conspiracies. Secondly. I find when father Briant, a priest, was racked most cruelly, he confesseth, *Se nihil quicquam doloris sensisse*, "that he felt no pain at all."† Were this false, I wonder so religious a man would report it; were it true, I wonder that Campian (every inch as religious as Briant) had not the same miraculous favour indulged to him. Thirdly. Campian, presently after his racking, wrote letters with his own hand;[*] which shows he was not so disjointed with such cruelty as is pretended. Lastly. Those who complain of Campian's usage have forgotten, or will not remember, how Anne Askue,[†] and Cuthbert Simpson (on whom no shadow of treason could be charged) were most cruelly and causelessly racked by popish persecutors, as a preface to their ensuing martyrdom.

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* SANDERS *De Schismate Anglicano*, page 409.

† RIBADENEIRA's Continuation of SANDERS *De Schismate Anglicano*, in his Diary, *anno* 1581, month of March.

44—46. *Persons's three wonderful Escapes. Our Observation on his fourth Escape. Persons politicly returneth to Rome.*

We leave Campian for a time in a safe place, where we are sure to find him at our return, to behold how it fared with father Persons, diligently sought for by Walsingham's setters, and therefore as eminent for making his three escapes, as writing his "Three Conversions." 1. By hiding himself in a stack of hay, hard by a public inn, whither messengers were sent to attach him. 2. Being amused with grief, and fear, and fright, he could not find a house in London, (otherwise well known unto him,) whither he intended to go; and, by losing his way, saved his life, that place being beset with soldiers to apprehend him.[‡] 3. When scarce gone out of a house on the Thames' side but the same was searched by the officers, who routed an army of crucifixes, medals, *agnus Deis*, and other popish trinkets therein. To these a fourth may be added,[§] more miraculous than all the rest: When Persons was apprehended by a pursuivant at Northwich in Cheshire, and put into a chamber fast bolted, and locked upon him, the door did three times together miraculously and of its own accord fly open.

By the reader's favour, as I dare not deny belief to this passage, attested by a catholic father; so I cannot but wonder thereat. Peter and Paul each of them had once their prison-doors open, Acts xii. 7; xvi. 26; Persons exceeds them both, three several solemn times his prison was set open. Did he not tempt Divine Providence, which once and again offered unto him a way to escape, to expect a third call to come forth? Had Providence (angry that the courtesy, twice tendered, was not accepted) left him alone, none would have pitied him, if caught and sent to keep company with his dear friend, father Campian, in the Tower.

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[*] CAMDEN'S "Elizabeth" in this year.

[†] Sometimes written Ashcough and Askew. See page 113 of this volume.—EDIT.

[‡] *Continuatio Sanderi De Schismate Anglicano*, page 404.

[§] *Vide* SHELDON "Of Miracles," page 25; and GEE'S "One Foot out of the Snare," page 71.

But Persons knew full well, that miracles (though cordials in extremity) are no bill of fare for men's daily diet, and, therefore, he must not constantly expect such wonderful deliverances. Besides, no doubt, he remembered what passed in the fable; though this his good genius had helped him at a dead lift, yet the same intended not to wear out all his shoes, and to go barefoot himself, in making a trade constantly to preserve him. Wherefore, *juniores ad labores*, let younger men take the task and trouble upon them. This wary bird would not be caught, to whistle in the cage to the tune of Walsingham. Wherefore over he went to Rome, and there slept in a whole skin: as good reason it was so great a general should secure his person from danger.

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